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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# FIRST PLANTING

OF THE

# *CHRISTIAN RELIGION:*

Taken from the

ACTS of the APOSTLES, and their *epiſtles.*

Together with the

REMARKABLE FACTS of the *Jewiſh* and *Roman hiſtory,* which affected the *chriſtians,* within this period.

To which is annexed, A

# DISSERTATION:

To prove, That

St. LUKE wrote the ACTS of the APOSTLES: And to ſhow, That, if the ACTS contain a *true hiſtory,* CHRISTIANITY muſt be true.

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VOLUME *the* SECOND.

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The SECOND EDITION, carefully corrected, and with large ADDITIONS.

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By *GEORGE BENSON,* D. D.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PLANTING OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, &c.

## BOOK III.

*Which containeth an account of the ſpreading of* chriſtianity *among the* idolatrous gentiles; *(together with it's farther progreſſe among the* jews, *and* devout gentiles.) *Acts* xiii. *to the end of that book; and from the year of* OUR LORD 44, *to the year* 63.

## CHAP. I.

BARNABAS *and* SAUL *conſtituted* APOSTLES. Acts xii. *ult.*

### SECT. I.

*They carried the charity from* Antioch *to* Jeruſalem. *While* SAUL *was praying, in the ſecond court of the temple, he had his* trance, *or extaſie: Dureing which, he was taken up, into the* third heavens; *and made an* APOSTLE *of the* idolatrous gentiles. *His thorn in the fleſh; and extraordinary gifts.*

An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4.

WE are now procedeing to *the laſt*; and to us, of the race of the *gentiles*, the moſt material; part of *this hiſtory*. CHRISTIANITY had been preached, for about eight years, among the *jews* onely: and, for about three years more, among

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An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. I. Acts xii. ult.

among the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. It's laſt remove was to the *idolatrous gentiles*. And the perſons, who were firſt to carry it to them, were præpared, and commiſſioned, in the following manner. When *Agabus* propheſied of an approaching famine, which ſhould affect *Jeruſalem*, and the whole land of *Judæa*; BARNABAS and SAUL were, both of them, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. And, when the *chriſtians* of *that church* had made a generous collection, for the uſe of the *jewiſh converts* in *Judæa*, they ſent it to the *elders* of the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*, by the hands of thoſe two prophets, BARNABAS and SAUL; who had faithfully labored, for a whole year, among them. It ſeemeth to me highly probable, that, after *Herod* had killed JAMES, the brother of JOHN, with the ſword; and PETER had eſcaped with his life, by a miracle; — the other *James* left *Jeruſalem*; — and that that was the occaſion of there being no APOSTLE then, in that great city. For the perſecution raged ſo, that, very likely, it was unſafe, for any APOSTLE, to continue there, at that time. But, whatever was the occaſion of the abſence of all the APOSTLES, the *chriſtian church* at *Antioch* appeareth to have been acquainted with their abſence. And, therefore, they ſent that charitable contribution, to the *elders*, at *Jeruſalem*; that is, (as I apprehend) unto ſome of the hundred and twenty, who were of the APOSTLES company, when the *holy ſpirit* was firſt poured out: and who were ſuch early converts, as to have ſeen CHRIST, before his death, as well as after his reſurrection.

The wiſe and great GOD, who had long before deſigned to call the *idolatrous gentiles*, into the *chriſtian church*, did now vouchſafe to conſtitute BARNABAS and SAUL, APOSTLES *of the gentiles*, or *uncircumciſion*; when no other APOSTLE was at *Jeruſalem*, from whom they might be ſuſpected to have received their inſtructions, or commiſſion.[a] They had, both of them, been *ſuperior prophets*, in the *chriſtian church*, for ſome time. And BARNABAS was (I ſuppoſe) an *elder* of the firſt rank; *that is*, had ſeen CHRIST in the fleſh; had been an eye-witneſſe of his being alive again, after his crucifixion; and had received the *holy ſpirit*, on the day of *pentecoſt*; as being one of the hundred and twenty. And SAUL had preached, as a *ſuperior prophet*, about ſeven years, to the *jews* onely; and about two years more, to the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. They had, both, been borne

[a] St. PAUL has omitted this journey, from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem*, Gal. i. ii. *chap.* very probably, for this very reaſon; *namely*, becauſe there was no APOSTLE, then, at that city, from whom he could be ſuſpected to have received his *knowlege* of *chriſtianity*, or his *apoſtolic commiſſion*.

borne in *gentile* countries. And, therefore, may be ſuppoſed to have had more reſpect and affection for the *gentiles*, than moſt of the *jews*, who were natives of *Judæa*. SAUL had been converted, and had hitherto preached, chiefly, on *gentile* ground. And he had joined, with °BARNABAS, in teaching *devout gentiles*, for a whole year together, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. By all which, they were, in ſome ſort, trained up, for the next ſtep; which was, to go to the *idolatrous gentiles*.

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It was neceſſary, in order to the being an APOSTLE, to have ſeen OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST alive, after his crucifixion. It is very much to be queſtioned, whether SAUL ſaw JESUS his *perſon*, when he was converted, nigh the city *Damaſcus*; or any more than a *great light from heaven*, which ſhone round about him and his companions. For he appears to have been inſtantly ſtruck blind; as well as to have fallen proſtrate on the ground. And, it is remarkable, that St. LUKE never mentioneth his ſeeing any more than the *light from heaven*; either when he himſelf telleth the ſtory, or introduceth SAUL as reciteing it. The onely objection to this, ariſes from *Ananias* his words, *Acts* ix. 17. *namely*, that "*the* LORD JESUS *had appeared:*" And, *ver.* 27. that "SAUL *had ſeen the* LORD, *in the way*" *to Damaſcus*. But, poſſibly, *Ananias* might mean no more than the other accounts of this matter, which are given us, by St. LUKE and St. PAUL. For the nobles of *Iſrael* are ſaid "to have ſeen GOD." [*Exod.* xxiv. 10, 11.] And, in order to deliver the ten commandments, GOD promiſed, that he would come down, "*in the ſight of all the people*, upon mount *Sinai*." [*Exod.* xix. 11.] And he is ſaid, [*Deut.* v. 4.] "to have talked, *face to face*, with *Iſrael*, out of the midſt of the fire." And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe expreſſions, they ſaw onely *his glory*. For, [*Deut.* iv. 12.] it is expreſly ſaid, "that *they ſaw no ſimilitude*; *onely they heard a voice*." And, [*John* i. 18.] that *no man hath ſeen* GOD, *at any time*. So that *Ananias* his words may ſignifie, that SAUL ſaw the *glory*; but not the *perſon*, *of* CHRIST. And all the relations of that *miraculous* appearence, ſeem to me to imply no more. However; *Ananias* very planely informed SAUL, three days after his converſion, [*Acts* xxii 14.] that "he was ſtill to ſee JESUS, that righte-"ous perſon; and to hear his voice, out of his own mouth. And "then to be a witneſſe, unto all men, [*gentiles, as well as jews,*] of "what he had ſeen and heard." If SAUL had ſeen JESUS, upon the road to *Damaſcus*; it would not follow, that he had then received his *apoſtolic commiſſion* from him. But, I ſuppoſe, he did not then ſee CHRIST's *perſon*. And, conſequently, wanted one neceſſa-

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ry qualification, in order to his being an APOSTLE.[a] This, therefore, was, I think, the ſeaſon, of which he himſelf ſpeaks, *Acts* xxii. 17, *&c.* When he returned to *Jeruſalem*; [*that is*, the ſecond time after his converſion,[b]] even whileſt he was praying in the court of the temple, commonly called *the court of the women*, he was in an extaſie, [or *trance*;] dureing which, he ſaw the LORD JESUS CHRIST, appearing to him, in perſon; who ſpoke to him, and commanded him, ſaying: "Go quickly out of *Jeruſalem*. For "the *jews* will not regard thy teſtimony concerning me. And, there- "fore, I will ſend thee among the *gentiles*." SAUL was ſo much leavened with the national præjudices, that he was ſtartled at the thoughts of going to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and began to make an *apology*; and, in effect, petition that he might continue *preaching* to the *jews*. "For, ſaith he, LORD, they have good reaſon to think me "ſincere; and to regard my teſtimony, rather than another's: ſeeing "they know, very well, how great a *perſecutor* of the *chriſtians* I "have been. And, therefore, they muſt needs ſuppoſe that I had "full evidence and conviction, before I would attempt ſo great "a change." To which the LORD replied: "Thou muſt depart "hence; for I intend to ſend thee, into remote places, and diſtant "nations, to convert the *idolatrous gentiles*. Thou art, indeed, to "go through great trials and calamities. But I will ſupport thee un- "der them; and deliver thee, both from the *jews*, who will often "perſecute thee; and from the *gentiles*, to whom I am now ſending "thee; to open their eyes, and to turn them from error and igno- "rance, to knowlege and holineſſe; and from their *idolatry*, to the "*true* GOD, that they may obtain forgiveneſſe of their paſt ſins; "a ſhare in the privileges of the *church*, and people of GOD, upon "earth; and the happineſſe, reſerved for the virtuous, in the world to "come.[c]" According to the antient prophecies, "Out of *Sion* the "law of the *meſſiah*'s kingdom was to go; and the word of the "LORD from *Jeruſalem*."[d] And, from St. PAUL's own words, it is plane, he had this remarkable trance, or *extaſie*, at *Jeruſalem*; whileſt he was praying in one of the *courts of the temple*.[e]

That ſuch an extraordinary *trance*, or *viſion*, happened to him, at this time, we may gather, from 2 *Cor.* xii. 1, &c. where he is vindi-

[b] He had no occaſion, in that ſpeech, to be more particular about the time. And, therefore, he hath not told there, whether it was the firſt or ſecond time of his returning to *Jeruſalem*. But, by the *chronology* of the *new teſtament*, it planely appeareth to have been the ſecond time of his coming thither, after his converſion.

[c] Acts xxvi. 17, &c. [d] Pſal. cx. 2. Iſa. ii. 3. Micah iv. 2. [e] Acts xxii. 17.

vindicateing himſelf, from the aſperſions, thrown upon him, by the *falſe apoſtle* at *Corinth*; who called in queſtion the truth of *his doctrine*, and repreſented him as one that deſerved no regard; *becauſe his bodily preſence was mean, and his ſpeech contemptible.* "Though it would not "be, otherwiſe, expedient (ſaith he) for me to *glory*; yet, as you, "by the aſperſions, which you have caſt upon me, compel me to it; "I will procede to give ſome account of the extraordinary *viſions* and "*revelations*, which I have been favored with, from the LORD. I "knew a *chriſtian*, above fourteen years ago; [*by which he meant "himſelf; though he modeſtly ſpeaks of it, in the third perſon*;] whether "it happened in a *viſion*, preſented to his *ſpirit*; or he was really "carried, ſoul and body, into heaven; I cannot tell;[f] GOD himſelf "knoweth. But this I know, that (one way, or the other) he was "taken up into *paradiſe*, (as well as into the *third heavens*,) the ha-"bitations of the bleſſed; where he ſaw and heard things, which it "is impoſſible for mortal man to utter." SAUL was favored with this bright diſcovery of the *paradiſaical* and *heavenly glory*, and with hearing ſuch exquiſite and unutterable things; to incourage him, againſt all the difficulties, which he was to meet with; and the perſecutions, that he was to undergo; in preaching the goſpel, unto the world; and, particularly, to the *idolatrous gentiles.*

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That *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Corinthians* was writen in the year of OUR LORD 58. And, as his *rapture*, or extaſie, was a little more than fourteen years before that, it fixeth it to this very time; *that is*, to the begining of the year 44. Some, indeed, have ſuppoſed that he had his *rapture*, or extaſie, at *Damaſcus*; immediately after his converſion; when he lay there, three days, blind and faſting. Others have fixed it at *Lyſtra*; when his enemies had ſtoned him, 'till they thought he was dead. And others again, at *Antioch* in *Syria*; about the time that the *prophets* ſeparated him and *Barnabas*, for the work, unto which the *holy ſpirit* had called them. But I would place it at *Jeruſalem*, and at this time of his being there; becauſe I think it the onely way of accounting for all the hints and expreſſions, concerning

[f] The firſt ſenſe, which ariſes in one's mind, upon reading theſe words, [*whether in the body I cannot tell, or whether out of the body I cannot tell,*] is, "I cannot tell, "whether my ſoul was ſeparated from my body; or I was taken up, ſoul and body "together." But if St. PAUL's ſoul had really been ſeparated from his body, and reunited to it again, that would have been his *death* and *reſurrection.* I am, therefore, inclined to the ſenſe now given; as ſatisfied that St. PAUL did not ſuppſe that, in his rapture, he dyed, and afterwards roſe again; though he might doubt, whether it was a mere *viſion*, or he was really taken up into the cœleſtial regions.

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cerning it, that are diſperſed in the *Acts of the* APOSTLES, and St. PAUL's *epiſtles*. Though he could not tell, whether it was by *viſion*, or by his ſoul and body's being actually carried up into *paradiſe*, and into *heaven*; yet this he was ſure of, that he ſaw the LORD JESUS, alive again, after his crucifixion; and in a ſtate of tranſcendent glory and exaltation. And, from his mouth, he received the *revelation* of that *goſpel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and a full commiſſion, as APOSTLE *of the uncircumciſion*. Hence it was, that he could juſtly ſay, "I have received of the LORD, [JESUS,] "that, which I alſo delivered unto you;" — and call himſelf "An "APOSTLE, not of men, neither by man; but by JESUS CHRIST, "and GOD *the father*, who raiſed him from the dead." And could certifie the *chriſtians*, to whom he wrote, "That the *goſpel*, which "was preached by him, was not according to any mere human inſtruc- "tions. For he received not his *knowlege*, from any man; neither "was he taught it, but by the *revelation of* JESUS CHRIST." Nay; even what he preached to the *jews*, before he was an APOSTLE, was onely what he received, by *immediate revelation*. And ſo alſo was, moſt evidently, what he afterwards preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*.

I have intimated above, that SAUL appeareth to me to have been very young, at his converſion; and not fit to have been made an APOSTLE, immediately; either upon the account of his age, or of his ſtanding in the *chriſtian church*. But, by preaching about ſeven years among the *jews*, and about two years more, to them and to the *devout gentiles*, he had given ſufficient proofs of his ſincerity, and unfeigned zele for the *goſpel*; and convinced the *jewiſh converts*, that he acted with the greateſt integrity, in profeſſing the *chriſtian religion*. Had he, immediately upon his converſion, gone and preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*; it would have been one of the hardeſt taſks in the world, to have convinced the *jewiſh chriſtians*, that he was not ſtill an enemy, in his heart, to *chriſtianity* itſelf. Nay; the *jews*, even to this day, blame him for preaching to the *gentiles*, without requireing them firſt to become *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe* to the *jewiſh religion*.

As St. PETER had his *trance*, and the *revelation* of the *goſpel*, which was to be preached to the *devout gentiles*, whileſt he was praying, on the houſe-top, and (moſt probably) with his face turned towards the *temple*, at *Jeruſalem*; ſo SAUL had his *trance*, and the *revelation* of the *goſpel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gentiles*, whileſt he was praying, in the very court of the *temple* itſelf.

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This *revelation* is what he glories in; and calls *his gospel*, by way of peculiar eminence and distinction. For, not unto any of the APOSTLES *of the circumcision*; but "unto *him*, was this *mystery* first *reveled:* "even unto him, I say, who (by reason of his haveing once *perse-* "*cuted* the *christians*) accounted himself lesse than the least of all "*saints*, was this unspeakable favor shown; that he should be first "acquainted with what had been hid from all former ages and per- "sons; *namely*, that the *idolatrous gentiles*, without *circumcision*, or "any submission to the *law of Moses*, should become fellow-heirs with "the *jewish converts*; and partakers of the promises and privileges of "the *gospel:* and that he should be sent, among the *gentiles*, to preach "those unsearchable riches of CHRIST; and to make all the world see "and adore that amazeing wisdom and goodnesse, which shone so "brightly in the *christian dispensation.* This was enough to elate any "mere man. Lest, therefore, he should be exalted above measure, "through the greatnesse, and excedeing abundance, of the *revelations*, "then discovered to him, there was given him *a thorn in the flesh*; "that the emissary, or messenger, of *satan*, might have something, "wherewith to buffet and insult him."[g] For it is ingeniously conjectured, that the *heavenly glory* made a stronger impression upon his nerves, than human nature, or (at least) his constitution, could bear. It is elsewhere represented as *light inaccessible* to mortal men; and *too full of glory for us to behold and live.* And we read of some of the

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[g] 2 Cor. xii. 7. Ἄγγελος Σατᾶν ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ. "That the messenger of Satan might buffet me." So I would translate the words. [*See Dr.* Whitby *on that text.*] This translation has seemed harsh to some. And yet I cannot approve of our common *english* translation. Suppose, therefore, the words were rendered thus, "There "was given me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of *Satan*, that he might buffet me." Which will bring it to much the same sense with the former. For, in scripture language, *Satan* is often represented as doing what wicked men, who are his tools and servants, actually performed. [*See on* 1 Thess. ii. 18.] However; as the interpreting ἄγγελος, a *messenger*, of any bodily disorder, seems more harsh, I still prefer the former translation.

The *hebrew* particle ו *vau*, is, in "scripture, sometimes, found præfixed to one "word in a sentence, when it must necessarily be transposed in the translation; and "be given, in the sense, before two or more words, which immediately præcede it. "And, if so, the same liberty of language may be allowed, *Gen.* ii. 9. of which, "there is a necessity in other places. [*See the heb. Gen.* xxii. 4.] *And, on the third "day*, Abraham *lifted up his eyes.* [Gen. xxviii. 6. in the *heb.*] *And that, as he "blessed him*, &c. 2 Cor. xii. 7. requires the same transposition. —— The trans- "position of the particle, ἵνα, is very remarkably justified, by a necessity of transposeing the same particle, in the begining of the very same verse. Καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ "τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι. — See *Rom.* xi. 31. 1 Cor. ix. 15. 2 Cor. "ii. 4. Gal. ii. 10." [*Mr.* Kennicot's *dissertation, 2d edition.*]

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*antient prophets*, who were ſick and faint, ſeveral days; after *viſions* which were much inferior to this of SAUL.[h] Very probably, therefore, he was ſtruck with a *ſhakeing palſy*, or ſome other great bodily diſorder; which made his ſpeech difficult and ſtammering, cauſed convulſive and diſtorted motions in the muſcles of his face; and ſo rendered "his bodily preſence mean, and his ſpeech contemptible."[i] This (to ſay the leaſt) is much more likely to have been his *thorn in the fleſh*, than any of the other things, which have been conjectured; and deſerveth great regard, as it ſo well agreeth with all the particulars, recorded by St. PAUL himſelf. GOD had choſen the reſt of the APOSTLES, from among unlearned fiſhermen, and publicanes, and the like; that it might appear that it was not oweing to their own learning and eloquence, that they had ſo great ſucceſſe. And, though SAUL had learning and eloquence; yet the force of his eloquence muſt have been much impaired, by ſuch a diſorder. Now, being to go among the *heathens*, and to ſuch polite places, as *Greece* and *Rome*, where eloquence, and a graceful appearence, were in high eſteem; — he thought this would prove a great obſtruction, and was thereby much diſcouraged. So that he beſought the LORD JESUS, three times, with great importunity, that it might be removed from him. To which the LORD anſwered: "My favor, and extraordinary aſſiſtence, "will be ſufficient for thee; and my ſtrength will be perfected in thy "weakneſſe." Upon which, SAUL gloried in his bodily infirmities; in as much as the leſſe likely he appeared to ſuccede, in ſuch a great work, the more evident was it that a *divine power* reſted upon him. For this reaſon, he took pleaſure in thoſe bodily infirmities; and in the reproaches caſt upon him, becauſe of them. For, though he was weak in himſelf; yet he was ſtrong in CHRIST, and in the power of his might. And it was manifeſt, that the excellence of the power was of GOD, and not of him; and that his ſucceſſe did not ariſe from the inticeing words of human wiſdom, but from the demonſtration of the *ſpirit*, and of *power*. And, that the weapons of his warfare were not carnal, but mighty, through GOD; pulling down imaginations, and every high thing that exalted itſelf againſt the *goſpel*; and bringing into captivity every thought, to the obedience of CHRIST.

[h] *See* Dan. viii. 27. [i] 2 Cor. x. 1; 10. Gal. iv. 13, 14.

CHAP.

## CHAP. I. SECT. II.

### *A more particular account of the* ſpiritual gifts, *which* SAUL *received, when he was conſtituted* APOSTLE of the gentiles.

WE have already given an account of what *ſpiritual gifts* and *miraculous powers* SAUL received, at his converſion; in order to qualifie him to be a *ſuperior prophet*, or *evangeliſt*, unto the *jews*. We are now to inquire into the *gifts* and *powers*, which he received, when he was made APOSTLE of the *gentiles*. 1. By the ſight, which he had, of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, he was inabled to *teſtifie* ſeveral things; and, particularly, that CHRIST was alive again, after his crucifixion. This he is never ſaid to have done before. But, after this, he is frequently ſaid *to have borne his teſtimony*. He had *preached* CHRIST, [or the *goſpel doctrine*] in the ſynagogue; and *proved* JESUS *of Nazareth* to be the *meſſiah*.[a] He had *ſpoken boldly*, in the name of the LORD JESUS; and *taught* the people at *Antioch*.[b] But, now he was to be made an APOSTLE, he was to *bear a teſtimony*, which the *jews* at *Jeruſalem* would not receive. He was, therefore, to carry it to the *gentiles*, to whom the LORD JESUS was now going to ſend him.[c] Or (as it is elſewhere expreſſed) to be *a witneſſe of the things, which he had ſeen; as well as of thoſe, in which* CHRIST *would farther appear unto him*.[d] After this, he *bore witneſſe* that GOD had raiſed JESUS from the dead; as well as intimated that the other APOSTLES were *his witneſſes*; and *teſtified*, both to *jews* and *gentiles*. Upon which *teſtimony*, he grounded his exhortation, of repentence towards GOD, and faith towards OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.[e] And, upon CHRIST's appearing to him, when he was confined, in the tower of *Antonia*, he ſaid: "Be of good chear, PAUL. For, as "thou haſt *teſtified* of me, at *Jeruſalem*, ſo thou muſt alſo *bear wit-* "*neſſe* of me, at *Rome*."[f] Thus *he continued witneſſeing, both to ſmall and great*; and *teſtifying the kingdom of* GOD.[g] And, it is remarkable, that *bearing witneſſe*, or *teſtifying*, is a phraſe, which is very rarely uſed, after CHRIST's aſcenſion, of any, but APOSTLES.

An. Chriſti 43. Claud. 3. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. II. Acts xii. ult.



[a] Acts ix. 20; 22; 29. [b] Acts xi. 26. [c] Acts xxii. 18; 21. [d] Acts xxvi. 16. [e] Acts xiii. 30, 31. and xvii. 30, 31. & xx. 21. [f] Acts xxiii. 11. [g] Acts xxvi. 22. and xxviii. 23.

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what was their plane duty, were bound over to ſuffer the righteous judgments of GOD.

But, beſides the general power, of *remitting* or *retaining the ſins of men*, he could, in ſome caſes, apply this to particular perſons. For, as he thoroughly underſtood *the goſpel-terms of acceptance*, and had the *gift of diſcerning ſpirits*; he could infallibly declare unto ſuch, whoſe ſecret thoughts he knew, whether their ſins would be remitted, or retained; if they perſiſted in the ſame temper of mind, and courſe of life.

Again: SAUL now received, what I take to be principally meant, by the phraſe, of *remitting*, or *retaining*, *the ſins of men*, namely, "a power of ſtrikeing bold, dareing, and incorrigible offenders, "with ſome bodily diſeaſes; and (if occaſion required) with death "itſelf." This was *retaining their ſins*, or denounceing divine judgments; which were immediately [*bound*, or] inflicted upon them. But, when the perſons, ſo chaſtiſed, became penitent, he could *miraculouſly* cure them; as he could likewiſe *miraculouſly* cure the diſeaſes of ſome other perſons; and ſo *remit their ſins*, or cancel their obligations to farther puniſhments. *This power*, as it concerned the *retaining of the ſins of men*, may be called, *the haveing the apoſtolic rod.* For, of *this power*, I apprehend St. PAUL was ſpeaking, [1 *Cor.* iv. 21.] when he ſais, "Which do you (diſorderly *Corinthians*) de-"ſire? Shall I come to you with a *rod*; or in love, and in the ſpirit "of meekneſſe?" And, [2 *Cor.* x. 6.] where he declareth, "that "he was fully able to revenge all diſobedience; after as many of "them, as would take the warning, were reduced to obedience." And again, [2 *Cor.* xiii. 2, *&c.*] where he aſſureth them, "that, if he came "again, and found any of them intractable, he would not ſpare "them; but would give them ſuch a proof, as they would repent, "who had ſo long queſtioned his haveing *ſuch a power*; and perſiſted "audacious and incorrigible." By *this power*, *Elymas*, the ſorcerer, was ſtruck blind; for indeavoring, wickedly and inſidiouſly, to turn away *Sergius Paulus* from imbraceing the *goſpel.* And the APOSTLE threatened to deliver the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, and did actually deliver *Alexander* and *Hymenæus*, "over to *ſatan*, to be tormented in "their fleſh; that the ſpirit might be ſaved, in the day of the LORD." — The *goſpel* is a mild diſpenſation. And *this power* was committed to the APOSTLES, agreeably to the nature of the *goſpel*; that is, for edification, and not for deſtruction. And, therefore, it was uſed very ſeldom, and ſpareingly.

6. SAUL

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For they were *witneſſes, choſen of* GOD, to bear their *teſtimony* to the *facts*, upon which *chriſtianity* was founded.

2. SAUL muſt now have received "that branch of the *word of wiſdom*, which related to the *idolatrous gentiles*." He had, upon his converſion, received the *ſcheme of the chriſtian doctrine*, as far as it was common to all mankind; and, as it particularly concerned the *jewiſh converts*, at that time. But there is no reaſon to think, that he then had any notion of *preaching* to the *idolatrous gentiles*; when St. PETER had not, at that time, ſo much as *opened the door of faith* to the *devout gentiles*. But now, as one branch of this *word of wiſdom*, he was acquainted with the *grand myſtery*, of his immediately calling in the *idolatrous gentiles*. And another branch of it, was, the terms, on which they were to be accepted; *namely*, upon their renouncing *idolatry*, and ſubmitting to the *chriſtian inſtitution*, without any ſubjection to the *law of Moſes*. Accordingly; from this time, he addreſſed himſelf to *them*, and received *them* into the *chriſtian church*, upon theſe terms. And he had great ſucceſſe, and brought over multitudes. Nay, farther; unto PAUL, the APOSTLE, other *myſteries* were reveled: ſuch as GOD's caſting off the body of the *jewiſh nation*, becauſe of their unbelief and diſobedience; the *myſtery of iniquity*; and concerning *the man of ſin, and ſon of perdition*, whereby great corruptions would be introduced into the *chriſtian church*; the *myſtery* of recalling the *jews*, into the *church of* GOD, and adding unto them the fulneſſe of the *gentiles*; and the *myſtery*, that the laſt generation ſhould not die at all, but be tranſformed.

3. SAUL did now receive *the word of knowlege*; as far as it related to the *goſpel*, which he was to preach to the *idolatrous gentiles*: that is, "A clear view of thoſe *prophecies*, which related to the calling in "of the *gentiles*; and a full underſtanding of the confirmation, "which the old teſtament gave, to this remarkable branch of the "*chriſtian revelation*." He had, upon his converſion, received ſo much of *the word of knowlege*, as inabled him to ſhow, how the old teſtament made way for the *goſpel*, which was then preached unto the *jews*. And, therefore, he could not onely argue from the *prophecies*, to convert the *jews*. But, when he had taught them the *chriſtian doctrine*, which was founded upon *facts*, he could build them up, in their moſt holy faith; by takeing off their falſe gloſſes and interpretations, and pointing out to them the true ſenſe of the *law* and the *prophets*. Both his *reaſon* and *extraordinary illumination* taught him, not to appeal to the *prophecies* of the old teſtament, in converting *idolatrous*.

*trous gentiles*; who neither acknowleged the authority of the *jewiſh canon*, nor were they ſo much as acquainted with what it contained. But, when thoſe *idolators* had imbraced *chriſtianity*; and were told, that many of the things had been prædicted, long before-hand, which were now come to paſſe; it was a circumſtantial and confirming evidence, to ſhow them ſuch *prophecies*, and compare them with the accompliſhment; and to point out, to them, the connection between *chriſtianity* and former *divine revelations*. The *word of knowlege* inabled SAUL to do this. And he did not fail to make uſe of it; and that with great juſtneſſe and propriety. An. Chriſti 43. Claud. 3. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. II. Acts xii. ult.

4. SAUL now received the *gift* of *diſcerning ſpirits*. It is dubious whether he received it, in any conſiderable degree, upon his *converſion*. But that he now received it, in an high degree, appeareth very evidenly. For, ſoon after this, he detected the ſecret malice and wickedneſſe of *Bar-Jeſus*, who ſlily indeavored to turn away *Sergius Paulus* from imbraceing the *chriſtian faith*; and perceived, that the lame man at *Lyſtra* had faith to be healed. By this *gift*, he could *try the ſpirits*, and detect the wickedneſſe of the *falſe apoſtles*; as knowing who preached CHRIST, out of a good deſign; and who, out of contention, and a ſpirit of oppoſition. And, by this *gift*, he could "appoint ſome of the *firſt-fruits* of his converſions to be *biſhops* "and *deacons*, in particular *churches*; haveing firſt proved, or tried "them, by the *ſpirit*."

5. SAUL did now receive *the power of binding and looſeing, remitting and retaining the ſins of men*. He could, upon his *converſion*, point out to the *jews* their duty; and *looſe* them from, or *bind* them over to, future puniſhments; as they complied, or neglected to comply. But, he never underſtood their being freed from their former obligation to the *ceremonial law*, 'till now, that he was made an APOSTLE. Nor did he, before this, underſtand what *laws* would be obligatory upon the *chriſtians*, who ſhould be converted from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. But, from this time, he could declare, with certainty, that they were bound to forſake their *idolatry*; to believe in the *one true* GOD, and in his ſon, JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD: and that (though the *jews* would be zeleous to bring them into ſubjection; yet) they were free from all obligations to the *law of Moſes*; the *goſpel* being to them, upon that very account, *the perfect law of liberty*. He could, after this, with certainty, declare to the *gentile converts* the conſequence of their behavior; *namely*, that ſuch as lived according to what the *chriſtian rule* required of them, ſhould be freed from future puniſhments; but that ſuch as neglected, or lived in contradiction to

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6. SAUL now received the *gift* of *propheſying*; not onely as it ſignifieth the *prædiction of leſſer events*: [for the *prædiction of greater events* belonged to *the word of wiſdom*:] but alſo, as it inabled him, by *inſpiration*, to carry on the ſeveral parts of *chriſtian worſhip*: ſuch as "makeing diſcourſes, ſuted to patticular occaſions; ſing- "ing pſalms, hymns, or ſpiritual ſongs; praying to, or praiſeing, "GOD." An. Chriſti 43. Claud. 3. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. II. Acts xii. ult.

7. SAUL now received the *gift of tongues*. How ſmall a degree ſoever of this *gift* he received, upon his converſion; he appeareth, from this time, to have had it, in a very high degree. For he ſaith, [1 *Cor.* xiv. 18.] "he could ſpeak with tongues, more than the *whole church* at *Corinth*:" though they ſeem to have abounded with this *gift*. The *gift of tongues* was now beſtowed on SAUL, that he might preach the *goſpel* to men of any nation, without *an interpreter*. And he had great occaſion for it; when he was ſetting out, to go among the *idolatrous gentiles*, in diſtant countries.

8. SAUL did, now, receive the *gift of the interpretation of tongues*. Poſſibly, he might receive it, in ſome degree, when he was converted. But, now he was to be an APOSTLE, it is likely he received it, in the higheſt degree. For the *inferior prophets* had it. And much more he, who has not a whit behind the chief of the APOSTLES. Hereby he could interpret the old teſtament, from the *original language*; or turn, into the *vulgar* (or any other) tongue, what had been ſpoken, in a language, which ſome of the audience did not underſtand.

9. Some have ſuppoſed that SAUL had alſo one *gift* peculiar to himſelf; or, at leaſt, there is no intimation that any other of the APOSTLES had it: *namely*, "A power of ſeeing what was done at "a diſtance; or of knowing, in ſome caſes, what paſſed in his ab- "ſence, as clearly and exactly as if he had been preſent." The texts, from which it is collected, that he had ſuch *a gift*, are, 1 *Cor.* v. 3, 4. and *Col.* ii. 5. In the firſt of which, he ſpeaks "of being "*abſent* from the *church*, *in body*; but *preſent in ſpirit*; and thereby "ſitting as judge, in the firſt inſtance, and condemning the inceſtuous "perſon:" And, in the laſt, as "beholding the order, regularity, "and ſtedfaſtneſſe, which were among the *Coloſſians*; and rejoiceing "greatly at the proſpect." Some few, both of the *antients* and *moderns*, have ſo underſtood theſe *texts*. And, therefore, I mention this interpretation. But I do it with diffidence; becauſe the generality are not of this opinion. However; it ought to be obſerved, that there is a very plane intimation of *Eliſha* the prophet's haveing ſuch

An. Chriſti 43. Claud. 3. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. II. Acts xii. ult.

ſuch a *gift*. For the heart of *Eliſha* is ſaid to have gone along with *Gehazi*, when *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, turned back to meet him, and made him a preſent. [2 *Kings* v. 25, 26.] And it will be hard to aſſign a reaſon, why an APOSTLE might not, in ſome caſes, have *this gift*, as well as an *old teſtament prophet*: eſpecially, if we conſider the vaſt extent of the province of *the great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles*; the great number of *churches*, which he had under his care; and the continual anxiety he had for their welfare: under which, this *extraordinary gift* might, in ſome caſes, relieve him; as well as greatly redound to their advantage.

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## CHAP. I. SECT. III.

### *The* miraculous powers *conferred on* SAUL, *when he was made* APOSTLE of the gentiles.

BESIDES the *ſpiritual gifts*, which SAUL had, when he was made an APOSTLE, he received ſeveral *miraculous powers*. For inſtance, (1.) He had a greater degree of *fortitude*, than he had, upon *his converſion*. Though he ſeemeth, then, to have received *ſuperior courage*, to what he had, naturally, and before he imbraced *chriſtianity*. Hereby, he *had a door of utterance*; or a proper firmneſſe, and reſolution of mind, to ſpeak freely, and to deliver even harſh and ungrateful truths, before the greateſt perſonages, the moſt auguſt aſſemblies, or the greateſt and moſt implacable enemies. He did, indeed, upon *his converſion*, go and preach CHRIST publicly, in the ſynagogues, at *Damaſcus*; and confounded the *jews*, who diſputed with, and oppoſed him.[a] And, ſoon after, his [παῤῥησία] *fortitude* appeared, in preaching, at *Jeruſalem*, in the name of the LORD JESUS.[b] But, notwithſtanding that, when he was in danger of ſuffering, he with great caution avoided it, before he was made an APOSTLE; being let down by the wall of the city of *Damaſcus*, and fleeing to *Jeruſalem*, to avoid the malice of the *jews*; who had the gates of the city watched, day and night, that they might apprehend him.[c] And, again, when the *helleniſtic jews*, at *Jeruſalem*, ſought to

[a] Acts ix. 20, 21, 22. 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. [b] Acts ix. 28. [c] Acts ix. 23, 24, 25.

to take away his life; he was conveyed, from thence, firſt to *Cæſarea*, and afterwards to *Tarſus*. But, now he is made an APOSTLE, it is obſerved that *he* and *Barnabas waxed bold*, when they firſt began to preach to a number of *idolatrous gentiles*.[d] He indured ſtoneing, at *Lyſtra*, 'till his enemies left him for dead.[e] And, at *Philippi*, he not onely ſuffered his cloathes to be rent off, and indured a ſevere ſcourgeing; and, after that, impriſonment; but, when the doors of the priſon were opened, by an earthquake, he would not go out, 'till the magiſtrates came, and beſought him to depart.[f] He went up to *Jeruſalem, bound in the ſpirit*; [or foreſeeing, by the *ſpirit of prophecie*, that he ſhould be *bound* there;] and not knowing what other afflictions might befal him, in that city; any farther, than that the *ſpirit* had aſſured him, in general, that bonds and afflictions every where awaited him.[g] Nay; when the *prophets* at *Tyre* would have diſſuaded him, from going up to *Jeruſalem*;[h] and *Agabus*, at *Cæſarea*, propheſied, that, if he went up thither, at that time, the *jews* would bind him, and deliver him into the hands of the *romans*; and the *chriſtians* thereupon beged of him, with tears, not to venture himſelf among his enemies: yet none of theſe things moved him to deſiſt from his purpoſe and reſolution.[i] Notwithſtanding the tumult at *Epheſus*, he would have ventured into the theatre, in the midſt of his enemies; if ſome of the *maſters of the theatre*, who were his friends, had not ſent privately to him, and deſired him not to go.[k] Though he was confined, for two years, at *Rome*; yet he went thither a ſecond time; even after the *chriſtians* had undergone a violent perſecution, in that *imperial city*. And there, at laſt, he bravely laid down his life, as a martyr for the *goſpel*; which he had, ſo long, and ſo faithfully, preached. "What *courage* was required in him, who was to un-
"dergo ſtripes above meaſure, frequent impriſonments, indefati-
"gable labors, and repeted dangers of death? Who was to be ſcourged,
"and ſtoned; to ſuffer ſhipwreck; and go through long, tedious,
"journeys? In perils from waters; in perils from robbers; in perils
"from his own countrymen, the *jews*; and from ſtrangers of the
"*gentiles?* Not onely in cities, but alſo in the wilderneſſe; by ſea,
"and by land; from treacherous friends, as well as open and profeſſed
"enemies? Whoſe lot it was, to have many ſleepleſſe nights, and fa-
"tigueing

An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. III. Acts xii. ult.

[d] Acts xiii. 46. [e] Acts xiv. 19. [f] Acts xvi. 22, — 40.
[g] Acts xx. 22, 23. [h] Acts xxi. 4. [i] Acts xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13.
[k] Acts xix. 30, 31.

An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. III. Acts xii. ult.

" tigueing days; to go through hunger and thirſt, and frequent faſt-
" ings; through cold and nakedneſſe, as well as ſcorching heat?
" And who, beſides theſe troubles, had, upon his mind, a continual
" care and anxiety for all the churches? To be brought before *ſanhe-*
" *drims*, kings, and governors; and make an apology for a *doctrine*,
" which was contrary to all men? A *doctrine*, that was not onely ri-
" diculed, by the *gentiles*; but exaſperated his kindred, the *jews*;
" nay, and offended even many of the *chriſtians!* To oppoſe the
" inſincere, and dareing gainſayers; and patiently to bear with the
" weak and ſcrupulous! To go, from a place, where he had been
" uſed with ſeverity, and the greateſt indignity; and yet to begin
" preaching, in the next city, that he came to, with as much chear-
" fulneſſe and reſolution, as if he had every where met with the
" greateſt incouragement, and the kindeſt treatment imaginable! Not
" to count life itſelf dear, ſo that he might finiſh his *apoſtolical office*
" with fidelity; and to ſtand up for *chriſtianity*, when all his friends
" forſook him, and fled! What a degree of *courage* was requiſite in
" ſuch a man, and in ſuch a ſtation?"

2. Though it is highly probable, that he received a *power* of working ſome *miracles*, upon *his converſion*; yet " the *power* of working " greater *miracles*; or of doing common miracles, in ſome ſuperior " manner; was, very likely, conferred upon him, when he was " made APOSTLE *of the gentiles*." Accordingly; [*Acts* xiv. 8, 9, 10.] we find him, not long after this, healing a man who had been lame from his birth; and who could never walk, 'till he commanded him to ſtand upon his feet. And then, immediately, he both leaped and walked. After that, he raiſed *Eutychus* from the dead.[1] Theſe were great and *extraordinary miracles*; ſuch as were worked, by few, or none, but APOSTLES. And, as to his doing common miracles in a ſuperior manner, we have a noted inſtance, *Acts* xix. 11, 12. For " handkerchiefs and aprons, which had touched his body, were carried " to ſick perſons, at a diſtance. And they were immediately healed " of their diſeaſes."

3. From this time we find him poſſeſſed of " the power of confer-
" ing *ſpiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*, upon others, by the laying
" on of his hands." It is altogether unlikely that he ſhould have *this power*, upon his converſion; becauſe it was peculiar to APOSTLES, and he was not then conſtituted an APOSTLE. But, after this, he communicated the *holy ſpirit* to *Timothy*,[m] to the *Galatians*,[n] to the *Theſ-*

[1] Acts xx. 9, —— 12. [m] 2 Tim. i. 6. [n] Gal. iii. 2, 3, 5.

*Theſſalonians*, [o] to the *Corinthians*; [p] and to twelve diſciples of *John the baptiſt*, at *Epheſus*. [q] He longed, alſo, to go to *Rome*, that he might impart unto the *chriſtians*, there, ſome *ſpiritual gifts*; to the end they might be confirmed in their *chriſtianity*. [r] Nay; he ſeems, from many hints in the *Acts*, and in his *epiſtles*, to have imparted the *holy ſpirit*, by the laying on of his hands, to all the adult *chriſtians*, where-ever he came: unleſſe they had received it before. An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. III. Acts xii. ult.

Thus was SAUL qualified, for going out, as one of CHRIST's APOSTLES, *to the idolatrous gentiles.*

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## CHAP. I. SECT. IV.

### BARNABAS *conſtituted* APOSTLE of the gentiles, *at the ſame time with* SAUL. *What* gifts *and* powers *were beſtowed upon him.*

THOUGH SAUL was thus qualified, and put in commiſſion, as APOSTLE of the *gentile world*; yet we have not ſo clear and full an account, when and where BARNABAS received his qualifications, and commiſſion. I have already intimated, that I take him to have been a diſtinct perſon from *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Barſabas*; who was ſet up, along with *Matthias*, as candidate for the *apoſtleſhip*, from which *Judas Iſcariot* fell. [a]

This *Joſes* was a *levite*, borne in the *iſland Cyprus*; whom the APOSTLES ſurnamed *Barnabas*; that is, *the ſon of conſolation*; when he contributed ſo plenteouſly to the charitable fund. [b] I think it not improbable, but that he might have ſeen OUR LORD, before his aſcenſion. For the *fathers* ſay, that he was one of the ſeventy diſciples, whom OUR LORD ſent out, dureing his own perſonal miniſtry upon earth. [c] And he is ſaid *to have been full of the holy ſpirit*. [d] A phraſe, which ſeemeth commonly to denote, that the *ſpirit* was poured



[o] 1 Theſſ. i. 5. and v. 19, 20. [p] 1 Cor. i. 4, —— 7. 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. and xii. 12. [q] Acts xix. 1, —— 7. [r] Rom. i. 11.

[a] See the note on *Acts* i. 23. [b] Acts iv. 36, 37. [c] Clem. Alex. Strom. edit. Potter. p. 489, Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 12. & l. 2. c. 1.

[d] Acts xi. 24.

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poured down, immediately, from heaven; and not communicated, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES. From whence, it is likely that he was one of the hundred and twenty, upon whom the *holy ſpirit* was poured down, at the begining. But, whether he had ſeen OUR LORD, before his aſcenſion; or was converted afterwards; it is evident, that he was a *ſuperior prophet*, and *full of the holy ſpirit*. And, as ſuch, he had preached among *jews* and *devout gentiles*. But now, he became an APOSTLE, and went among the *idolatrous gentiles*. For he had been called, by the *ſpirit*, unto the ſame work with SAUL; and was ſet apart, in the ſame ſolemn manner, by the *prophets*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*.[e] The LORD had commanded him, as well as SAUL, to go and preach unto the *gentiles*.[f] He is expreſly called an APOSTLE.[g] And went, along with SAUL, to the ſame work, of converting *idolatrous gentiles*. When SAUL and he ſeparated, he took a *miniſter* along with him, like an APOSTLE.[h] He is often called AN APOSTLE, by the *fathers*.[i] And, what is more, SAUL, his *fellow-apoſtle* to the *gentile* world, aſſerteth that *Barnabas* had as good a clame as himſelf, to the *apoſtolic* authority and privileges. [1 *Cor.* ix. 4, — 7.] And the three of chief repute among the

[e] Acts xiii. 2, 3. [f] Acts xiii. 46, 47. [g] Acts xiv. 14.
[h] Acts xv. 39.

[i] It muſt be owned the *fathers* uſed the word [APOSTLE] in a lax ſenſe; extending it, ſometimes, to ſuch, as, properly ſpeaking, were not APOSTLES. And though, in ſome places, they call *Barnabas* an APOSTLE; yet, in other places, they term him *apoſtolical* onely; and ſay, that he was *one of the ſeventy, and fellow laborer of* Paul. But, I think, we ought to regard the *ſcriptural* repreſentation, more than that of the *fathers*. And the *ſcriptures* ſeem, to me, to repreſent him as an APOSTLE.

It may be objected, (1.) That *Barnabas* was not eſteemed an apoſtle, properly ſpeaking, by many of the antients. (2.) There is no account, in the new teſtament, of his being advanced to the number of the apoſtles. (3.) *Gal.* ii. 9. St. *Paul* ſais, "when they perceived the grace given unto me;" [which ſeems to be his apoſtleſhip.] And, if *Barnabas* had been an apoſtle, *Paul* could not have avoided ſaying, —— "The grace, that was given *unto us*."

To the *firſt* objection I would anſwer, that the fathers were not the moſt critical and exact interpreters of ſcripture. And that no ſect, nor party, of *chriſtians* will, now, be determined by their interpretations. To the *ſecond*, I would ſay, that the ſcriptures have repreſented *Barnabas* as an apoſtle, and even expreſly called him ſo, though they have not mentioned the exact time and place, when he was conſtituted an apoſtle. To the *third*, I would anſwer, that *Barnabas* had the right-hand of fellowſhip, given him, by *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, equally with St. *Paul*. And the reaſon, why there is nothing ſaid about their perceiveing the grace given unto *Barnabas*, might be, that there was then no oppoſition made to him, in the churches of *Galati*, as there was moſt evidently to St. *Paul*. It is there planely ſuppoſed, that like grace was given unto *Barnabas*; though it is not expreſly ſaid ſo.

the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*; namely, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, acknowleged him for a *brother* APOSTLE; giveing unto *him*, and PAUL, the right-hand of fellowſhip, that they ſhould go among the *heathens*, as the other APOSTLES went among the *jews*. [*Gal.* ii. 9.] As BARNABAS, therefore, was an APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. And, after this, (but never before,) went and preached unto the *idolatrous gentiles*. As he is intimated to have been called, by the *ſpirit*, unto the *ſame work*, and at the ſame time, with SAUL. And they were ſet apart together, *by faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands*. And went out; and, both jointly, and ſeparately, labored in converting *idolatrous gentiles*. —— Conſidering theſe things, I ſay, it ſeems highly probable, that he received his commiſſion and qualifications, at *Jeruſalem*, from OUR LORD, about the ſame time that SAUL received his. It was not ſufficient (I think) that SAUL ſhould, in his *viſion*, be ordered to take BARNABAS along with him. For, though he had ſeen CHRIST in the fleſh, and could (poſſibly) *bear witneſſe* of his being raiſed again; yet that was not all, which was required to conſtitute him APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. He muſt have had *proper revelations*, as well as *a commiſſion*. And it was not agreeable to OUR LORD's uſual method, to give ſuch a *commiſſion*; much leſſe ſuch *extraordinary revelations*; mediately, and by a third perſon. I, therefore, ſuppoſe that BARNABAS did now receive proper *revelations*, as well as a full *commiſſion*, to conſtitute him an APOSTLE *of the gentile world*: perhaps, by a freſh effuſion of the *ſpirit*; or, rather, by a *viſion*; in which OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, himſelf, appeared to him, in perſon. For the *apoſtolic commiſſion* uſed to be given, immediately, by OUR LORD himſelf, to the perſon, who was honored with *that high office*. And SAUL, who was to be his fellow APOSTLE, was now favored with receiveing, both his *commiſſion*, and *qualifications*, immediately from OUR LORD Nay; I ſhould think it very likely, that BARNABAS had ſuch a *viſion*, whileſt he was praying in one of the courts of the *temple*. For a more likely, and proper, time and place, cannot readily be aſſigned.

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It may be deemed a very conſiderable *objection* againſt all this, that St. LUKE, in the *hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES, is intirely ſilent, as to the time when, and the manner in which, BARNABAS was conſtituted an APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. But, to this, it is eaſie to reply; that, antecedent to SAUL's going out, upon *this commiſſion*, St. LUKE hath taken very little notice of his receiveing it. We are left to collect it, from St. PAUL's ſpeeches, afterwards; and from the ſhort and tranſient hints of it, which are diſperſed up and down,

in

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in his *epiſtles*. And, were it not for theſe laſt helps, we ſhould not have been able to give any more account of it, than we can of BARNABAS his receiveing his *illumination*, and *apoſtolic power*. From *the hiſtory*, which followeth, and from the *epiſtles*, we may collect a general account of both. Indeed, that, concerning SAUL, is much more perfect. For the hiſtory of him is related much more largely. And (very probably) he received *more abundant revelations*; though their power and authority, as APOSTLES, were equal.

I do not know whether the *divine wiſdom* might not chooſe theſe two men, for APOSTLES *to the gentile world*, for this reaſon, among others; *namely*, that BARNABAS his ſingular ſoftneſſe of temper, and remarkable goodneſſe, and SAUL's zele and warmth, might make a proper mixture for ſo great and extraordinary an undertakeing. For it was, undoubtedly, an honor to the *divine wiſdom*, that he raiſed up men, whoſe natural tempers, as well as ſupernatural *gifts*, were well ſuted to their functions.

At the firſt view, it appeareth very ſtrange, that there ſhould be *twelve* APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*, and but *two* APOSTLES *of the gentiles*; when the *gentiles* were ſo much more numerous than the *jews*. But, if we conſider that the *gentiles* were, many of them, better diſpoſed to receive the *goſpel*; that theſe two APOSTLES had numerous *aſſiſtents*, who attended upon them, or went and came at their directions; and that PAUL labored more abundantly than all the *twelve* APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*; — it will abate our wonder; and convince us, that the method, which GOD took, was ſufficient to attain the end propoſed.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

SAUL'S *firſt* apoſtolic *journey*, (*along with* BARNABAS, *his brother* APOSTLE) *through* Cyprus, Pamphilia, Piſidia, *and* Lycaonia: *to convert* idolatrous gentiles; *as well as ſuch* jews, *and* devout gentiles, *as were diſpoſed to imbrace* chriſtianity. *Acts* xiiith *and* xivth *chapters.*

## SECT. I.

BARNABAS *and* SAUL *return from* Jeruſalem *to* Antioch; *and take, along with them,* John Mark. *They are recommended to* GOD, *for his bleſſing, by faſting, prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the* prophets *and* teachers, *at* Antioch, *in order to their ſetting out, upon their* firſt apoſtolic journey. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3.

BARNABAS and SAUL, thus qualified, and put in commiſſion, as APOSTLES *of the heathen world*, fulfilled *their miniſtry*, at *Jeruſalem*; which was "the faithfully delivering the charity into the hands of the *elders* there."[a] And then they returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*; takeing along with them *John*, whoſe ſurname was *Mark*. He was nephew to BARNABAS. And it was at his mother's houſe, that St. PETER found the *chriſtians* praying, when he was miraculouſly delivered out of the hands of *Herod*. Of all the APOSTLES, *Mark* ſeemeth to have had a peculiar regard and affection for St. PETER.[b] But, as that APOSTLE was now gone from *Jeruſalem*; and whither, *John Mark* (very probably) knew not; he ſet forward, with his uncle BARNABAS, and with SAUL, upon their *firſt apoſtolic journey*. But, before they go out, they are, by the immediate direction of the *ſpirit*, recommended unto GOD, for his bleſſing: and that in the following manner. The church at *Antioch* in *Syria* (which

An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. I. Acts xiii. 1.

[a] Acts xi. 30. *compared with* xii. 25. It muſt be obſerved, that the laſt *verſe* of *Acts* xii. ought to have been the firſt *verſe* of *chap.* xiii. For *Acts* xii. 24. finiſheth the ſtory of *Herod*'s death, and the effects which it had upon the *chriſtian church*. And then, *ver.* 25. a *new ſtory* is begun; which is carried on, in the following *chapter*.

[b] Acts xii. 12. 1 Pet. v. 13.

An. Chriſti 44. Claud. 4. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. I. Acts xiii. 2, &c.

(which appeareth to have conſiſted of converts from among the *devout gentiles*) was, from this time forward, looked upon, as the *mother-church* to the *gentile churches*; as that of *Jeruſalem* was of the *jewiſh*, or of *all the chriſtian, churches*. For, as the APOSTLES, and *apoſtolic men*, were ſent out, from the *church*, at *Jeruſalem*, to convert *jews*, *ſamaritanes*, and *devout gentiles*; and afterwards returned thither, to give an account of their ſucceſſe: — ſo the APOSTLES *of the gentiles*, and their *aſſiſtents*, were ſent out, from *Antioch*, in *Syria*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and returned thither, to give an account of their ſucceſſe. In that church, at *Antioch*, there was no APOSTLE, before this return of BARNABAS and SAUL; nor were they, as yet, declared to be APOSTLES. But there were, ſome *ſuperior prophets*; and others, who were *doctors*, or *teachers*. And they had, among them, the care of *that church*; governing and teaching it, by an extraordinary aſſiſtence of the *ſpirit*; namely, *Barnabas*; and *Simeon*, called *Niger*, [or *the Black*;[c]] *Lucius*, a *Cyrenæan*, and *Manahem*, who had been brought up with[d] *Herod Antipas*, the *tetrarch* of *Galilee*; and, laſtly, *Saul*.

One day, while they were aſſembled for religious worſhip, and were ſpending their time, in prayer, faſting, and other acts of devotion; the *ſpirit* made known, to *that church*, their *apoſtleſhip*; and, by the mouth of ſome of the *prophets*, there preſent, ſaid: "Separate me BARNABAS and SAUL, unto the work, to which I have already called them." They readily obeyed that divine direction. And, haveing, in a very ſolemn manner, recommended them unto GOD, for his bleſſing, by faſting, and prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the *prophets* and *teachers*; they very affectionately took their leave of them; when they went out, as APOSTLES, *to the idolatrous gentiles*. Not that, by the laying on of their hands, they confered any

Ver. 1. [c] *Niger.*] This is one inſtance, out of many, of St. LUKE's *latinizeing*; where he preſerveth even the *latin* termination. Some have conjectured, that this was *Simon* the *Cyrenæan*, the father of *Alexander* and *Rufus*; who was compelled to bear the croſſe after CHRIST, when he went up mount *Calvary*. For, it is very probable, that he was of a *tawny*, or *black*, complexion; as the *Africans* generally are. The onely objection to this, is, that *Lucius*, who is next mentioned, is called a *Cyrenæan*, by way of diſtinction from the other; as if he had been the onely *Cyrenæan* there preſent. But this *Simeon*, called *Niger*, might be a native of ſome other part of *Africa*. Whoever this *Simon*, or *Simeon*, was; the *romans*, moſt likely, had given him the ſurname of *Niger*, or *the black*.

[d] So σύντροφος ſignifieth. [See 2 *Maccab.* ix. 29.] See, alſo, *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, as quoted by *Raphelius*; who hath obſerved that it was cuſtomary for princes and great men to have boys brought up along with them, as their play-fellows and companions.

any *ſpiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*. For BARNABAS and SAUL were already *full of the holy ſpirit*. And none but APOSTLES could confer ſuch *gifts*, or *powers*. where they were wanting. Neither could the *prophets* at *Antioch* give a *commiſſion*, or *authority*, to theſe two APOSTLES *of the gentiles*. For they had already received *full commiſſion* and *authority*, from OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST himſelf. They, therefore, did no more than pray with, and for, them; and earneſtly implore the divine bleſſing, upon their future labors. In which ſenſe, CHRIST's *miniſters* are *ordained*, now a-days; or *ſeparated* unto their great and ſolemn office. For they derive no *power* or *authority* from *men*; nor can *biſhops*, or *preſbyters*, confer the *holy ſpirit*, by the laying on of their hands. For the age of *miracles* is ceaſed. And none but APOSTLES could confer the *ſpirit*, whileſt it continued.

An. Chriſti 45. Claud. 5.

Book III. Ch. II. Sect. II.

Acts xiii. 4.

*The* firſt period *of the converſion of the* idolatrous gentiles, *was from the year of* CHRIST 45, *to the year* 49. *And, during this* period, *it was not known to any of the church at* Jeruſalem, *that the* goſpel *was preached among the* idolatrous gentiles.

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## CHAP. II. SECT. II.

BARNABAS *and* SAUL (*with* John Mark *to attend upon them*) *go to* Seleucia. *From thence they ſail to* Cyprus. *They preach to the* jews, *and* devout gentiles, *in the ſynagogues, at* Salamis. *They go, through the iſland, to* Paphos; *and there convert the* roman proconſul. SAUL, *from this time, is called* PAUL. *They afterwards ſailed to* Perga, *in* Pamphilia; *from whence* John Mark *returned to* Jeruſalem; *leaveing them to proſecute the work without him.* Acts xiii. 4, — 13.

BARNABAS and SAUL, thus commiſſioned, by the LORD JESUS CHRIST; and ſent out, by the direction of the *holy ſpirit*; went down to *Seleucia* of *Pieria*. It lay fifteen miles below *Antioch*, upon the ſame river, *Orontes*; and five, from the place, where the river falls into the ſea. It was built by *Seleucus Nicator*; from whom it had the name of *Seleucia*. From thence, they ſailed to the iſland *Cyprus*, ſituated in the eaſtern part of the *mediterranean ſea*;

An. Chriſti 45. Claud. 5. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. II. Acts xiii. 4, &c.

being BARNABAS his native country. As *this iſland* was not far from *Judæa*, it abounded with *jews*; and, that they were very numerous there, is confirmed by ſeveral *antient authors*. The firſt place, which they arrived at, in that *iſland*, was the city *Salamis*; which lay upon the eaſtern extremity, and was one of the nigheſt ports to *Syria*. *Chriſtianity* had already been planted, in ſome parts of the iſland; though it was onely among the *jews*. [Acts xi. 19.] But, now, BARNABAS and SAUL frequented the ſynagogues, at *Salamis* (where there were more than one) and preached the *goſpel*, both to the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*. And thus far, *John Mark*, as their *miniſter*, or *aſſiſtent*, waited upon them; and did other leſſer offices for them, and at their direction; as the [ὑπηρέται] *miniſters* did, to the *rulers of the jewiſh ſynagogues*. After that, they travelled, almoſt the length of the iſland, 'till they came to *Paphos*; which was ſituated upon the weſtern extremity, and famous among the *heathens*, for the temple, and the obſcene worſhip, of *Paphian Venus*. There reſided *Sergius Paulus*, the *roman proconſul*;[a] who was a man of good underſtanding, and well-diſpoſed to receive the truth, and obey it. And, as he had heard of the character of theſe two APOSTLES; and (very probably) ſome imperfect rumor of the *chriſtian religion*; he ſent for them, and deſired that they would give him an account of the *chriſtian doctrine*. As he was the firſt of the *idolatrous gentiles*, that ever the *goſpel* was preached to[b]; BARNABAS and SAUL did not go to offer it to him. For they had ſcarce ſhook off their *jewiſh* præjudices. But he ſent for them; as *Cornelius*, the firſt-fruits of the *devout gentiles*, ſent for the APOSTLE PETER; requeſting it, as a favor, that he might hear them preach the *goſpel*. But with the *proconſul*, there was one of the *magi*,[c] a falſe prophet, of the nation of the *jews*, whoſe name

Ver. 7. [a] *Strabo* ſaith [l. 14. *ſub. fin.*] that *Cyprus* was a *prætorian* (and not a *conſular*) *province*. And, therefore, one would think, that, in propriety of ſpeech, *Sergius Paulus* ſhould have been called στρατηγός, vel. ἀνθυστρατήγῳ, *a propræter*; and not ἀνθυπάτῳ, *a proconſul*. But Dr. *Lardner* hath, with great clearneſſe, and moſt ſatisfactory evidence, ſhown, that the *governors of prætorian provinces* were commonly called *proconſuls*. See his *credibility of the goſpel hiſtory*, part i. p. 31, 32. 2d edition, p. 51, &c. 3d edition. & Dio, p. 505. B, C. collat. cum p. 504, C.

[b] That *Sergius Paulus* might leave off his idolatrous rites, from this time, even though he continued in that office; much more if he quitted it; —— See *Moyle's works*, vol. 2. p. 196, 197. I ſuppoſe, if he had quitted his office, upon the account of his haveing imbraced the chriſtian religion, the ſacred hiſtorian would have taken notice of it.

Ver. 8. [c] See the note on *Acts* viii. 9. *Herodotus* [edit. *Gale*, p. 44.] repreſents the μάγοι as one of the nations of the *Medes*. However; he afterwards ſpeaks of ſome of them as *interpreters of dreams*; [p. 46; 51. *ad fin.* p. 52; 55.] and as ſinging over the *Perſian* ſacrifices, and neceſſarily præſideing. [p. 57.]

name was *Bar-Jeſus*. He had a great influence over that *governor*. And, when *Bar-Jeſus*, who was otherwiſe called *Elymas* (which, in the *arabic* tongue, ſignifieth *the magian*) found that the *proconſul* was inclined to hear, and imbrace, the *chriſtian faith*, he ſecretly, and with all his might, indeavored to diſſuade him from it. SAUL ſoon detected his malice and wickedneſſe, and ſeverely reprimanded him; denounceing againſt him the approaching judgments of GOD. Juſt as St. PETER had reprimanded the hypocriſie and wickedneſſe of *Simon Magus*; and, by his *apoſtolic power*, inflicted death upon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, for their fraud and lying, when they pretended to contribute all they had, towards the charitable, *chriſtian, fund.* For SAUL, being full of the *holy ſpirit*, and fixing his eyes intenſly upon *Bar-Jeſus*; he, in an aweful and affecting manner, thus addreſſed him: "You deceitful, malicious, and monſtrouſly wicked, man; "who, by your enmity to truth and holineſſe, prove yourſelf a child "of *Satan*, that *grand apoſtate*. Dare you ſtill perſiſt in perverting "men from the ſtraight ways of knowlege and virtue, in which "the LORD JESUS CHRIST would have all men to walk? Have "you not already too long ſeduced men into error and wickeneſſe, "by your lyeing and hypocriſie? You have, indeed, hitherto eſcaped "with impunity: but you ſhall no longer eſcape. For the hand of the "LORD JESUS, whoſe goſpel you oppoſe, is upon you; the divine "judgments will ſpeedily overtake you. And you ſhall be, for ſome "time, intirely blind, and deprived of your bodily ſight; which will "be a lively emblem of the wilful and affected blindneſſe of your un-"derſtanding, or conſcience." Scarce had SAUL ſpoke the words, when ſuddenly there fell upon *Bar-Jeſus* his eyes a total blindneſſe. And he went about, gropeing, like one in the dark; and ſeeking for ſomebody to lead him by the hand. His being thus inſtantly ſtruck blind, did effectually open the *proconſul*'s eyes. Upon which, he imbraced the *chriſtian faith*; being quite aſtoniſhed at the doctrine of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, which was attended with ſuch *divine power*, and amazeing evidence. And this *proconſul* was the *firſt convert* to *chriſtianity*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*. Now, therefore, did BARNABAS and SAUL begin to execute their *apoſtolic commiſſion*, by laying the foundation of the *chriſtian church*, among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and makeing uſe of the *apoſtolic rod*. And they, very probably, communicated the *gift* of the *holy ſpirit* to the *proconſul*, by the laying on of their hands. For (as it will hereafter appear) they uſually did ſo, to all their *adult converts*.

An. Chriſti 45. Claud. 5.
Book III. Ch. II. Sect. II.
Acts xiii. 8, &c.

An.Chriſti 45. Claud. 5. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. II. Acts xiii. 13.

About this time, alſo, SAUL began to be called PAUL. The reaſons, which have been aſſigned for this, are various and many. I ſhall onely mention the two, which are moſt probable. (1.) Some think that he had the name of PAUL given him, from converting *Sergius Paulus*; as *Scipio* was called *Africanus*, from his conquering *Africa*; and other *romans* had names given them, from ſubdueing other countries. But, I rather approve of the *ſecond* way of accounting for it; *namely*, That he had received, at his circumciſion, the two names of PAUL and SAUL; that is, PAUL, as his *roman* name; for he was borne a freeman of *Rome:* and SAUL, as his *jewiſh* name; for he was a *jew*, and even an *hebrew of the hebrews*. As, therefore, he uſed to be called SAUL, whileſt he continued among the *jews*; that being a more common and acceptable name among them; ſo hereafter, being to go among the *gentiles*, he goeth by the name of PAUL, as what would be better known, and more acceptable, to them.[d] For the ſame reaſon, *Silas*, who was afterwards St. PAUL's great companion, ſeemeth to me to have had alſo the name of *Silvanus*; and to have gone, by the former name, among the *jews*; and by the latter, among the *romans*. For I take him to have been a freeman of *Rome*, as well as St. PAUL. From this time, it is obſervable that St. LUKE, in the *hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES, generally mentioneth PAUL before BARNABAS. Whereas; he had, hitherto, always mentioned him laſt. Nay; in reckoning up the five, who were onely *prophets* and *teachers*, in the church, at *Antioch*, he put BARNABAS the firſt, and SAUL the laſt: becauſe (very probably) BARNABAS was one of the oldeſt, and SAUL the youngeſt, convert, among them. But now, when he became ſo eminent an APOSTLE, *as not to come a whit behind the chief of the* APOSTLES, he is mentioned *the firſt*; as the principal perſon of the ſtory, and the moſt honored of them all.

PAUL, BARNABAS, and MARK, looſeing from *Paphos*, ſailed (moſt probably, up the river *Ceſtrus*) to *Perga*, a town of *Pamphilia*, not far from the coaſt of *Aſia Minor*; nigh to which there was a temple dedicated to *Diana*. There ſeemeth to have been neither a *jewiſh ſynagogue*, nor *proſeucha*, in that town. For we read nothing of their attempting to preach the *goſpel*, there, at this time. But there it was, that *John Mark* left them, and went back to *Jeruſalem*; as ſuppoſeing, perhaps, that St. PETER (in whoſe company he ſeemeth to have moſt delighted) might be returned thither: eſpecially, as *king Herod* was

Ver. 9. [d] Vid. Origen. præfat. ad Roman.

was dead; who had formerly made ſuch an attempt upon the life of that APOSTLE. An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6.

Whether *John Mark* made any ſcruple of receiveing *idolatrous gentiles*, into the *chriſtian church*; or was diſcouraged by the dangers and difficulties of ſuch an attempt; or was prevailed upon to return, merely out of his extraordinary regard and affection for St. PETER; —— cannot now be determined, with any certainty. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 14, &c.

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## CHAP. II. SECT. III.

### PAUL *and* BARNABAS *go to* Antioch *in* Piſidia; *enter the ſynagogue there.* PAUL *made a long diſcourſe; by which he converted ſeveral* jews, *and* devout gentiles. Acts xiii. 14, — 43.

FROM *Perga*, PAUL and BARNABAS went, farther into the country, and came to *Antioch* in *Piſidia*. There they, according to cuſtom, entered into the *jewiſh ſynagogue*, on the ſabbath-day, and ſate down; moſt probably in the chairs of *the doctors*, to intimate their errand. The *antient jews* had divided the *law* into 53, or 54 *ſections*; and the *prophets* into as many. And, by uſually reading a *ſection* of each, every ſabbath-day; and joining two of the ſhorteſt together, for two *ſabbath-days*; they read the greateſt part of the old teſtament over, once every year.[a] Some ſay that the cuſtom

Ver. 15. [a] See *Prideaux his connection*, &c. vol. 1. p. 333, 334. 4th edition, 8vo, 1718. I had once thought that the *jews*, in their ſynagogues, had read through the whole of the old teſtament, once every year. But, in Dr. *Wotton*'s *miſna*, [vol. 2. p. 107.] I find the following obſervations.

" The old teſtament is divided, by the *jews*, into the *law*, the *prophets*, (except " *Daniel*) and what the chriſtian writers call the *hagiographa*, the *jews* onely [*chetu-* " *bim*] *writeings*. The *law* and the *prophets* (under which they comprehend *Joſhua*, " *Judges*, the books of *Samuel*, and the *Kings*) were *read*, in the ſynagogues, every " ſabbath day. The *law*, in it's courſe, as St. *James* obſerves, *Acts* xv. 21. and " ſome particular ſections in the *prophets*, which they call *haphtaroth*, that correſ- " pond to the reſpective *paraſhaes*, or ſections, in the *law*. The other *books*, or " *writeings*, are *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Daniel*, *Chronicles*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, " *Ruth*, *Canticles*, *Eſther*, and *Lamentations*. Theſe were not read, in the ſyna- " gogues, in the ordinary ſabbatic ſervice. As for the *Pſalms*, which are a very conſiderable

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 15, &c.

cuſtom was introduced by *Ezra*. And, indeed, it appeareth to have been of an antient date; though ſcarce ſo antient as *Ezra*. 'Till that reading of the *law* and the *prophets* was over, PAUL and BARNABAS ſate as hearers. But, after the reading of the *ſcriptures*, the *rulers of the ſynagogue* uſed to permit, or deſire, whom they pleaſed, to explane what had been read; or to make ſome uſeful exhortations to the people. And, either knowing ſomething of the character of theſe two APOSTLES; or, perhaps, merely from their ſitting in the chairs of the *doctors*; the *rulers of the ſynagogue* ſent unto them, deſireing, that, if they had any doctrine, or pious exhortation, to deliver unto the people, they would ſpeak freely and openly, in the *ſynagogue*. Then PAUL, (who was generally their mouth, or ſpeaker; as St. PETER was, among the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*) beckoning with his hand for ſilence, addreſſed himſelf, both to the *jews* and *devout gentiles*, ſaying: "You, *Iſraelites*; and you, *gentiles*, "who alſo fear and worſhip the *true* GOD; attend to what I am go-"ing to ſay. The GOD of *Iſrael*, the one onely living and true "GOD,[b] choſe our *fathers*, to bear their teſtimony againſt *idolatry*, and

"ſiderable part of the *hagiographa*, they were never (as I believe) read in courſe, "in the liturgic offices, as they are with us: but ſome of the moſt remarkable of "them, eſpecially of thoſe which related the wonderful things, which GOD had "wrought for their forefathers, were inſerted in their *daily offices*, and in the parti-"cular offices of their ſolemn *feſtivals*; among which, the ſabbath was the chief."

This is confirmed by what Dr. *Lightfoot* has ſaid, vol. 2. p. 1102. of his works. *Vitringa de vetere ſynagoga*, l. 3. part. ii. c. 10.

Ver. 17. [b] The APOSTLES preached the ſame GOD, in whom the *jews* already believed; and would have perſuaded them, likewiſe, to have believed in JESUS *of Nazareth*, as the promiſed *meſſiah*. To convince them that he was ſo, they argued, both from *facts*, and from the *prophecies* of the old teſtament. This was their uſual method of treating both the *jews* and *devout gentiles*. But, when they addreſſed *devout gentiles* alone; they did not recite the *hiſtory* of the old teſtament, and take their riſe from the *renowned anceſtors* of the *jewiſh nation*. No! then it was, "In every nation, he that feareth GOD, and worketh righteouſneſſe, is acceptable unto him." [See *Acts* x. 34, 35.] But, when the *jews* were the onely, or the principal, perſons addreſſed; then they took their riſe from the *hiſtory* of paſt diſpenſations: and, particularly, from *Abraham*, the father of the nation; who was the firſt that was ſeparated from an *idolatrous* world, and had the moſt expreſſe promiſe, "that, in his ſeed, all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed:" as they were, very eminently, in JESUS CHRIST, his great deſcendent. *Abraham*, for his probity, faith, and chearful obedience, was intitled *the father of the faithful*; and good men were ſtyled the *children of Abraham*. His name was in great eſteem among the *jews*, and was as likely as any thing to procure attention. St. MATTHEW, who wrote his *goſpel* more immediately for the uſe of the converted *jews*, begineth OUR LORD's *genealogy* with *Abraham*. St. PETER introduceth his diſcourſe, to the *jews*, with the name of that great *patriarch*. [Acts iii. 13.] So doeth St. STEPHEN. [*Acts* vii. 2.] And,

" and to receive the former revelations of his mind and will. And An. Chri. 46 Claud. 6.
" he increased their numbers, and made them considerable, even
" when they were strangers, in the land of *Ægypt*; and, when they
" were oppressed there, he, miraculously, and by his mighty power, Book III. Ch. II.
" raised them from their low estate; brought them out from thence; Sect. III.
" and as miraculously preserved them, for about forty years in the Acts xiii.
" wilderness; bearing with them, though they were a perverse and 17, &c.
" disobedient people; feeding and cherishing them, as a nursing mo-
" ther does her own children. [c] He hedged them in, by peculiar
" *laws*, from mixing with the *nations:* lest they should learn their
" evil customs; and, particularly, lest they should be infected with
" their *idolatry*. And he destroyed seven idolatrous, and excedeing-
" ly wicked, nations, in the land of *Canaan*[d]; namely, the *Hittites*,
" the *Girgashites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the
" *Hivites*, and the *Jebusites*; in order to plant his people *Israel*,
" there, for a testimony against the *idolatry* and wickedness of the
" world around them. And there they continued, for about four
" hundred and fifty years, [e] governed sometimes by *judges*, whom
" GOD

And St. PAUL, in this place, very naturally, and with great propriety, mentions the name of *Israel*; takeing occasion, from the *history of past dispensations*, to introduce the *gospel-doctrine*. Which was, in brief, that the great promise, made of old to the *fathers*, was now accomplished; and the *messiah* actually come. For the *Abrahamic covenant* and the *gospel* had a great affinity. The *law of Moses* being onely an intermediate state; to preserve, at least, one nation, from *idolatry*, and præpare them for the reception of the *messiah*. May we not hence conjecture, whenever they are said to go to the *jewish synagogue*, and discourse, or preach, or teach *the word of the* LORD, or *the kingdom of* GOD, or *the word of* GOD, or *the word*; that this was their common method, which they used more largely, or briefly, as they saw occasion?

Ver. 18. [c] Ἐτροφοφόρησεν, according to the *Alexandrian* and *Cambridge manuscripts*, and the *syriac*, *arabic*, and *æthiopic versions*. [Vid. *Millium* & *Drusium*.] See how the divine care over *Israel* is expressed, *Deut.* xxxii. 10, 11, 12.

Ver. 19. [d] There are seven nations mentioned, *Deut* vii. 1. *Josh.* iii. 10. and xxiv. 11. But, *Exod.* iii. 8. there are onely six. For the *Girgoshites* are there wanting. The *hebrews* say, that they fled before the face of the *Israelites*, and settled in *Africa*. And *Procopius* mentioneth them among the *Africans*. Vandalicorum, l. 2. [Vid. *Grot. in loc.*]

Ver. 20. [e] Sir *John Marsham*, and others after him, have conjectured, that the judges, in *Israel*, did not reign over the whole nation, one after another; but, sometimes, more than one reigned, at the same time, in different parts of the land. However; the reigns of the several judges, when added to one another, amount exactly to 450 years. And it is likely that that was the common computation of the *jews*, in St. PAUL's days; from which the APOSTLE had no particular occasion to vary. [*See* Whiston's *short view of the chronology of the old testament*, p. 43; &c.] Others reckon that the APOSTLE begins his computation from the birth of *Isaac*, when *Canaan* was promised unto *Abraham* and his seed; and carries it down unto their geting.

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 20, &c.

" GOD raiſed up, as occaſion was. And, when they deſired a king,
" like the ſurrounding nations; he gave them *Saul*, the ſon of *Kiſh*,
" of the tribe of *Benjamin*; who (together with *Samuel* the *pro-*
" *phet*) governed *Iſrael* forty years. [f] And, haveing removed him,
" GOD raiſed up *David*, from a mean and low ſtate of life, to be
" king over his people *Iſrael*. Of whom he teſtified his approba-
" tion, ſaying; *I have found* David, *the ſon of* Jeſſe; (who will not,
" like *Saul*, diſregard my commands; but will prove) *a man ac-*
" *cording to mine own heart*; and govern *Iſrael*, juſt as I ſhall direct
" and appoint. [g] From king *David*, GOD promiſed that the *meſſiah*
" ſhould deſcend. [h] And he hath now fulfilled that promiſe. For
" he hath actually raiſed up that *ſavior*, to *Iſrael*, out of the houſe
" of *David*. And JESUS *of Nazareth* is the very perſon. Before
" him, came *John the baptiſt*, in the ſpirit and power of *Elijah*, to
" præpare the way for his appearence; by preaching up the ne-
" ceſſity of repentence unto all *Iſrael*, and *baptizeing* multitudes of
" ſuch

geting poſſeſſion of that land, and it's being divided unto them by lot, which was about 450 years. And they point and interpret this verſe, thus, — " After theſe " things were tranſacted; which took up the ſpace of about 450 years; then GOD " gave them judges, *&c.*" So that, according to this interpretation, the time, in which the *judges* reigned in *Iſrael*, is not determined in this place.

Ver. 21. [f] *Joſephus* [*Antiq. Jud* l. 6. c. ult. § ult.] hath theſe words, concerning *Saul*. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ, Σαμουήλου ζῶντος, ἔτη ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα· τελευτήσαντος δὲ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. " He [*that is*, SAUL,] reigned 18 years, while *Samuel* was alive; and 22 years, after his death." The *copies* of *Epiphanius* leave out [εἴκοσι 20,] and they are judged, by ſome learned men, to be the moſt correct *copies*, that do ſo. (Vid. *Hudſon in loc.*] But, as all the *greek copies* of *Joſephus* retain the word [εἴκοσι 20.] and the common reading there, is ſupported, by this part of St. PAUL's ſpeech, at *Antioch*, I ſhould be rather inclined to retain it, provided the exact chronology of the old teſtament would admit of it.

Ver. 22. [g] When it is ſaid, that king *David* was *a man after* GOD's *own heart*; it ought to be underſtood of his public (and not of his private) character. " He " was a man after GOD's own heart, becauſe *he ruled his people* Iſrael, *according to* " *the divine will.*" He did not allow of idolatry. He did not ſet up for abſolute power. He was guided, in the government of the nation of *Iſrael*, by the law of *Moſes*, as the ſtanding rule of government; and by the prophet, or the divine oracle, whereby GOD gave directions upon particular emergencies. Whatever SAUL's private character was, he was not a good king in *Iſrael*. He did not follow the *law*, the *oracle*, and the *prophet*; but attempted to be abſolute; and thereby to ſubvert the conſtitution of that kingdom.

That this was the meaning of *David*'s being *a man after* GOD's *own heart*, will eaſily appear, from compareing the following texts, 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14, and xv. 28. and xxviii. 17, 18. 1 Chron. x. 13, 14. Pſ. lxxviii. 70, &c. and lxxxix. 20, &c.

Ver. 23. [h] Iſa. ix. 6, 7. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. *compared with* Pſal. lxxxix. 3, 4; 24; 28.

" ſuch as profeſſed repentence; that they might be pure, and meet An. Chriſti 46.
" ſubjects for that *holy kingdom* approaching. Claud. 6.

" And, though the people in general accounted *John* a *prophet*, Book III.
" and many took him for the *meſſiah*; yet, when he had almoſt ful- Ch. II.
" filled the courſe of his miniſtry, he declared, that he deſerved not Sect. III.
" the honor done him. For he was not the *meſſiah*. But there was Acts xiii.
" one coming after him, whoſe ſhoes he was not worthy to ſtoop down 24, &c.
" and looſe; and that was the *meſſiah* himſelf. The great and emi-
" nent perſon, who came after *John*, and who was actually the *meſ-*
" *ſiah*, was JESUS *of Nazareth*; whoſe APOSTLES we are, travell-
" ing through the world, qualified and commiſſioned by him, to
" publiſh theſe glad tideings of great joy, among *all nations*. And, at
" preſent, more particularly to you, *jews*, and to you, *devout gen-*
" *tiles*, who worſhip the *true* GOD, and whom we look upon, as
" *brethren*, as well as the *jews*: —— Unto both of you, I ſay, is
" this doctrine of ſalvation ſent; though you live not in the promiſed
" land of *Canaan*. Whereas; the *jews*, who dwell at *Jeruſalem*;
" and eſpecially their rulers, being ignorant of his being the true
" *meſſiah*, through their miſinterpretations of the *prophecies* concerning
" him; thoſe very *prophecies*, I mean, which are read in their *ſynagogues*,
" every ſabbath-day;— have, by condemning him, fulfilled what was
" there prædicted.[i] Nay; though they could not juſtly accuſe him of
" any crime, much leſſe of any capital crime; yet they petitioned *Pilate*,
" the *roman procurator*, that he might be crucified. And, when all the
" *prophecies*, concerning his death, and the manner and circumſtan-
" ces of it, were fulfilled; *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, a perſon of diſ-
" tinction, who was one of his diſciples, was permitted to take
" down his body from the *croſſe*; and he, together with *Nicodemus*,
" imbalmed and buried it; laying it in a new ſepulchre, which was
" hewn out of a rock. But, though a great ſtone was laid, to ſtop
" the mouth of the ſepulchre, and *Pilate*'s ſignet fixed upon it, and a
" guard of *roman* ſoldiers ſet to watch the body; yet GOD raiſed him
" from the dead. And, by all their care, they could not prevent his
" reſurrection, or reſiſt the *divine power*. Of the truth and reality
" of his reſurrection, there were ſufficient *witneſſes*. For he appeared,
" once and again, for ſeveral days together, unto them, who had been
" well acquainted with him before his death; who had gone up with
" him, from *Galilee*, to *Jeruſalem*; and who were ſo thoroughly ſatis-
" fied that he was riſen again, as to be competent, and unexceptionable,



Ver. 27. [i] More particularly the liii[d]. *chapter* of *Iſaiah*; and *Dan.* ix. 26.

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. III. Acts xiii. 31, &c.

" *witneſſes* unto the people. And we join with them, in *bearing teſ-*
" *timony*. For this is our meſſage to you, at this time: *namely*, That
" the grand and antient *promiſe*, of a *meſſiah*, which was frequently
" made, and repeted, to *our fathers*, GOD hath now fulfilled, unto
" us, their children; and that, by raiſeing up JESUS from the dead,
" he hath given a ſtrong and remarkable evidence of his being the ve-
" ry perſon. For of him it is writen, in the *ſecond pſalm*, [k] *Thou*
" *art my ſon, this day have I begoten thee*; that is, Thou art LORD
" and heir of all things, as being the firſt-begoten (or firſt-borne)
" from the dead. And, by haveing raiſed him from the dead, (not
" as the other perſons, who were raiſed before him, to die again;
" but) ſo as that he ſhould never die any more; he hath fulfilled
" other *prophecies*: particularly, *Iſa.* lv. 3, *&c.* where he promiſeth
" to make an everlaſting covenant, and to grant the ſure mercies of
" *David*, or of *the ſon of David*; who was to be a witneſſe to the
" people of *Iſrael*, and likewiſe to accept the other nations, into
" his kingdom. Now, if the *meſſiah* had continued in the grave,
" and never been exalted to his power and dominion, he could not
" have performed his part of *the everlaſting covenant*; nor bleſſed
" the world with the great mercies, promiſed to the *houſe of Da-*
" *vid*. Wherefore, in another *pſalm*, [l] he thus addreſſeth his father,
" *Thou wilt not ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption*. Which ex-
" preſſions cannot, with that propriety and emphaſis, be applied to
" *king David*, as they may to JESUS, his great deſcendent. For
" *David*, after he had done the work of his day, did, by the will
" and appointment of GOD, fall aſleep; and was gathered to his
" mortal progenitors; and his body is long ſince reduced to corrup-
" tion and rottenneſſe. But this was literally fulfilled, in JESUS *of*
" *Nazareth*, whom GOD raiſed from the dead, on the third day;
" *that is*, before his body was corrupted. Seeing, therefore, GOD
" of old promiſed him; the *antient prophets* propheſied of him;
" *John the baptiſt* præpared the way before his coming; and point-
" ed out JESUS *of Nazareth* to the people, as the very perſon: See-
" ing

Ver. 33. [k] Some *manuſcripts* and *fathers* read here the *firſt pſalm*. [vid. *Mill.*] Which hath made ſome to look upon what we call the *firſt*, to have been either an introduction to the whole *book of pſalms*; or to have been formerly joined to the *ſecond*, as a part of that *pſalm*. And, accordingly, by ſome of the antients, the firſt and ſecond were reckoned as but one pſalm. —— The *pſalms* were originally divided. But the *diviſion* of the other parts of *ſcripture*, into diſtinct *chapters*, is not ſo antient. And in many places, the *diviſions* are not ſufficiently judicious and accurate.

Ver. 35. [l] Pſalm xvi. 10.

" ing GOD hath raiſed from the dead, never to die any more; and An. Chriſti 46.
" ſo many hundreds, now living, can bear witneſſe of the truth Claud. 6.
" and reality of his reſurrection: —— Be it known unto you, Book III.
" that faith in him, and a conformity to *that doctrine*, which he Ch. II.
" hath ſent us to publiſh among you, will juſtifie you, from all your Sect. III.
" paſt ſins; from the guilt of many of which, you could not be juſ- Acts xiii.
" tified, by the *law of Moſes*. And let me intreat you to take heed, 38, &c.
" leſt, by your rejecting this propoſeal, that be applicable to you,
" which one of the *antient prophets* [m] ſpoke, upon another occaſion,
" unto ſuch as were then wicked and diſobedient: *Behold, you, that*
" *deſpiſe my meſſage, be aſtoniſhed; and go away and hide yourſelves,*
" *with ſhame and confuſion of face. For, though I am doing ſuch a*
" *thing, in your days, as is great, extraordinary, and ſurprizeing;*
" *yet you will not believe and regard it; even though it be declared*
" *unto you, with ſo much planeneſſe and convinceing evidence.*"

When PAUL had made an end of ſpeaking, the *jews*, went out of the ſynagogue, and the *devout gentiles* (who were, of all others, the beſt diſpoſed for the reception of *chriſtianity*) tarried behind; and they deſired of PAUL and BARNABAS, that this *doctrine* might be preached to them, [n] in the following week, and before the next *ſabbath-day* [o]; *that is*, on the ſecond and fifth day of the week, on which they uſed to aſſemble, at the ſynagogue, as well as on the ſabbath-day. When the congregation was broken up, ſeveral of the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*, followed PAUL and BARNABAS, and imbraced the *chriſtian religion*: whom the APOSTLES farther inſtructed in the *ſcheme of the goſpel-doctrine*; and exhorted them, by all means, to perſevere in *that religion*, which they had now imbraced.

Ver. 40. [m] Hab. i. 5. *The twelve leſſer prophets* uſed to be bound together, and quoted as one book. And, therefore, inſtead of mentioning the *particular prophet*, the *jews* uſed to ſay, " The *prophets* have ſaid ſo and ſo."

Ver. 42. [n] Παρεκάλεν τὰ ἔθνη, *They beſought the gentiles*; or *the gentiles beſought them.*] The words are capable of either interpretation. But I prefer the latter, becauſe we have no other inſtance of the APOSTLES beſeeching perſons to hear them; but ſeveral, of perſons beging, or deſireing, to hear them. And the latter was more becomeing the dignity of their high office. We have an inſtance, *ver.* 48, of *this chapter*; where the *nominative caſe* follows it's *verb*, as I ſuppoſe it doeth here. Καὶ ἐπίσευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. There are other inſtances, *John* ii. 11. *Rom.* xi. 7.

[o] See *Lightfoot*'s *works*, vol. 1. p. 291. But the words ſhould be read thus, εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σαββάτων. See *Grotius*, *Druſius*, *Scaliger*, & *Caſaubon*, in loc.

## CHAP. II. SECT. IV.

*The* idolatrous gentiles *flock to the ſynagogue, the next* ſabbath-day. *The* jews, *being exaſperated, blaſpheme.* PAUL *and* BARNABAS waxed bold, *and preached to the* idolatrous gentiles; *gathering the* firſt church *of them, there. The* unbelieving jews, *upon that, raiſe a* perſecution *againſt the two* APOSTLES; *who, notwithſtanding, behave with great meekneſſe and patience.* Acts xiii. 44, — 52.

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. IV. Acts xiii. 44, &c.

THE coming of the two APOSTLES, and their preaching in the *ſynagogue*, the firſt *ſabbath-day*, had made a great noiſe, and alarmed all the city; and their teaching the *devout gentiles*, in the ſucceedeing week, had increaſed the rumor. Upon which, almoſt all the inhabitants flocked to the ſynagogue, the next *ſabbath-day*, to hear them preach the *chriſtian doctrine*; that is, the *idolatrous gentiles* came now, as well as the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*. But, when the *jews* ſaw the multitude of *idolatrous gentiles* flocking to their ſynagogue, and that the two APOSTLES were the occaſion of it; they loſt all patience. And, envying them, upon the account of the fame and reputation, which they had acquired, in ſo ſhort a time, they openly oppoſed the *chriſtian doctrine*; contradicting what PAUL ſaid, and that with reproachful and railing ſpeeches. [a] For the temper of the *jews* was every where alike, inveterately bent againſt the reception of the *gentiles*; unleſſe they would firſt be circumciſed, and become ſubject to the whole law. The two APOSTLES, haveing gained moſt of the *jewiſh converts*, which they expected there; and the reſt being thus notoriouſly hardened; they indeavored to provoke them to jealouſie, by takeing in the *idolatrous gentiles*; whom the *jews* had never, in the leaſt degree, regarded as the people of GOD. But, as this was the firſt time of preaching

Ver. 45. [a] Now the beautiful *parable* of the elder brother's murmuring, at the return of the *prodigal ſon*, was remarkably fulfilled. [See *Luke* xv. 25, &c.]

preaching the *goſpel* to any number of *idolatrous gentiles*; and was a new, a vaſt, attempt; and, in the account of the whole nation of the *jews*, an attempt that was excedeing odious; it required no ſmall degree of reſolution and *fortitude*, to ſet about it. Accordingly; it is taken notice of, by the ſacred hiſtorian, St. LUKE, that, upon this occaſion, PAUL AND BARNABAS WAXED BOLD; *that is*, they were animated with ſufficient courage, publicly to tell the *jews* ſo harſh and ungrateful a truth, ſaying: "It was neceſſary for us, ac- "cording to the wiſe order and appointment, which we received "from heaven, to preach the *goſpel*, firſt, unto you, *jews*. But "*chriſtianity* is not, like the *Moſaic diſpenſation*, confined to you "alone. No! as you ſo generally reject the gracious offer, and there- "by *condemn* [b] yourſelves, as unworthy of the bleſſings and privileges "of the *meſſiah*'s *kingdom*; and, particularly, of that greateſt bleſſing "of eternal life and happineſſe; behold we will, for the future, ap- "ply ourſelves onely to the *gentiles*, [c] in this city; (*that is*, ſuch as "have formerly been *idolatrous*, as well as *devout*, *gentiles*;) and re- "ceive, as many of them, as will imbrace the *goſpel*, into the *chriſ- "tian church*. For, ſo hath the LORD JESUS CHRIST commanded "us. And it is agreeable to what the *antient prophets* have prædicted; "particularly, *Iſaiah*, [chap. xlix. 6.] where the *meſſiah* haveing "complained of his laboring in vane, among the *jews*, GOD an- "ſwereth him: "*Though* Iſrael *ſhould not be gathered, yet he ſhould "be glorious in the eyes of the* LORD; *and* GOD *would be his ſtrength "and ſupport*. However; he adds, that he ſhould have ſucceſſe "elſewhere. *For it is a light thing* (ſaith GOD) *that thou ſhouldeſt "be my ſervant, to raiſe up the tribes of* Jacob, *and to reſtore the "præſerved of* Iſrael. *I will, alſo, give thee for a light to the* gentiles, [d] "*that thou mayeſt be my ſalvation, unto the ends of the earth.*" And, when even the *idolatrous gentiles* heard that ſuch things had been propheſied, concerning them, many ages ago; and that the LORD JESUS had commanded his APOSTLES to make them the offers of ſalvation, and accept them into the *chriſtian church*, without *circumciſion*, and obſerving the *law of Moſes*; they were excedeing glad; and highly applauded the *goſpel-diſpenſation*, for it's benevolence and extenſive charity. And as many of them as were diſpoſed for an eternal life [e] of perfection and felicity, openly imbraced the *chriſtian religion*; as

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. IV. Acts xiii. 46, &c.

Ver. 46. [b] Κρίνετε. *See* Matt. vii. 1, 2. John iii. 17, 18. [c] Rom. xi. 30.
Ver. 47. [d] Luke ii. 32. Acts xxvi. 17, 18.
Ver. 48. [e] Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *As many as were diſpoſed for eternal life, believed.*] The word τεταγμένοι moſt commonly ſignifieth, *diſpoſed*,

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. IV. Acts xiii. 48, &c.

as the moſt apt and proper mean to præpare them for that perfect and glorious ſtate. Thus was the *kingdom of* GOD taken from the unbelieving and diſobedient *jews*, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.

After this, the *chriſtian doctrine* was carried through all the ſurrounding country. For it was their common, and wiſe method, to begin with a city; and afterwards to plant *chriſtianity* in the adjacent towns and villages.

As *Antioch* in *Piſidia* was a *gentile* city, the *jews* had not the civil power in their hands. But they were ſo incenſed at the ſucceſſe of the two APOSTLES; and particularly at the reception of the *idolatrous gentiles*, without requireing them firſt to become *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*; that they exaſperated ſome women, who were *devout gentiles*, and perſons of ſome quality and diſtinction. And, by their means, drew their huſbands, or ſuch other leading men of the city as they could influence, into their quarrel. And ſo raiſed a perſecution againſt PAUL and BARNABAS, and drove them out of their territories: though they had deſerved other treatment at their hands. In return for ſuch cruel and unjuſt uſeage, they did not call for fire from heaven to deſtroy them; nor work a *miracle* to do them any, the leaſt, harm; no; nor did they ſo much as curſe them, or thunder out their *anathemaes* againſt them. They onely, according to the injunction of their LORD and *maſter*, [*Matt.* x. 14. Luke ix. 5. *and* x. 10, 11.] meekly

*diſpoſed, or ſet in order.* And hence it is very frequently uſed, as a *military term*, for the regularly drawing up, or ſetting in order, *an army*. So it is uſed by St. LUKE, *chap.* vii. 8. and by *Xenophon*, *Cyropæd. edit. Hutchiſon*, 4to, l. 2. p. 148. — Εἰς μάχην τεταγμένος· & l. 5. p. 328. Καὶ ἡ ἀλλὴ δὴ στρατία ἐπορεύετο τεταγμένη· and in many other places. [See *Wolfius in loc.*] So, alſo, it is ſaid to be uſed by *Plato*, *Thucydides*, *Julian*, *Ælian*, and *Philo Judæus*. And what ſhoweth that it doeth not here refer to the *decrees* of GOD, but to the diſpoſition of the minds of theſe *gentiles*, is, it's being uſed by way of *antitheſis* to the perſons mentioned, *ver.* 46. *that is*, to the *unbelieving jews*; who, by their obſtinacy and wickedneſſe, condemned themſelves, as unworthy of eternal life. Whereas; on the contrary, ſeveral of theſe *gentiles*, by their candor and probity of mind, manifeſted in ſo readily ſubmitting to truth and evidence, and imbraceing *a religion*, ſo different from what they had received, and ſo contrary to their worldly intereſt; —— ſhowed themſelves to be *well diſpoſed* for the reception of the *goſpel*. And, as many of them as were *ſo diſpoſed*, imbraced the *chriſtian religion*; as the beſt mean to præpare them for an endleſſe life of the greateſt virtue and purity; as well as of the greateſt glory, and moſt perfect happineſſe.

In this ſenſe, the *ſyriac*, one of the moſt antient *verſions* of the new teſtament, hath rendered theſe words. Which is of great moment: as that *tranſlation* was made, before the ſenſe of this place was diſputed, by the different *ſects* and *parties* of *chriſtians*.

meekly ſhook off the duſt of their feet, to teſtifie that they had been preaching the *goſpel* among them: and that, if they did periſh in their ſins, they were free from their blood, and had delivered their own ſouls. The next place, which they went to, was *Iconium*. But the diſciples, whom they had made, at *Antioch*, were (notwithſtanding the perſecution) *filled* with joy, and with the *holy ſpirit*. Which phraſe, [of *being filled with the holy ſpirit*,] is generally made uſe of, to intimate that the *ſpirit* fell down from heaven, immediately; and was not communicated, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES. And that was, perhaps, the caſe with this *firſt church* of *idolatrous gentiles*; as we are aſſured it was, with the firſt-fruits of the *devout gentiles*. [Acts x. 44, *&c.*] And we may alſo obſerve, that, as the *firſt, and moſt conſiderable, church* of *devout gentiles*, was at *Antioch* in *Syria*; ſo the *firſt church*, gathered from among the *idolatrous gentiles*, was at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*.

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. IV. Acts xiii. 51, 52.

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## CHAP. II. SECT. V.

PAUL *and* BARNABAS *went to* Iconium; *preached in the ſynagogue there; made ſeveral converts, both among the* jews *and* devout gentiles. *The* unbelieving jews *and* gentiles *conſpired againſt them; and drove them from thence, to* Derbe *and* Lyſtra. *Acts* xiv. 1, — 7.

BEING driven from *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, they went yet farther into the country; and came to *Iconium*, a town, or ſmall city, of *Lycaonia*, ſituated at the foot of *mount Taurus*. And there, alſo, was a ſynagogue of the *jews*; into which, PAUL and BARNABAS entered, and preached the *chriſtian doctrine*, ſo ſucceſsfully, that many were converted, both of the *jews*, and of the *devout gentiles*. [But the *unbelieveing jews*, their ever implacable enemies, by wicked and unjuſtifiable methods, exaſperated the minds of their neighbors, the *idolatrous gentiles*, againſt the new converts to *chriſtianity*.] However; as they had ſuch ſucceſſe, the two APOSTLES tarried a conſiderable time there, ſpeaking openly and undauntedly in the name of the

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. V. Acts xiv. 3, &c.

the LORD JESUS; who gave teſtimony to the truth of the *goſpel-doctrine*, by inableing them to work *miracles* of ſeveral kinds.[a] And, though the *unbelieving jews* were active, and with great malice ſtirred up as many of the *gentiles*, as they could influence; yet the people of the city were divided; ſome takeing part with the *unbelieving jews*; and others with the *chriſtians*, and the two APOSTLES. Which kept off the perſecution, for ſome time longer. And, at laſt, when that party of the *jews* and *gentiles*, who were againſt them, had conſpired together, and prevailed, upon the magiſtrates of the city, to uſe them in a baſe and cruel manner; and to ſtone them, as blaſphemers of the *law of Moſes*[b]; the two APOSTLES got information of the violent attempt, that was going to be made; and fled, firſt to *Derbe*, and afterwards to *Lyſtra*,[c] two other cities, or towns, of *Lycaonia*;[d] and to other places in the neighborhood. And there, alſo, they preached the *goſpel*; 'till the people were aſtoniſhed, and much affected with their doctrine.[e] For GOD often bringeth this good out of evil, to ſpread the *goſpel*, by the perſecution raiſed againſt ſuch as preach it.

Ver. 3. [a] I apprehend that verſe the 2d ſhould be read in a parentheſis. For the connection of theſe three verſes ſeems to be this, "As many of the *jews* and *gentiles* "believed, (though the unbelieving *jews* exaſperated others of the *gentiles* againſt "them) therefore they tarried there a long time, *&c.*" [See *ver.* 4.]

Ver. 5. [b] Deut. xiii, 6. *&c.* Ver. 6. [c] Matt. x. 23.

[d] Some reckon them cities of *Iſauria*, the neighboring province. I ſuppoſe St. *Luke* knew that they then belonged to *Lycaonia*. But towns upon the borders of two provinces were ſometimes taken into the one, and ſometimes into the other.

Ver. 7. [e] See the different readings of the *manuſcripts* and *verſions*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II. SECT. VI.

*The lame man at* Lyſtra *miraculouſly cured. The* heathens *would have ſacrificed to the two* APOSTLES, *as* two gods. *The* APOSTLES *with difficulty reſtrain them, and preach the* goſpel *to them.* Acts xiv. 8, — 18.

AT *Lyſtra*, there happened the following remarkable occurrence. St. PAUL was preaching to a multitude of the inhabitants of that city, who were moſt of them *idolatrous gentiles.* And, among the reſt of his hearers, there ſate a man, who had been lame from his birth; and ſo impotent in his feet, that he had never been able to walk. This man gave great attention to the APOSTLE's diſcourſe. And St. PAUL, looking intenſly upon him; and, (by the *gift* of *diſcerning the ſecret thoughts of men*) perceiveing that he had faith ſufficient to receive the cure; he inſtantaneouſly, and miraculouſly, healed him. Juſt as St. PETER, the great APOSTLE *of the circumciſion*, cured the man, at the beautiful gate of the temple, who had likewiſe been lame from his birth. For, as ſoon as ever St. PAUL had ſaid, with a loud voice, "In the name of JESUS CHRIST, I "command you, and give you power, to ſtand upright, upon your "feet[a];" the man tried to do ſo, and found himſelf, at once, ſtrong and ſound. And immediately, before all the people, he leaped up, and walked. And, when the people ſaw what a miraculous and inſtantaneous cure the APOSTLE had worked, they ſhouted aloud, in a kind of extaſie and ſurprize; and, in the *Lycaonian*, or *Cappadocian*, language, (which many take to have been a *dialect* of the *greek*) they ſaid: "The *gods* are come down to us, (as we have heard they "do ſometimes) in the ſhape and appearence of men." And they called BARNABAS *Jove*; who was their *chief god:* very probably, becauſe BARNABAS had a better preſence, and a more grand and majeſtic appearence. And, becauſe PAUL was the chief ſpeaker, they called him *Mercury*; whom the *heathens* have repreſented as the *god of eloquence*, or as the meſſenger of the *ſuperior gods*; and, particularly,

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VI. Acts xiv. 8, &c.



Ver. 10. [a] See the *manuſcripts* and *verſions*, mentioned by *Beza* and Dr. *Mill.*

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VI. Acts xiv. 12, &c.

ly, of *Jove*; and the interpreter of his mind and will. For *Jove* was thought to carry *Mercury* along with him, when he appeared, upon earth, in an human ſhape. The image of *Jove* ſtood before one of the gates of *Lyſtra*. For they looked upon that *god*, as the peculiar *guardian and protector of their city*. And, upon this miracle, the prieſt of *Jove*, and with him a great multitude of people, brought oxen crowned with garlands, to the gates of the houſe, where PAUL and BARNABAS lodged; and were going to ſacrifice the oxen to the two APOSTLES; as they uſed to do to their *deities*.[b] But PAUL and BARNABAS (far from receiveing ſuch homage, with pleaſure and elation of mind; as king *Herod* did the blaſphemeous applauſes of the people, upon a far leſſe occaſion) ran, with great zele, in among them; and, as unable to bear the very mention of ſuch a thing, without horror and concern, they rent their cloathes, (by which the *eaſtern nations* uſed to ſhow their grief, or indignation,) and with great earneſtneſſe ſpoke to them, to this effect: "Alas! we deſigned no "ſuch thing; but had quite other views, than ſetting up ourſelves to "be worſhiped. For we are onely frail and mortal men, like your-"ſelves; liable to the evils and afflictions of life, and ſubject to "death, as well as other men.[c] We neither claim, nor deſerve, any "ſuch homage. On the contrary, our buſineſſe and errand unto "you, at this time, is, to perſuade you to turn from theſe vanities, "*theſe lifeleſſe idols*, unto the liveing and true GOD: that *one* GOD, "who made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all things that are therein. "Who, for many ages, hath left all nations (except the *jews*) to "the *light of nature* alone; to uſe, or abuſe it, as they were diſ-"poſed.[d] Nevertheleſſe, they are culpable, for their *idolatry*, and "other abuſes of the light afforded them; in as much as the works of "creation always manifeſt the being of the true GOD. And it is a "plane evidence of his goodneſſe, power, and providence; in that "he, the one true GOD, is the author of all good; and ſendeth "rain from heaven, and fruitful ſeaſons, to the juſt and unjuſt; not "onely

Ver. 13. [b] See *Grotius* on this place, who thought that the two apoſtles were to be crowned with the garlands. But that it was uſual to put garlands upon the heads of the victims, ſee *Lucian de ſacrificiis*, p. 368. ἀλλ' οὔτε θύσαι, στεφανώσαντες τὸ ζῶον... προσαγάγοι τῷ βωμῷ. Others, therefore, have thought that the oxen were already crowned with the garlands; or were to be ſo crowned. [See *Wolfius* and *Doughtæus in loc.*]

Ver. 15. [c] Not *men of like paſſions*, or *as wicked, luſtful, and paſſionate, as you are*. [See on *James* v. 17.]

Ver. 16. [d] The prophet (except *Jonah*) ſeems to have been ſent to the *gentile* world, from the days of *Noah*, or *Abraham*. 1 Pet. iii. 20. Acts vii. 2, 3.

" onely provideing neceſſaries for mankind, but filling their hearts with " joy and gladneſſe; and thereby inviteing ſiners to repent, and hope " for mercy." And, with all theſe arguments, they could ſcarce reſtrain the people from ſacrificeing to them. —— This remarkable humility, in ſo uncommon an inſtance of popular applauſe, planely ſhowed by what *ſpirit* they were acted. An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VI. Acts xiv. 17, 18.

It appeareth to have been, in this city of *Lyſtra*, and at this time, of the APOSTLE's being there, that *Lois*, *Eunice*, and *Timothy*, were converted to the *chriſtian faith*. For St. PAUL calleth *Timothy*, *his own convert*, or *ſon*, *in the* chriſtian faith. [1 *Tim.* i. 2.] Some have thought that *Timothy*'s parents came from *Theſſalonica*; becauſe he is reckoned among the meſſengers of the church of the *Theſſalonians*. [Acts xx. 4.] However; he appeareth to have been a native of *Lyſtra*; and to have been converted, there, at this time. For, when they came hither again, [*Acts* xiv. 21, 22.] they onely *confirmed* the *diſciples*, whom they had already made. And, the next time of St. PAUL's coming to *Lyſtra*, [Acts xvi. 1, *&c.*] it is intimated that *Timothy* had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the *chriſtians*. And, conſequently, had been converted, ſome time before. But, if *Timothy* was now converted, it is highly probable that he had not as yet, any of the *gifts* of the *holy ſpirit*, or any *miraculous powers*, imparted to him, by the laying on of the hands of the APOSTLES. They did, indeed, uſually impart the *holy ſpirit* to *all adult converts*, immediately after *baptiſm*. But *Timothy* ſeemeth now to have been ſome years under twenty. And, therefore, he could not yet be reckoned among the *adult*.

## CHAP. II. SECT. VII.

*The unbelieving* jews, *from* Antioch *and* Iconium, *follow them to* Lyſtra; *and incite the people to ſtone St.* PAUL. *When they had left him for dead, he recovered; and went to* Derbe, *where he preached with good ſucceſſe.* Acts xiv. 19, 20, 21.

An. Chriſti 46. Claud. 6. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VII. Acts xiv. 19, &c.

WHEN the two APOSTLES had continued, ſome longer time, preaching the *chriſtian doctrine*, at *Lyſtra*, the malicious *jews*, their moſt conſtant enemies, followed them from *Antioch* and *Iconium*; and incenſeing the populace againſt them, as impoſtors, and ill-deſigning men,[a] they prevailed with them to ſtone St. PAUL; (upon the ſame account, as he himſelf had formerly conſented to the ſtoneing of St. STEPHEN.) And, when they had (not in a legal, but merely tumultuous, manner) ſtoned him, they draged him out of the city, as thinking that he was quite dead. To this, very probably, the APOSTLE alludeth, [2 *Cor.* xi. 23; 25.] when he ſais, that he had been *in deaths often*; and that *once he had been ſtoned.*

So ſhort-lived are human paſſions, not moderated by reaſon and principle; that, from imagining him to be *a god*, that thoughtleſſe multitude were eaſily perſuaded to ſtone St. PAUL, as one of the vileſt of men. Thus *Iſrael* fell into *idolatry*, within forty dayṡ from GOD's giveing them the *law*, from *mount Sinai*; and ſoon broke the promiſes, which fear and precipitant zele had drawn from them. Nor could St. PAUL expect any better treatment; if he conſidered, that HIS LORD AND MASTER was applauded, as *king of the jews*, and followed with the acclamations of the ſame multitude, which, about ſix days after, petitioned *Pilate* that he might be crucified; and followed him, up *mount Cavalry*, as *a malefactor*, to ſuffer that death, which they had deſired the *roman procurator* to inflict upon him. But, though PAUL's enemies left him for dead, yet the *chriſtians* would not leave him; but ſtayed with the body, to receive him with joy, if he recovered; or to bury him, if he was actually dead.

Ver. 19. [a] See the *manuſcripts* mentioned by *Beza* and Dr. *Mill.*

dead. And, while they were ſtanding round about him, with much anxiety; he, to their unſpeakable joy, revived, [by a miracle, as many think,] and got up, and went privately with them, into the city. And, the next day, he departed, with BARNABAS, to *Derbe*, another neighboring town, or city; where, with all his bruiſes and ſores about him, he began, with his wonted vigor and fortitude, to preach *chriſtianity*. And there, alſo, he made ſeveral converts. To his treatment, in thoſe places, and at this time of his being there, doeth St. PAUL moſt evidently allude, [2 *Tim.* iii. 10, 11.] where he ſaith to *Timothy*; "You have fully known — the perſecu- "tions and afflictions, which befel me, at *Antioch*, at *Iconium*, and "at *Lyſtra*; what [*or how great*] things I there indured. But, out "of them all, the LORD hath delivered me." As *Timothy* was a *Lyſtrian*, he had been, very probably, an eye-witneſſe of the ſufferings of St. PAUL, in that place; and (particularly) one of them, who ſtood by, when the APOSTLE revived, after he was ſtoned, and left for dead.

An. Chriſti 47. Claud. 7. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VII. Acts xiv. 20.

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## CHAP. II. SECT. VIII.

*The* APOSTLES *returned to* Antioch *in* Syria, *by the way, which they had gone from thence; and ordained* elders, *in every* church, *as they paſſed along.* Acts xiv. 21, *to the end of that chapter.*

WHEN they had preached the *goſpel*, and made ſeveral converts at *Derbe*, they went no farther into the country; but returned back, the way they came; *namely*, through *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Piſidia*; viſiting the ſeveral *churches*; and eſtabliſhing the converts, which they had made before; exhorting them, by all means, to perſevere in the *chriſtian faith*; notwithſtanding the evil treatment, which they [the APOSTLES] met with; and the diſcouragements, which they themſelves had hitherto labored under. And warning them not to expect, at that time, the happy kingdom of the *meſſiah*, which the *jews* promiſed themſelves; but rather to expect

An. Chriſti 47. Claud. 7.

Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VIII.

Acts xiv. 22, &c.

expect (as things then ſtood) that, through much tribulation, [a] both they and their inſtructors muſt travel heaven-wards; as the antient *Iſraelites* travelled, through the wilderneſſe, into *Canaan*.

Upon their firſt planting *churches*, in thoſe cities, there is no mention made, of their *ordaining biſhops*, and *deacons*; to præſide over them, and manage their public affairs. But now, when they had made ſome progreſſe in *chriſtianity*: and ſome of them had diſtinguiſhed themſelves from others, by their zele and diligence; the APOSTLES returned, and *ordained* [b] *ſome of their elders*, or moſt early and wiſeſt converts, in every *church*, to be their *biſhops*; that they might inſtruct the ignorant, ſtrengthen the weak, comfort the dejected, and præſide in their public and religious aſſemblies. And others of them, to be *deacons*; to take care of the poor, the fatherleſſe, and the widows; and of ſuch perſons, as travelled about, to preach the *goſpel*. And the two APOSTLES, haveing appointed the particular perſons, they recommended them to the LORD JESUS, (in whom they had believed) for his bleſſing, by faſting and prayer; accompanied (moſt probably) with the laying on of their hands. For that was the uſual method of *ordaining biſhops* and *deacons*. And, returning through the reſt of *Piſidia*, they came again to *Pamphilia*; and particularly to *Perga*, where they now preach the *chriſtian doctrine*; I ſuppoſe, to the *idolatrous gentiles*. For there is no intimation of there being any *jewiſh ſynagogue*, or *proſeucha*, in that place. After ſome ſtay at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*; and preached the *goſpel* there, alſo. [c] And then they took ſhip, and ſailed, from *Attalia*, to *Antioch* in *Syria*. From which place, they had been ſent out, after they had been recommended to the divine bleſſing, for the work, which they had now fulfilled. For that was regarded, as the *mother-church* of the *gentile churches*. When they had gathered the church of *Antioch* together, they (as perſons, who had been *ſent out*, from thence) related, very particularly, what *miraculous* and extraordinary things

Ver. 22. [a] Matt. v. 10, 11, 12. *and* xvi. 24, 25. Rom. viii. 17. 2 Tim. iii. 12.

Ver. 23. [b] Though χειροτονέω was originally uſed, by the *greeks*, in a peculiar ſenſe; *namely*, to *ſtretch out*, or *lift up*, *the hand*; as the people did, when they gave their votes, in popular elections: yet it came, in time, to be uſed in a laxer ſenſe; and to ſignifie nothing more, than barely to *appoint*, or *conſtitute*. For it is uſed, by ſeveral *greek authors*, concerning one perſon's *appointing* another to an office; as Dr. *Hammond*, on this place, has abundantly ſhown. [See *Acts* x. 41. *Lucian's Philopatris*, p. 589. and *Philopſeudes*, p. 334. See, alſo, *Wolfius in loc.*] And here it is prædicated of the two APOSTLES; and not of the *people*.

Ver. 25. [c] See the reading in the *Cambridge manuſcript*; in Dr. *Mill*.

things GOD had done, by them; and, eſpecially, that, by *their miniſtry*, he had opened the door of faith to the *idolatrous gentiles*. An. Chriſti 48. Claud. 8.

This was *their firſt Apoſtolic journey*; which was through *Cyprus*, *Pamphilia*, *Piſidia*, and *Lycaonia*: and ended, as it began, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. Book III. Ch. II. Sect. VIII.

There PAUL and BARNABAS tarried with the *chriſtians*, for ſome conſiderable time; farther inſtructing and eſtabliſhing them in the *chriſtian religion*; rectifying diſorders, and makeing up what was deficient; and, in one word, doing every thing, which they could, that might conduce to the growth and increaſe of the *goſpel*. Acts xiv. 27, &c.

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## CHAP. III.

*Containing an account of the* controverſie *concerning the* devout gentiles; namely, "*Whether they* "*ſhould, upon imbraceing* chriſtianity, *become ſubject to* circumciſion, *and the whole* law of Moſes?" *Acts* xv. 1, — 34.

### SECT. I.

*The* jewiſh converts *would have had the* chriſtians, *that had been* devout gentiles, *to have become* proſelytes of righteouſneſſe; *as abſolutely neceſſary to their ſalvation.* Acts xv. 1.

WHOEVER would have a clear and comprehenſive view of *this hiſtory*, muſt always bear in his mind the grand diſtinction of the three ſorts of perſons, to whom the *goſpel* was at firſt preached; namely, *jews*, *devout gentiles*, and *idolatrous gentiles*. They, each of them, held themſelves to be under different obligations, both as to *polity*, and *religion*; antecedent to their imbraceing *chriſtianity*. But, after their imbraceing the *goſpel*, it was to be, to all of them, their *religious law*; and the ſole method of their juſtification, or acceptance with GOD. Though it made no alteration as to their *national*, or *political*, duties, or privileges. In the præcedeing *book*, it hath been ſhown, at large, what was the difference, between

*a proſe-*

An. Chriſti 48. Claud. 8. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. I. Acts xv. 1.

a *proſelyte of righteouſneſſe*, and a *proſelyte of the gate*. And, particularly, that the latter were ſuch, as were deſcended of *gentile* parents, and continued *uncircumciſed*. But they were diſtinguiſhed, from the *idolatrous gentiles*, by their haveing renounced *idolatry* and worſhiping the *one true* GOD. Otherwiſe, indeed, they could not have been permitted to live in *Judæa*, where *idolatry* was high-treaſon, and puniſhable with death. But, beſides their obligations to things of an eternal, unalterable, nature; and the neceſſary laws of civil ſociety; they were alſo obliged, by the *law of Moſes*, to ſome things peculiar to the *jewiſh polity*: that is, "They were carefully to "abſtain from whatever was likely to tempt them to forſake the *true* "GOD, or would have made them look like *idolators*. And, to that "end, they were particularly prohibited to eat, or drink, *things of-* "*fered to idols*; or the *blood* of any animal; either pure, or mixed "with any thing elſe. They were, alſo, to abſtain from eating the "fleſh of ſuch animals, as were *ſtrangled*, with a deſign to keep the "*blood* in them; and from all ſorts of *impurity*. The particulars of "which are enumerated, *Lev.* xviii." That theſe things were prohibited to the *proſelytes of the gate*, Lev. xvii, xviii. hath been largely ſhown above, *Book* ii. *chap.* i. *ſect.* i. To which I would refer the reader, without repeteing what hath been ſaid already.

Upon a conformity to ſuch parts of the *law of Moſes*, the *proſelytes of the gate* had ſeveral privileges, of a *civil nature*, among the *jews*: as well as liberty to join in all ſuch acts of *religious worſhip*, as were not peculiar to the *jews*; but uſed among the *patriarchs*, before the giveing of the *law of Moſes*. However; the *proſelytes of the gate* were not admitted to equal privileges with the *jews*, and *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*, antecedent to the revelation of the *goſpel*. When, therefore, the news of St. PETER's haveing converted *Cornelius*, and his company, who were *uncircumciſed proſelytes*, had reached *Jeruſalem*, it alarmed the *jewiſh converts*; and they chid that APOSTLE, for receiveing them into full communion with the *chriſtian church*, and makeing them equal to the *jewiſh converts*, without haveing firſt required of them to become *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*. The APOSTLE did, indeed, ſilence them, at that time; by recounting the ſeveral ſteps, which GOD had taken, to convince him, that it was his duty to go and preach the *goſpel*, among them; and to put no difference between them and the *jews*. And they, upon hearing St. PETER's *apology*, then acquieſced. But the *controverſie* now broke out again; and gave the APOSTLES, and more eſpecially PAUL and BARNABAS, no ſmall trouble. For, though the *gentiles*, who had been *proſelytes*

*ſelytes of the gate*, had not been required, upon their *converſion* to *chriſtianity*, to obſerve any more of the *law of Moſes*, than they were obliged to, antecedent to their reception of the *goſpel*; nor had PAUL and BARNABAS, the two APOSTLES *of the gentiles*, ſince that, required any ſuch thing of them; yet ſome of the *jewiſh converts went out*,[a] from *Jeruſalem*, to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and taught the *gentile chriſtians*, that the *goſpel* alone, and of itſelf, was inſufficient; and that, unleſſe they would be *circumciſed*, and conform to the *whole law of Moſes*,[b] they could not be ſaved. Nay; to procure the greater regard to that their impoſeing *doctrine*, they pretended that they were ſent out, by the APOSTLES, who were the great fountains of *chriſtian knowlege*; and that *they* had ordered them to carry that meſſage among the *gentile converts*. An. Chriſti 48. Claud. 8. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. I. Acts xv. 1.

It appeareth, from ſeveral expreſſions in the writeings of the *jews*, and from two famous inſtances recorded by *Joſephus*,[c] that, though the more moderate *jews* thought the *uncircumciſed proſelytes* might be ſaved; yet the more warm and zeleous *jews*, who were, by much, the moſt numerous, had very little, or no, charity for an *uncircumciſed proſelyte*;[d] and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of their being circumciſed, and complying with the whole *law of Moſes*, in order to full communion with the *church of* GOD here, and to ſalvation and happineſſe hereafter. Such of the *jews*, as had imbraced *chriſtianity*, were, generally ſpeaking, of the latter opinion. And it was a great while, before the benevolence of the *chriſtian religion* could ſufficiently ſweeten their tempers, ſo as to conquer thoſe narrow notions, and old præjudices.

Ver. 1. [a] Ἐξελθόντες, according to two of the antient MSS. [See Dr. *Mill.* See, alſo, the note on 1 *John* ii. 19.]

[b] See two *manuſcripts*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill.*

[c] Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 2. § 5. In Vita *Joſeph.* § 23; 31.

[d] It was a common *maxim* among the *jews*, "That all uncircumciſed perſons go to *hell*," Vid. *P. Eliezer*, c. 29. p. 66. *laudat. a* Whitby in loc.

## CHAP. III. SECT. II.

PAUL *and* BARNABAS *were ſent to* Jeruſalem, *by the* chriſtians *at* Antioch, *to conſult the* APOSTLES, elders, *and* brethren, *concerning that* queſtion. *They paſſe through* Phœnicia, *and* Samaria. PAUL *had, alſo, a* revelation *to go up to* Jeruſalem. *He taketh* Titus *along with him.* Acts xv. 2, 3.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. II. Acts xv. 2.

THE *controverſie* grew, at laſt, to a great height; and gave no ſmall diſturbance to PAUL and BARNABAS, the two APOSTLES of the *gentile* world; who had received *idolatrous gentiles*, into the *chriſtian church*, without any ſubmiſſion to the *law of Moſes*; and who clearly underſtood that the *goſpel* altered nothing in men's civil rights, or duties. They, therefore, indeavored to put an early ſtop to this impoſition, by argueing with ſuch as pleaded for it; and ſhowing them, how GOD had received the *gentile converts*, without requireing them to ſubmit to the whole *law of Moſes*; and had given them *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, as clear evidences of his acccepting of them, equally with the *jewiſh chriſtians*, though they were not *circumciſed*. But all, that they could ſay, could not ſilence them; or quench the flame, which they had raiſed. It was therefore agreed, that PAUL and BARNABAS, and ſome of the *chriſtians* of *Antioch*, ſhould go up to *Jeruſalem*, to have the opinion of the APOSTLES and *elders* there, concerning the matter in diſpute. Not that they were to ſend for all the *twelve* APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*, where-ever diſperſed; in order to make an *œcumenical council*, or *general ſynod*: but they were to take the advice of ſuch of them, as were already upon the ſpot. And PAUL, in particular, beſides his being ſent, by the *church* of *Antioch*, had likewiſe a *revelation*; by which, GOD ordered him to go to *Jeruſalem*, at this time, along with BARNABAS. And now it was, that he took *Titus*, alſo, along with him. [*Gal* ii. 1, 2.] *Titus* was, very probably, a native of *Antioch* in *Syria*; and one of the *devout gentiles*, who had been converted there, by BARNABAS and SAUL, about the year of OUR LORD 42. For, as he now went to *Jeruſalem*, to conſult the APOSTLES and *elders*, concerning the liberty of *the gentile*

*gentile converts*; we cannot ſuppoſe that he was a *novice*, or one that had been lately converted. He is expreſsly called *a gentile*; [Ἕλλην, *Gal.* ii. 3.] and St. PAUL's *genuine ſon, according to the common faith.* [*Tit.* i. 4.] And, as he went up to *Jeruſalem*, from the *church* at *Antioch*; there is no reaſon to think that he was *an idolatrous gentile*. For that *church*, at *Antioch*, ſeemeth to have conſiſted intirely of converts from among the *devout gentiles*. There is, indeed, a brief intimation, [*Acts* xi. 19.] that the *jews* had been preached to, in that city. But there is no hint of their imbraceing *chriſtianity*; nor one word, in the *ſcriptures*, of the *idolatrous gentiles* being preached to, or converted, in that place. And then, the affair, which he went upon, is another proof, that he was a *devout gentile*. For, concerning them, the diſpute was; about which the APOSTLES, and *elders*, at *Jeruſalem*, were to be conſulted. And, poſſibly, *Titus* might be ſent thither, by the *church* of *Antioch*; as well as go at the requeſt of St. PAUL. But, what appeareth to me of great moment, to determine it, that *Titus* was a *devout gentile*, is, that the *converſion* of the *idolatrous gentiles* was, as yet, unknown to the church at *Jeruſalem*; and St. PAUL was, with good reaſon, deſireous to keep it ſecret. Which he could not well have done, if he had carried, along with him, a convert from among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. II. Acts xv. 3.

PAUL and BARNABAS, together with *Titus*, and the other meſſengers of the *church*, being ſent out, by the *chriſtians* of *Antioch*, (probably at their charge) and reſpectfully conducted, by ſome of them, part of the journey; they went up to *Jeruſalem*, through *Phœnicia* and *Samaria*; declareing to the *chriſtians*, as they went along, that they had made a numerous converſion of the *gentiles*. At which they, all of them, greatly rejoiced. So much had they of the true *chriſtian ſpirit!*

## CHAP. III. SECT. III.

*They were kindly received by the* church *at* Jeruſalem. *But the* falſe brethren, *creeping in, made St.* PAUL *keep upon the reſerve. He communicated the* goſpel, *which he had preached to the* idolatrous gentiles, *onely to* JAMES, PETER, *and* JOHN: *and would not ſuffer* Titus *to be* circumciſed. *The* APOSTLES *of the* circumciſion *gave to him and* BARNABAS *the right-hand of fellowſhip.* Acts xv. 4. Gal. ii. 1, *&c.*

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. III. Acts xv. 4.

WHEN they arrived at *Jeruſalem*, they were very kindly received, by the APOSTLES, and *elders*; as well as by the large church there. And, when they had met them in a body, they declared what great things GOD had done, by their miniſtry; in that they had converted ſeveral of the *jews*, in diſtant countries; and added, to them, a number of the *gentiles*. But they, not ſpecifying, particularly, what ſort of *gentiles* they had converted; and the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*, not expecting the converſion of any, but *devout gentiles*; and knowing, likewiſe, that in moſt, or all, of the places, where the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* had been, there were *ſynagogues*, and *proſelytes of the gate*; they appear not to have underſtood any thing, that theſe two APOSTLES had ſaid, to refer to the converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles*. What St. PAUL himſelf hath ſaid, [*Gal.* ii. 2, *&c.*] is a ſtrong confirmation of this: *namely*, That "he communicated, what he had preached to the *gentiles*, "onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, the three moſt renowned "APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*; and that under the ſeal of the great-"eſt ſecrecy." Whereas; the whole *church* at *Jeruſalem* knew of the converſion of the *devout gentiles*; and what *goſpel* had been preached unto them; ever ſince the reception of *Cornelius*, and his friends. But, if they had *now* been made acquainted with the calling in of the *idolatrous gentiles*; there would have been ſuch an aſtoniſhment and joy in ſome, and ſuch zele and reſentment in others, as the *ſacred hiſtorian* would not have failed to have taken notice of: — as he has done, of the effects of the firſt news, which they received, concerning the converſion

verſion of the *devout gentiles*; [Acts xi. 1; 18.] which was a leſſe remarkable event; and of the effects, which the knowlege of this produced, when it was (*long after*) communicated to them. [*Acts* xxi. 18, 19, 20.] The reaſon of St. PAUL's now communicateing the *goſpel*, which he preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, onely to the three APOSTLES; and to them ſo very ſecretly; was; leſt the *zeleots* among the *jewiſh chriſtians* ſhould have come to the knowlege of it; and ſo have deſtroyed what he had done, and fruſtrated all his labors. For he obſerved that ſome *falſe brethren* had crept in, unawares, among the *chriſtians*, who were then come up to *Jeruſalem*; maliciouſly to ſpy out the liberty, which *chriſtianity* had granted to the *devout gentiles*; in order to bring them into bondage to the *law of Moſes*. And, if they had got any hint of the converſion of *idolatrous gentiles*, and of their intire freedom from *that law*; their zele would, the more warmly, have incited them to have run, up and down, among the *churches* of St. PAUL's planting, to undo what that great APOSTLE of the *gentiles* had been doing, for ſome time. He knew the *ſpirit* of the men. And, therefore, very prudently, kept upon the reſerve; and concealed, from them, ſuch truths, as they would have made a bad uſe of. But that was not all. For he publicly oppoſed them. And, when they would have compelled *Titus*, a *gentile convert*, to have been *circumciſed*, and brought under bondage to the whole *Moſaic law*; he would not, by any means, ſuffer ſuch an impoſition; nor yield to them, for one ſingle hour: that he might preſerve the liberty of all the *gentile converts*; or their freedom from *circumciſion*, and the burthen of the *Moſaic law*. For, if St. PAUL had acknowleged it neceſſary, that the *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*, ſhould be *circumciſed*; the neceſſity of *circumciſion* to all the *chriſtians*, who had formerly been *uncircumciſed gentiles*, would have been eſtabliſhed. And the *judaizeing zeleots* would readily have transfered it, from ſuch as had been *devout*, to ſuch as had been *idolatrous*, *gentiles*; as ſoon as they ſhould have come to know of the converſion of any ſuch. Which would have made *circumciſion*, and an intire ſubjection to the *law of Moſes*, look like one of the *terms*, on which the *gentile chriſtians* were to obtain juſtification, and eternal life. Whereas; that was not one of *the terms of acceptance*; either to the *jewiſh*, or *gentile*, *converts*. For the *goſpel* was *the perfect law of liberty*, which freed them from that yoke of bondage.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. I. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 4.

JAMES,

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. III. Acts xv. 4.

JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, who were the three APOSTLES of chief repute among thoſe of the *circumciſion*, had a great deal of converſation with PAUL and BARNABAS. And, when they compared the *revelations*, which GOD had made to them, with thoſe made to the APOSTLES of the *uncircumciſion*, they could add nothing to what they had already received from heaven; either of *knowlege*, or *miraculous powers*. But, being convinced, by all the diſtinguiſhing *gifts* and *powers*, which had been conferred upon them, that the *apoſtolate* of the *gentiles* was committed to PAUL and BARNABAS; and that they had as clear *revelations*, as full *miraculous* evidence, and as remarkable ſucceſſe, among the *uncircumciſion*, as they had, among thoſe of the *circumciſion*; they gave, unto PAUL and BARNABAS, the right-hand of fellowſhip: *that is*, they acknowleged them to be *brother-apoſtles*; ſent unto the *heathen* world, as they were to the *jews*.

*The* ſecond period *of the converſion of the* idolatrous gentiles; *or the* period, *in which it was known to none of the* chriſtian church *at* Jeruſalem, *except* JAMES, PETER, *and* JOHN, *that the* goſpel *was preached to the* idolatrous gentiles. That is, *From the year of* CHRIST 49, *to the year* 58.

And they requeſted, that they would make a collection, among the *gentile churches*, for the uſe of the *jewiſh converts*; eſpecially thoſe of *Judæa*. To which, PAUL and BARNABAS readily conſented. For PAUL had, of himſelf, deſigned to do ſo; before they made any ſuch propoſeal.

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## CHAP. III. SECT. IV.

*The* APOSTLES, ELDERS, *and* BRETHREN, *met about the* queſtion. *After a free debate, they agreed to ſend* a letter *to the* chriſtians, *who had been* uncircumciſed proſelytes; *wherein they inſiſted upon their obſerveing onely what parts of the* law of Moſes *they had been formerly obliged to obſerve, as they were* proſelytes of the gate. *Acts* xv. 5, — 29.

PAUL and BARNABAS ſeem to have had ſeveral meetings, with a number of the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*; as well as frequent converſation, with many of them, in private; to ſatisfie them of the reaſonableneſſe of the *gentile chriſtians* continueing free from ſuch

a ſub-

a ſubjection to the whole *law of Moſes.* But, for all, that theſe two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* could ſay, they could not convince *them*; any more than ſuch, as had oppoſed them, at *Antioch.* Perhaps the warm *jewiſh converts*, at *Jeruſalem*, might look upon them with a ſort of jealouſie; as the chief authors, and promotors, of the *liberty* of the *gentile chriſtians.* But, whatever ſentiments they entertained of PAUL and BARNABAS; ſome of the *chriſtians*, who had been formerly of the ſect of the *phariſees*, (and conſequently zeleous for the *law*) roſe up, even at *Jeruſalem*; [a] and affirmed, that it was abſolutely *neceſſary* that ſuch *gentiles*, as had imbraced *chriſtianity*, ſhould be *circumciſed*, and charged to obſerve the whole *law of Moſes.* And, when nothing elſe could put an end to the controverſie; the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, met together in a body, to conſider of the matter. And, when they had diſputed a long time, St. PETER cut ſhort the debate, with a ſpeech to this effect. "*My chriſtian bre-*
"*thren:* You know very well, that ſome years ago, among us, APO-
"STLES, GOD choſe me, that I ſhould *begin* to preach the *goſpel*
"among the *gentiles*; and firſt make converts among them: As I
"alſo did, in the memorable caſe of *Cornelius*, and his friends. And
"the *great* GOD, who knoweth the ſecrets of all hearts, and can
"eaſily diſtinguiſh the ſincere and virtuous, from the wicked and hy-
"pocritical, did bear them witneſſe, that they were as acceptable to
"him, as the *jewiſh converts*; by his giveing them the *holy ſpirit*, im-
"mediately from heaven, and without the laying on of the hands of
"any man; as he did unto us, on the ſignal day of *pentecoſt.* And
"he put no manner of difference between us *jews*, and *them*; though
"they were *uncircumciſed gentiles:* but made them clean; purifying
"their hearts by the doctrine of the *goſpel*; and baptizeing them with
"the *holy ſpirit*, accompanied with the appearence of a flame of
"fire. Seeing, therefore, my way was plane; and GOD gave ſuch
"clear

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9.
Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV.
Acts xv. 5, &c.

Ver. 5. [a] Some have taken this verſe to be a continuation of the ſpeech of *Paul* and *Barnabas.* And then it would not lead us to conclude that a new diſſenſion broke out, at *Jeruſalem*, at this time. When the ellipſis is ſupplied, this text would then run thus. "And they declared what things GOD had done, by them. But "[*as they proceded to relate*] there aroſe certain of the ſect of the *phariſees*, [that is, "at *Antioch*,] who ſaid that we muſt circumciſe them, [*the gentile converts*,] and "command them to keep *the law of Moſes.*" St. *Luke* has, indeed, as moſt writers do, made uſe of ellipſes, ſometimes; and altered, from an oblique, to a direct, ſpeech; and *vice verſâ.* [See *Luke* vii. 4, 5.] But, I muſt confeſſe, I look upon this fifth verſe as St. *Luke*'s narration; and not as any part of the ſpeech of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and am perſuaded that the *chriſtians*, of the ſect of the *phariſees*, at *Jeruſalem*, would be as apt to ſhow their zele for bringing the *gentile* converts into ſubjection to the law; as thoſe at *Antioch*, or any other place. [Vid. *Wolf. in loc.*]

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 9, &c.

" clear proofs of his readineſſe to receive them, into the *chriſtian* " *church*; and to full communion with us, who had believed and " imbraced the *goſpel*, before them; and that, without their firſt ſub- " mitting to the whole *law of Moſes*; why would you offer to teach " GOD, or direct him what to do? Dare you call in queſtion the pro- " cedeings of *infinite wiſdom?* Or do you envy their happineſſe, and " their liberty; in that you go to put a yoke upon their necks, which " neither our fathers, nor we, have been able to bear? No! you " ought not, certainly, to do any ſuch thing. For, I am fully ſa- " tisfied, that theſe *gentile converts*, without any farther ſubjection to " the *law of Moſes*, will, through the favor of OUR LORD JESUS " CHRIST, be ſaved; as well as thoſe *jewiſh brethren*, who are ſo " zeleous for the obſervation of *that law*."

This ſpeech ſilenced all the multitude. And the *zeleots* had nothing to reply to ſuch clear and convinceing arguments. The whole body of the aſſembly, therefore, were then diſpoſed, patiently to attend to what PAUL and BARNABAS thought fit to communicate to them, concerning the wonders and *miracles*, which GOD had inabled them to do, among the *gentiles*; which was a plane confirmation, that GOD had ſent them, and approved of their attempt to convert ſuch perſons; though they were not *circumciſed*, nor ſubject to the burthen of the *Moſaic law*.

The ſilence being renewed, the APOSTLE JAMES made a ſpeech; and, in the following manner, ſummed up the debate, and formed the *queſtion*. To which, they all unanimouſly agreed. " *My chriſ-* " *tian brethren*, (ſaith he) permit me to ſpeak my ſentiments of this " matter. SIMON PETER hath juſt now declared, how GOD, at " firſt, vouchſafed, by him, to take the GENTILES into the number " of his people. But this accepting of the *gentiles* is no ſuch ſtrange, " and unheard of, thing; as you may imagine. For GOD deſign- " ed it, long before he ſent PETER to *Cornelius*. And, I remem- " ber that ſome of the *antient prophets* have propheſied to this ef- " fect: particularly *Amos*, [chap. ix. 11, 12.] *After theſe things, I* " *will return*, (ſaith GOD) *and will build again the tabernacle* [or " houſe] *of* David; *and I will raiſe it from it's ruines*; (by ſending " the *meſſiah*, out of that decayed family; and erecting his *ſpiri-* " *tual kingdom*; into which, not onely my people, the *jews*, ſhall " be admitted; but) *that the reſidue of men* [b] *might ſeek after the* LORD:

Ver. 17. [b] It is in the *hebrew*, [*the remnant of Edom*,] one of the *nations*, that was the bittereſt enemy to *Iſrael*, and a remnant of the moſt profligate and abandoned

" LORD: *and, more eſpecially,* [the devout gentiles] *the gentiles, up-* An. Chriſt. 49. Claud. 9.
" *on whom my name is called, ſaith the* LORD; *who bringeth to paſſe all*
" *theſe great and remarkable events.* Nor ought we, in the leaſt, to
" wonder at GOD's ſpeaking thus, ſeven or eight hundred years ago; Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV.
" though it refer to the preſent caſe. For, known unto him are Acts xv.
" all his works, from the begining of the world. Seeing, there- 17, &c.
" fore, my brother, PETER, hath ſhown, ſo evidently, that he was
" ordered, of GOD, to go and receive theſe *uncircumciſed gentiles,*
" into the *chriſtian church,* without any farther ſubjection to the *law*
" *of Moſes.* And, ſeeing GOD (who knew the end from the begin-
" ing) hath ſignified, ſeveral ages ago, that he intended ſuch a thing.
" It is, therefore, my opinion,[c] that you ought not to give theſe *gen-*
" *tile converts* any farther trouble; but onely ſend them *a letter,* and
" exhort them to abſtain from thoſe few things; (from which, as they
" are *proſelytes of the gate,* they are already obliged, by the *law of*
" *Moſes,* to abſtain;) *namely,* from *pollution of idols*; that is, from
" any meat, or drink, devoted to *an idol*; or that had been offered,
" before the image, in the *idol*'s temple: from *fornication,* or what-
" ever is condemned, as, contrary to chaſtity, by the *law of Mo-*
" *ſes*: from eating the fleſh of whatſoever is *ſtrangled,*[d] with a de-
" ſign to keep the *blood* in it: and from *blood,* ſeparated from
" the fleſh of any animal; either pure, or mixed with any thing
" elſe.[e]

" As theſe things tempted men to *idolatry*; were the uſual con-
" comitants of it, or made them look *idolators*;[f] they were juſtly
" forbiden, in the *law of Moſes,* unto all ſuch as were permitted
" to live under that *polity.* For that *polity* was deſigned to preſerve
" the *jewiſh nation* from ſo unreaſonable, and ſo common, a wick-
" edneſſe, as *idolatry*; and to point out the knowlege and worſhip
" of the *true* GOD, unto ſuch of the other *nations,* as would at-
" tend. Now, if the *devout gentiles* ſhould not, after their con-
" verſion to *chriſtianity,* continue to abſtain from theſe things, as for-
" merly: the *jews* will not onely ſuſpect them of *idolatry*; but they



ed *idolators.* And, if they were to be received; the *jews* might, conſequently, expect that the other *gentiles* would much more be reconciled to the *true religion.*

Ver. 19. [c] Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω.

Ver. 20. [d] καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ. [*And from what is ſtrangled.*] See this reading vindicated, in Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel hiſtory,* part 2d. vol. 4. p. 780, &c. *by* Spencer, *in his diſſertation on* Acts. xv. 20. chap. i. § 3. *and by* Wolfius in loc.

[e] As to the addition, in ſome copies, ſee on ver. 29.

[f] Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16. Numb. xxv. 1, 2, 3. 1 Cor. x. 7, 8; 21. Rev. ii. 14; 20. Wiſd. xiv. 22, —— 27.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 21, &c.

" themſelves cannot clame thoſe privileges among the *jews*, to which " the *law of Moſes* giveth them a right, as long as they continue to " obſerve what it injoineth them. And it is highly fit, as long as the " *law of Moſes* is a *national law*, and binds ſuch injunctions upon " the *gentiles*, who are *proſelytes of the gate*, that they ſhould moſt " carefully comply. For the *law of Moſes* is *(according to an an-* " *tient cuſtom)* read, in the ſynagogues of the *jews*, and explaned " and inculcated, every *ſabbath-day*. And there theſe *proſelytes of* " *the gate* attend, and hear that it is their duty to abſtain from ſuch " things. And the *jews*, alſo, attend; and will be excedeingly " diſguſted, to hear the *law* read, which prohibiteth theſe things " to the *proſelytes of the gate*; if they ſhould be releaſed from ſuch " abſtinences, and yet pretend to clame their uſual rights and pri- " vileges."

When they had ſo thoroughly canvaſſed the matter, it was agreed, by all the APOSTLES, and *elders*, then preſent; *(that is*, by the three APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; and the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, PAUL and BARNABAS; together with as many of the hundred and twenty, the APOSTLES company on the day of *pentecoſt*, as were then at *Jeruſalem*; by whom I underſtand, the *elders*, here mentioned; they being ſome of the *oldeſt chriſtians*, or the *firſt*, and *moſt early*, *converts*. It was agreed, I ſay, by all the APOSTLES, and *elders*, then preſent;) and the *brethren*, or the whole body of the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*, approved of it; that ſome perſons ſhould be choſen, from among themſelves; and ſent, to *Antioch* in *Syria*, along with PAUL and BARNABAS, to certifie, to the *church* there, that theſe were their unanimous and real ſentiments; and not a determination procured by the two APOSTLES *of the gentiles*. One of the perſons, whom they choſe, upon that occaſion, was *Judas*; who was ſurnamed *Barſabas*. [As he had the ſame ſurname, ſome have thought him to have been brother to *Joſeph*, called *Barſabas*; mentioned *Acts* i. 23. And then he was ſon to *Alphæus*, or *Cleophas*; and brother to two of the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*.] The other was *Silas*; who was alſo frequently called *Silvanus*, after he went, with St. PAUL, to preach among the *gentiles*. And that was his *roman*, as *Silas* was his *jewiſh*, name. For he appeareth to me to have been a *freeman* of *Rome*, as well as St. PAUL. Theſe two were leading men among the *chriſtian brethren*, in the *church* at *Jeruſalem*; and very proper perſons, to be ſent upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion.

The

*The* LETTER, *which the* jewiſh church, *at* Jeruſalem, *ſent to the* gentile church, *at* Antioch; *and to other* gentile churches.



Acts xv. 23, &c.

In the name of all the three ranks, or orders, of perſons, who were in the *church* at *Jeruſalem*, at that time, *namely*, [the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*,[g]] was the LETTER writen. The contents whereof, were, to the following purpoſe. "The APOSTLES, "*elders*, and *brethren*, of the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*, ſend "their love and ſalutation, and wiſh all manner of happineſſe, to "their *chriſtian brethren*, who have been converted, from among the "*gentiles*, [*proſelytes of the gate*,] whether in *Antioch*, the *metropolis*; "or in other parts of *Syria*; in the province of *Cilicia*; or where-"ever diſperſed. For as much as we underſtand, that ſome went "out, from among us, pretending to come, to you, in our name, "and by our direction; and that they have made a diſturbance a-"mong you, with their new doctrine; and ſubverted the ſouls of "ſome of you, by affirming that you are obliged to be *circumciſed*, "and to obſerve the *whole law of Moſes*; or elſe you cannot poſſibly "be ſaved: —— We thought fit to acquaint you, that we gave "no ſuch orders; and deſire you for the future to beware of ſuch "deceivers. However; as this affair hath been ſo warmly agitated "among you; and you have ſent ſeveral perſons, to know our ſen-"timents; we have taken it into our conſideration. And, in a full "and unanimous aſſembly of APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, we "have choſen proper perſons, to ſend, as *our meſſengers*, back to "you; along with our two beloved brethren, BARNABAS and PAUL;[h] "(men, of ſuch dignity in the *chriſtian church*; and of ſuch great "ſincerity; that you ought, by no means, to ſlight them, or think "meanly of their knowlege, or ſkill in the *chriſtian doctrine*. For "they are) men, who not onely underſtand it; but they have hazard-"ed their lives, in ſpreading the *doctrine* of OUR LORD JESUS "CHRIST. If any ſhould, in the leaſt, doubt of their account of "our procedeings, as apprehending them præjudiced, and præpoſ-"ſeſſed; — to take away all grounds of ſcruple, or ſuſpicion, we



Ver. 23. [g] See a different reading, *Millii prolegom*, 1350. namely, *the apoſtles, and elder brethren.*

Ver. 25. [h] Though St. LUKE hath, himſelf, generally named PAUL before BARNABAS, from the time that they were conſtituted APOSTLES; yet, in reciteing this *letter*, he is ſo punctual, as to place BARNABAS before PAUL: moſt probably, becauſe they were ſo placed in the *original letter* itſelf.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. IV. Acts xv. 27, &c.

" have ſent, along with them, *Judas* and *Silas*; who will tell you,
" by word of mouth, the ſame tihngs, which we have ſaid, in *this*
" *letter*. For we have ſtrong vouchers; ſince it hath pleaſed the *holy*
" *ſpirit* to ſignifie his mind and will, ſo evidently, in this matter, by
" falling down upon *Cornelius*, and his friends, in like manner as he
" did upon the moſt eminent *jewiſh converts*; and that, without their
" being firſt *circumciſed*, and ſubmitting to the *whole law of Moſes*.
" And it ſeemeth good unto us, alſo; amicably debateing *this queſ-*
" *tion*, and compareing antient *prophecies* with preſent, or late, facts.—
" Thus did it formerly ſeem good to the *holy ſpirit*; and, upon ſuch
" accounts, doeth it now ſeem juſt and proper, in our opinion, to lay
" upon you, no more of the *poſitive inſtitutions* of the *law of Moſes*,
" nor any greater burthen, than thoſe things, which *that law* hath in-
" joined upon you, as long as you live under it, and clame the privi-
" leges of *proſelytes of the gate*: namely, *That you abſtain from ſuch*
" *meats, and drinks, as have been offered unto idols: from blood, ſepa-*
" *rated from the fleſh of any animal: from eating ſuch creatures, as*
" *have been ſtrangled, with a deſign to keep the blood in them: and from*
" *fornication*; that is, *from marrying within the prohibited degrees of*
" *conſanguinity, adultery, inceſt; and (in general) all kinds of impu-*
" *rity, forbiden by the law of Moſes*. If you abſtain from theſe four
" things;[i] it is all the obſervation of the *law of Moſes*, which, we
" apprehend, is required of you. And, in complying with *chriſ-*
" *tianity* in general,[k] and with theſe few particulars out of the *law of*
" *Moſes*; you will do your duty, and may expect to be finally and
" perfectly happy. *Adieu.*"

Ver. 29. [i] See Dr. *Mill*'s various readings; and the *Eſſay, concerning the aboliſhing of the ceremonial law*; in the *notes*; p. 88, &c. *firſt edition*; p. 482, &c. *2d edition*. The addition to the common text, here, and *ver.* 20. found in ſome MSS. verſions and fathers, is, [*And whatever things you would not that others ſhould do unto you, neither do you unto others.*] Which reading is not genuine; as may be ſeen, in Dr. *Mill*, and the *eſſay* here referred to.

[k] See the *antient manuſcripts*; and *Irenæus*, mentioned by *Beza*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III. SECT. V.

*Some farther conſiderations, to ſhow, that* this decree *never related to any* chriſtians, *but ſuch as had been* proſelytes of the gate. *Several* queries, *and* objections; *with their* anſwers.

NOtwithſtanding *this ſolution* appeareth ſo eaſie, and natural; yet ſome have doubted of it. It may, therefore, be proper to add ſomething farther; to ſhow, that *this decree* (as it is commonly called) related to the *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*; and to them alone. (1.) The body of the aſſembly, who came to that determination, or *agreement*, knew nothing, as yet, of the converſion of any *idolatrous gentiles*. For now it was, that St. PAUL went up, by *revelation*; and communicated the *goſpel*, which he had preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN: and that as a very great *ſecret*; which they were, by no means, to communicate to the *elders* and *brethren*. [Gal. ii. 2.] Whereas; all the *church* at *Jeruſalem* knew of the converſion of the *devout gentiles*; and what *goſpel*, St. PETER, and others, had preached unto them.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. V. Acts xv. 29.

Suppoſe it be inquired, "Would not the *church* at *Jeruſalem* have "been for extending it to the *idolatrous gentiles*; if they had then "known of the converſion of any ſuch?" I *anſwer:* Perhaps the majority of them would have been deſireous to have extended this injunction to all the *gentile chriſtians*; and the *zeleots* were very likely to have done ſo. But the *query* is, "Whether that attempt would have been right, or wrong?" I think, it would have been wrong; if we conſider the deciſion of St. PAUL, concerning the *chriſtians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*; when the *judaizers* would have impoſed *circumciſion*, and the *whole law*, upon them. [*See* Rom. xiv. 14; 17. 1 Cor. viii. 8. *and* x. 23; 25; 27.]

2. Here are no references to the caſe of the *idolatrous gentiles*, Acts xv. 1, — 34. *that is*, through the whole period of the *ſacred hiſtory*, where this affair is mentioned. The diſpute aroſe, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*; where the *church conſiſted* of *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*. At leaſt, it doeth not appear that there were any *chriſtians*, belonging to *that church*, who had been either *jews*, or *idola-*

*trous*

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. V. Acts xv. 29.

*trous gentiles.* The *gentiles*, of whom St. PETER ſpeaketh, *ver.* 7. were evidently *devout gentiles.* For he himſelf had led the way to the reception of ſuch *gentiles*, into the *chriſtian church.* But he did not open the door of faith to the *idolatrous gentiles.* The *gentiles, upon whom the name of* GOD *was called*, ver. 17. was exactly their character. And when they ſaid, *It ſeemed good to the holy ſpirit*; they planely refered to the *holy ſpirit*'s falling down upon *Cornelius*, and his friends. And, to what purpoſe did St. JAMES mention "the *law of Moſes* being read in the ſynagogues, every ſabbath-day;" if it had not been that *the proſelytes of the gate* attended upon the reading of it; and frequently heard that theſe *abſtinences* were thereby injoined upon them? Whereas; the *idolatrous gentiles* uſed not to attend at the *jewiſh ſynagogues?*

3. Why were theſe four things pitched upon; but that they had been, long before, prohibited to *the proſelytes of the gate*, by the *law of Moſes?* Why not abſtinence from *ſwine*'s *fleſh*, and ſome other things, which the *jews* abhorred; as much as *things offered to idols, fornication, things ſtrangled, and blood?*

4. There is no-body pretendeth that *the decree* concerned the *jewiſh chriſtians.* And it is evident, to me, that it concerned not the *chriſtians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles.* For, with what conſiſtency could St. PAUL have now agreed, that it was *neceſſary*, for all the *gentile chriſtians*, to abſtain from theſe four things: And yet, long after, tell the *chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*, that "they might lawfully eat of *meats offered to idols*, and "even in the idol's temple: provided they did it not, out of re-"verence to the idol; or ſo as to harden *idolators*, or offend weak and "ſcrupulous conſciences?" [1 *Cor.* viii. 8, 9, 10. and x. 23; 25; 27, *&c.*] Whereas; if we ſuppoſe that *this decree* related, peculiarly, to the *chriſtians*, who had been *proſelytes of the gate*; he might, very conſiſtently, declare it lawful, for ſuch *chriſtians*, as had been *idolatrous gentiles*, to eat of ſuch things; and aſſure them, that they were under no ſuch ingagements, as the *devout gentiles* were, to abſtain from them. A *by-law*, of a *particular corporation*, concerneth not the greateſt part of a *kingdom.* It is true; *a law* might have been inacted for a time; and aboliſhed again, when the reaſon for it's being inacted ſhould ceaſe. But, if condeſcenſion to *jewiſh* præjudices, was the reaſon of inacting theſe laws; then, certainly, they ought not to have been *aboliſhed* ſo ſoon. For, when St. PAUL wrote that *epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, the *jewiſh chriſtians*, there, ſeem ſo far from haveing laid aſide their præjudices, that they appear rather more

præ-

præjudiced; and more averſe to the *gentile chriſtians*; upon the account of the liberty, which they took, in eating promiſcuouſly of all ſorts of meats. An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9.

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The ſum of their caſe, therefore, ſeemeth to have been this. "As "*chriſtianity* altered nothing, in men's civil duties, or privileges; "they continued ſtill ſubject to *the great law of nature*; by the eter- "nal reaſon of things; and by the *national law* of the country, "where they lived, as far as the *law of nature* was incorporated into "that *civil law*. And they came under new obligations to *the law* "*of nature*, as it is adopted into the *chriſtian law*. As to the *cere-* "*monial* parts of the *law of Moſes*; and whatever parts of it they "were not ſubject to, before they became *chriſtians*; the *holy ſpirit* de- "termined, that, to ſuch parts of it, they ſhould never become ſub- "ject. Though the zeleous *jewiſh chriſtians* would have impoſed the "obſervation of the *whole law*, upon them, after their imbraceing "*chriſtianity*. —— They were ſtill bound to obey the *political law* "of the country, where they lived; and, if they claimed the privile- "ges of *proſelytes of the gate*; that is, of ſettleing, or ſojourning, for "any time, in *Palæſtine*; or of frequenting the *jewiſh ſynagogue*, in "any country; they were under obligations to abſtain from the few "things, mentioned in *this decree*."

To what hath been ſaid, it may be *objected*, I. "Were not theſe "four things parts of the *ceremonial law*? And, if the whole *ceremo-* "*nial law* was aboliſhed, by the death of CHRIST, even to the *jew-* "*iſh chriſtians*; how came the abſtaining from theſe four things to be "*neceſſary*, to the *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*?" *Anſwer.* Suppoſe that theſe four things had belonged to the *ceremonial law*; then their obligation to ſuch *abſtinences*, would have riſen, from the ſtate and circumſtances of things; *that is*, it would have been a *neceſſity of fitneſſe*, or a thing expedient, 'till the *jewiſh chriſtians* had got over their præjudices. Beſides; none of the APOSTLES, *elders*, or *brethren*, who were at *Jeruſalem*, when that *determination* was agreed upon, ſeem to have been fully ſatisfied, at that time, of the total aboliſhing of the *ceremonial law*; unleſſe we except PAUL and BARNABAS. [*Of this, ſee more, in the eſſay, annexed to* Titus, *chap.* ii. § 2.]

But, in truth, I take theſe four things to have been part of the *political*, and not of the *ceremonial*, *law*. And, therefore, the *devout gentiles* (who had a mind to keep up their right and title to the privileges, among the *jews*, which the *law of Moſes* granted to *proſelytes of the gate*) were obliged to theſe *abſtinences*, after they became *chriſtians*. For the *jewiſh* government was a *theocracy*. And, by their

*laws*,

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. V. Acts xv. 29.

*law*, none were permitted to live among them, but ſuch as had caſt off *idolatry*, and all the grand temptatations to it, and concomitants of it. And I am the rather inclined to believe that theſe things belonged to the *jewiſh polity*; becauſe ſuch, as did not obſerve them, were to be put to death; that is, as *idolators*. [Lev. xvii. 4; 9; 14. *and* xviii. 29.]

*Objection* II. "The *decree* was ſent into *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and other "*gentile* countries. Now, what had the *gentile chriſtians*, there, to "do with the *jewiſh polity?*" *Anſwer.* Suppoſe they claimed the privileges of the *jewiſh ſynagogue*, in thoſe *gentile* countries; or had a mind to have gone, and ſettled, or ſojourned, for any time, in *Palæſtine:* theſe were the terms. But, I do not ſuppoſe, that, if the *proſelytes of the gate*, who lived out of *Judæa*, had renounced all clame to ſuch privileges, they would have been obliged, by the *law of Moſes*, to abſtain from theſe things. How far it might have been expedient to have done ſo, 'till the præjudices of the *jewiſh chriſtians* were vaniſhed; — is another, and a very different, conſideration.

*Objection* III. "Was not *fornication* one of the things prohibited? "How, then, can *this decree* be thought peculiar to any one ſort of "*chriſtians?* For there is no diſtinction made, between one particu-"lar, and another. But, where abſtaining from one of theſe things "was obligatory; the abſtaining from them all, was, by this *decree*, "made obligatory?" *Anſwer.* Some of the *ſpecies* of *fornication*, mentioned *Lev.* xviii. are evidently contrary to the light and *law of nature*; and all the *ſpecies* of it are forbid to all ſorts of *chriſtians*, by the *law of* CHRIST. The *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*, were under ingagements to abſtain from *fornication*, by virtue of the *jewiſh polity*; as well as by the *law of nature*, and the *chriſtian law*. That is, in other words, though they were not obliged to abſtain from the other things, contained in *this decree*, by virtue of any thing elſe, beſides the *political law of the jews*; yet *they* were, and all *chriſtians* whatſoever are, obliged, by the *general chriſtian law*, to abſtain from *fornication*. The onely thing peculiar, in their caſe, was, that the *chriſtians*, who had been *proſelytes of the gate*, were likewiſe obliged to that abſtinence, for ſome time, by a *law*, which never bound the *chriſtians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*. But then, that peculiar obligation of theirs continued, onely as long as the *jewiſh polity* continued. So long, *this decree*, and the injunctions in the *law of Moſes*, which regarded *them*, were binding. But, when the *jews* ceaſed from being a *nation*, and their *polity* was diſſolved;

diſſolved; their *national law* could be no longer binding, either upon the *jews*, or *proſelytes of the gate*. An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9.

But it ought carefully to be obſerved, that, though their obligation, from the *political law* of the *jews*, to abſtain from *fornication*, was made void, by the deſtruction of the *jewiſh polity*; yet they continued under the ſtrongeſt obligations to abſtain from it, by the *chriſtian law*; notwithſtanding their full liberty to eat *blood*, *things ſtrangled*, and *things offered to idols*. That is, The obligation to abſtain from the three laſt, aroſe intirely from the particular *polity* of the *jews*. And, therefore, of courſe, ceaſed with that polity. But their obligations to abſtain from the firſt aroſe, alſo, from other *laws* and ingagements; even after the *jewiſh polity* was deſtroyed; and which, to this day, continue in force. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. V. Acts xv. 29.

## CHAP. III. SECT. VI.

### *The* advantages *of this* ſolution, *in compariſon of others, that have been offered.*

(1.) "THIS *ſolution* giveth the proper force and meaning to "the words made uſe of; and ſhoweth, that *the queſ-* "*tion* of the *judaizers*, and the *anſwer* of the APOSTLES, *elders*, and "*brethren*, refer to the ſame thing." They call theſe abſtinences *neceſſary*. Whereas; according to ſome, "they were onely *expedient*." If they had been onely *expedient*, they ought to have intimated, to the *gentile converts*, that they were *not neceſſary*; but mere *condeſcenſions*, for the preſent, to the præjudices of their *jewiſh brethren*: that they might, in due time, have aſſerted *their liberty*; and that, in the mean time, the *judaizers* might not take any handle, from their determination, to impoſe theſe things as *neceſſary*. Beſides; if any thing was propoſed, onely by way of *expediency*; why were theſe particular things pitched upon? And why theſe onely? Why not abſtinence from *ſwine's fleſh*; or from the fleſh of ſuch creatures, as died of themſelves? And many other things, which were diſagreeable to the *jews*, as well as theſe? [See *Spencer de legibus, heb. edit. Cantab.* 1727, p. 597, &c.]

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VI. Acts xv. 29.

Again: If ſuch *abſtinences* were *expedient*, for fear of giveing offence to *jews*; or to ſome *chriſtians*; why are not theſe *prohibitions* looked upon, as ſtill obligatory? For, (beſides the offence, which our *eating blood* gives the *greek* and *æthiopic churches*) have we not many *jews* among us, at this day, as well as many *chriſtians*, who ſcruple the *eating of blood*; and are offended with ſuch as eat it?

According to others, "All theſe abſtinences were *neceſſary*, to all *perſons*, by the *law of nature*." But it will be hard (nay, I think, impoſſible) to prove, that eating *things ſtrangled*, and *blood*, is forbiden by the *law of nature*.

And, finally, according to others, "It was *neceſſary* to abſtain from theſe things, by *the ſeven precepts of Noah*." Whereas; here is nothing ſaid about the *precepts of Noah*; but about the *law of Moſes*. Beſides; the *precepts of Noah*, are ſaid to have been *ſeven*; but the things, here prohibited, are onely four. Nay; it is very much to be queſtioned, whether there ever were ſuch *precepts* given to *Noah*. For *Moſes* ſaith nothing of them. And how later writers came to know of them, is hard to ſay. But, ſuppoſeing there had been ſuch *precepts* given to *Noah*, as the *jewiſh Rabbins* have pretended; theſe are not the things, according to their account of them.[a] But, what we have to do with the *precepts of Noah*, in a diſpute about what parts of the *law of Moſes* thoſe *gentile chriſtians* were to obſerve; — I cannot imagine.

(2.) "The *ſolution*, now given, clearly ſhoweth us, why ſuch things were joined together, in *this decree*." It was not, becauſe they were all of them *unlawful*, or all of them *indifferent*, in their own nature.[b] But, becauſe they were all *forbiden together*, to the *devout gentiles*, in the *jewiſh law*; to guard them againſt the temptations to *idolatry*, and prevent their being ſuſpected of it, by the *jews*. *This decree*, therefore, contained no precepts of an *heterogeneous nature*, to thoſe, to whom it was addreſſed. In the collection of *national laws*, things, that are eternally and in their own nature *unlawful*, may be ſet down along with things that were *indifferent*, antecedent to their being forbiden; eſpecially if, in ſome circumſtances, ſuch things have, all of them, more or leſſe, the ſame bad tendency. But their being joined, upon ſome particular occaſion, doeth not, in the leaſt, alter what

[a] *Vid.* Selden, de Jur. Nat. l. 7. c. 7. Grot. *in* Act. xv. 20. Ainſworth, *in* Gen. ix. 4. Spencer. diſſertat. *in* Act. xv. 20. c. ii.

[b] *Vid.* Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. c. 27.

what they were originally, and in their own nature. Upon any other ſcheme, it is hard to ſhow what connection theſe things have with one another. But, upon the ſuppoſition of their being prohibited, to the *proſelytes of the gate*, by the *law of Moſes*, in order to guard againſt *idolatry*; it is eaſie to obſerve, that, though *fornication* be, in it's own nature, wicked and *unlawful*; it might, with great propriety, be joined with things that were in their own nature *indifferent*. And, though the obligation, to abſtain from the laſt, would ceaſe of courſe, when the *poſitive law*, which injoined ſuch abſtinences, ceaſed; yet the firſt would then remain *unlawful*, in it's own nature, as it was before; and might alſo be prohibited by the *chriſtian law*; as it actually is. An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VI. Acts xv. 29.

(3.) "The *ſolution*, now given, may teach us, in a clear and eaſie "manner, to reconcile *this letter* of the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *bre-* "*thren*, with what OUR SAVIOR had ſaid before, concerning the law- "fulneſſe of eating all ſorts of food; and with what St. PAUL de- "clared, afterwards, in writeing to ſuch *chriſtians*, as had been *idola-* "*trous gentiles*." OUR SAVIOR declared, without makeing any exception, of *things offered to idols*, *things ſtrangled*, or *blood*, "that nothing, which entereth into a man defileth a man." And *this letter* of the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, ordered the *proſelytes of the gate* to abſtain from theſe things: not as what was a matter of *religion*; or that the eating them would have *defiled their conſciences*; but as forbiden them, by the *civil law* of the *jews*; which, 'till then, and ſome time afterwards, continued in full force and obligation. There cannot, therefore, be any inconſiſtency between OUR LORD's ſaying, "that *religion* requires *no abſtinence* from any ſorts of meats;" and the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren* ſaying "that the *civil law* of the *jews* "required ſome ſuch abſtinences, from ſuch perſons as were ſubject "to it."

Again: St. PAUL, in writeing to the *chriſtians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*, is not onely intirely ſilent, about *this decree*; but declareth, (long after *this letter* was writen, by the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*) "that he knew, and was perſuaded, by the LORD "JESUS CHRIST, that nothing was *unclean*; unleſſe to ſuch, as "ſcrupled the lawfulneſſe of eating it. And, he alloweth the *chriſ-* "*tians*, at *Corinth*, to eat *meats offered to idols*; provided they did "not reverence the *idols*, harden the *idolators*, or offend the weak "and ſcrupulous *chriſtians*." But *that* is not, in the leaſt, inconſiſtent with *this decree*: becauſe that was ſaid to ſuch *chriſtians*, as had been *idolatrous gentiles*; who had never been ſubject to any part of the *law*

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III Sect. VI. Acts xv. 29.

*of Moſes*, and whom *this decree* did not at all concern. They, therefore, might be at *full liberty*, to eat *blood*, *things ſtrangled*, and *things offered to idols*; though the *chriſtians*, who had been *proſelytes of the gate*, were not allowed ſuch *liberty*; becauſe they were under different *civil* obligations.

(4, *and laſtly.*) "This *ſolution* is moſt agreeable to the nature and "*genius* of the *chriſtian religion*; which altereth nothing in men's civil "rights, or duties." We are intirely free from the *law of Moſes*. And the *goſpel* manifeſteth itſelf to be, upon all accounts, *a reaſonable ſervice, and the perfect law of liberty*; granting us all the *liberty*, which wiſe and virtuous men could deſire. Some, indeed, have taken occaſion, from *this decree*, to attack the *chriſtian religion* itſelf; as if it did not give us that *liberty* from the *law of Moſes*, which it pretends; or which *reaſon* itſelf would indulge. From whence they would infer, "that *chriſtianity* is not that *free*, nor *reaſonable*, *ſervice*; which it's votaries have repreſented it to be." But their *objections* ariſe merely from the miſunderſtanding of *this decree*. For, by *this ſolution*, we take away the foundation of ſuch *exceptions*. And, not onely ſo; but the ſcruples likewiſe, which ſome *chriſtians*, and even *conſiderable divines*, have entertained, concerning the lawfulneſſe of eating *things ſtrangled*, and *blood*, may hereby be taken away. As *this decree* concerned onely one ſort of *chriſtians*; and concerned them no longer, than 'till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, when there was an end of the *jewiſh polity*. It never concerned the *chriſtians*, who had been *idolatrous gentiles*, at all: nor any *chriſtians*, in theſe later ages. And, therefore, we cannot be obliged to obſerve it. —— As to *fornication*; it is frequently declared, in the *goſpel*, to be unlawful, to all *chriſtians*, of all times and places. And, therefore, we ſtand obliged to abſtain from it. But the other things, forbiden in *this decree*, are no where elſe declared be unlawful to *all chriſtians*. And, therefore, we are not obliged to abſtain from them.

"Some, indeed, who ſuppoſe themſelves to be under no obliga-"tion to abſtain from *eating blood*, by virtue of *this decree*, are yet in-"clined to look upon themſelves as bound to abſtain from it; by vir-"tue of it's being prohibited to *Noah*, ſoon after the flood. [*Gen.* "ix. 4.] For they look upon him, *as the common father of all man-"kind*, ſince the deluge; and that the *precepts*, given to him, were "general, and are binding upon all his deſcendents." *Anſwer.* I think it very dubious, whether the mere eating of *blood*, ſeparated from the fleſh of any animal, is there prohibited. For the *text* itſelf runs thus: "But fleſh, with the life thereof, *that is*, the *blood* thereof, ſhall

" ſhall you not eat." *That is*, (ſay ſome of the *jewiſh doctors*,) " GOD " did there prohibit *Noah*, and his ſons, to cut a limb off from a live- " ing animal; and eat it, with the *blood* and *life* in it." And that interpretation ſeems to ariſe from the very letter of the *text*, and would fairly account for the connection. *q. d.* " I will not permit you " to uſe cruelty towards the brute creatures. For that will lead you " to cruelty towards one another, and to murther men." And, if that be the ſenſe of the place, I am content that it be univerſally binding. For *cruelty* is to be condemned, at all times and places.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VI. Acts xv. 29.

But, ſuppoſeing that prohibition, given to *Noah*, Gen. ix. 4. were to be underſtood of mere eating *blood*; I ſhould look upon it to have been onely *temporary*, as well as *this decree*. That is, they were to abſtain from *blood*; for this reaſon, very probably, among others; *namely*, That, as the *blood* was to be offered unto GOD, in the *ſacrifices*, he would not permit them to eat it; but reſerved it, as a thing ſacred and holy, unto himſelf. [*See* Lev. xvii. 11, 12; 14.] I ſhould look upon it, I ſay, to have been *temporary*; — ſuppoſeing that to have been the ſenſe of the *law*. Becauſe, it is evidently aboliſhed, to *chriſtians*, in the new teſtament, by OUR LORD; who has put an end to all *ſacrifices*; and has likewiſe declared, in general, and without exception, " that nothing, which entereth into a man, defileth the man." And his APOSTLE, St. PAUL, aſſures us, " that " he knew, and was perſuaded, by the LORD JESUS CHRIST, *that* " *nothing is of itſelf common, or unclean*; unleſſe to him that account- " eth it ſo; ot that has not yet got over his præjudices." [*Rom.* xiv. 14.] But many learned men apprehend the former to be the ſenſe of the prohibition, given to *Noah* and his ſons; *namely*, that they ſhould not, in a voracious manner, eat fleſh, taken from any liveing animal, raw, and whileſt the *blood* was warm and ſpringing, and the life not intirely gone out of it. [c]

In

[c] 1 *Sam.* xiv. 32, 33, 34. *Ezek.* xxxiii. 25. See *Targ. Jonathan.* Gen. ix. 4. *Maimon. More Nevoch.* part iii. c. 48. *Ainſworth* on *Gen.* ix. 4. and Dr. *Jeremiah Hunt*'s *Eſſay, for explaneing the ſcripture revelation*, p. 51, 52. *Seld. de Jure Nat. & Gent.* l. 7. c. 1.

My late worthy friend, Mr. *Lowman*, has another ſolution.

" It was a well-known doctrine of the antient idolators, that blood was a food " for dæmons. It was, therefore, a cuſtomary rite of idolatry, when they killed a " beaſt, to receive the blood into ſome veſſel, or pour it into ſome hole, or " trench, made in the ground; and, ſeting themſelves round about it, to eat the " fleſh; ſuppoſeing, that, they eating the fleſh, while the dæmons drank the blood, " they were the *dæmons* gueſts; and, by this kind of communion with them, were " inabled to propheſie, and to foretel things to come." *Maimon. Mor. Nev.* part iii. l. 46.

An. Chriſti 49. Claud. 9. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VI. Acts xv. 29.

In one word, there are no *unneceſſary burthens* in the *chriſtian law.* But the *whole plan* is calculated to the nobleſt views; *that is,* to promote peace and charity, virtue and happineſſe, among mankind.

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## CHAP. III. SECT. VII.

*The* church *at* Antioch *receive, with joy, the* ſentiments *of the* APOSTLES, elders, *and* brethren. PETER *went down to* Antioch, *and was reproved, there, by* PAUL. Acts xv. 30, — 34.

PAUL and BARNABAS, *Titus, Judas,* and *Silas,* being diſmiſſed, by the *church,* at *Jeruſalem,* they went to *Antioch* in *Syria.* And, haveing called together the *church,* there, they delivered unto them the *epiſtle,* from the APOSTLES, *elders,* and *brethren.* Which, when they had read, they greatly rejoiced, at the advice ſent them. For it was matter of great conſolation to them. In as much as they had required them to obſerve onely thoſe parts of the *law of Moſes,* which they had formerly obſerved; and had not impoſed *circumciſion,* and the *whole law,* upon them, as abſolutely neceſſary to their ſalvation. *Judas* alſo, and *Silas,* who were *prophets* in the *chriſtian church,* took a great deal of pains to exhort the *chriſtian brethren,* at *Antioch*; very probably, to ſubmit to the things contained in the *epiſtle,* and to no more of the *Moſaic law*; but to ſtand faſt in their *chriſtian liberty,* as well as to conform to the *goſpel* in general. Theſe two meſſengers of the *chriſtian church* at *Jeruſalem,* haveing tarried, ſome time, at *Antioch,* to deliver the *letter*; and explane, or inforce, it; as well as to obſerve how it was received, and what effects it had: Haveing tarried, I ſay, a ſufficient time, there, for theſe, and like purpoſes; they were diſmiſſed, in a peaceable and friendly manner, by the *church,* at *Antioch*; that they

l. 46. p. 484.] 'Therefore, there is a law, *Ye ſhall not eat any thing with the blood.*' Or, as learned men have obſerved, the truer interpretation, *at the blood,* or *before the blood,* [עַל הַדָּם *Lev.* xix. 26.] as the manner was, when the blood was thus offered to dæmons.'

[See Mr. *Moſes Lowman's rational of the ritual of the hebrew worſhip,* p. 233, 234.]

they might return to thoſe that ſent them: and, particularly, unto ſuch of the APOSTLES, as abode ſtill at *Jeruſalem*; who were (without doubt) concerned to know the iſſue of the grand affair depending. But *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, who was one of them, choſe rather to tarry longer at *Antioch*. *Judas*, therefore, (ſurnamed *Barſabas*) returned to *Jeruſalem* alone. An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VII. Acts xv.

After ſome time, it happened that St. PETER came down, from *Jeruſalem*, to *Antioch*; while PAUL and BARNABAS ſtill continued in that city. [*Gal.* ii. 11, *&c.*] For this is the onely time, that St. PETER found the two APOSTLES of the *gentiles* there. Perhaps, that leading APOSTLE of the *circumciſion* had a mind to go and ſee, with his own eyes, how matters went, in that conſiderable church of *devout gentiles*. But his behavior, there, was not ſuch as the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles* could approve. For, though there had lately been a ſharp contention between the *jewiſh* and *gentile converts*: And the queſtion had been determined, in favor of the *gentile chriſtians*, who were to be acknowleged as *brethren*, without any farther conformity to *jewiſh* cuſtoms, or to the *law of Moſes*. And St. PETER, himſelf, had had a great hand in bringing about that determination; yet, for all that, his behavior at *Antioch*, in ſome meaſure, tended to betray that *liberty* of the *gentile chriſtians*; and looked as if they were not taken into full communion with the *jewiſh converts*. For, before that ſome zeleous *jewiſh chriſtians* came, from JAMES, (the onely APOSTLE then at *Jeruſalem*,) St, PETER did eat, and freely converſe, with the *gentile chriſtians*; as perſons taken into full communion with the *jewiſh converts*. But, when thoſe *zeleots* were come, he acted, as if he had been aſhamed of what he had done; or as deſireous to conceal it. For he withdrew from the ſociety of the *gentile chriſtians*, and ſeparated himſelf from them; as if they had been ſtill *unclean*, and unfit for the familiar and free converſation of ſuch as had been *jews*. And, by his means, many other of the leſſe bigoted *jewiſh chriſtians* diſſembled, likewiſe. Nay; when St. PETER did ſo, (that APOSTLE of ſo great renown; who had, himſelf, firſt received the *gentiles* into the *chriſtian church*,) even BARNABAS, alſo, one of the APOSTLES of the *gentiles*, was carried away with the diſſimulation: very probably, through that eaſineſſe of temper, which was natural to him. St. PETER remembered how ſharply the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*, had reprimanded him, for going and eating with *Cornelius*, and his friends; when he firſt preached to *uncircumciſed gentiles*. He might, therefore, take that method, in order to prevent ſuch another cenſure. Nay; St. PAUL aſſureth us, that he did it, becauſe he was afraid of the diſpleaſure of the *jewiſh chriſtians*. But 33, 34.

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An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. III. Sect. VII. Acts xv. 34.

the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles*, who was not a whit behind the chief of the APOSTLES; when he ſaw that he walked contrary to the truth and ſincerity of the *goſpel*; and, in effect, betrayed the *liberty* of the *gentile converts*; he withſtood St. PETER to the face; and publicly rebuked him. For he was really blame-worthy. — St. PAUL ſeemeth to have been afraid, leſt the behavior of St. PETER, and of the other *jewiſh chriſtians*, who were influenced by him, ſhould renew the diſpute, which had been lately determined at *Jeruſalem*, and ſo much to his ſatisfaction. And, therefore, he, before them all, addreſſed St. PETER thus. "If you (ſaid he) who are a "*jewiſh convert*, yourſelf, take the liberty, ſometimes, to live after "the manner of the *gentiles*; and freely eat, and converſe, with them; "laying aſide thoſe rules and cuſtoms, which the *jews* generally ob- "ſerve; why do not you always do ſo, among them? Why do you "tempt the *gentile converts* to conform to the *jewiſh* cuſtoms; by "ſometimes withdrawing from them, as *unclean*, or unfit for your "familiar converſation? We, who are *jews* by birth, as well as *reli-* "*gion*; and not of the race of the *gentiles*, whom our nation hath "hitherto reckoned ſo wicked and polluted: —— We, I ſay, of the "holy ſeed of the *jews*, have found that a man, ſubject to the *law* "*of Moſes*, cannot be juſtified, but by the method propoſed in the "*goſpel*. And, therefore, *we* have imbraced *chriſtianity*; that we "might be juſtified by *faith* in CHRIST, and not by the *deeds* of the "*law of Moſes*. For, by the deeds of that *law*, no fleſh ſhall be juſti- "fied. But, if, while we ſeek juſtification by *the goſpel-method*, we muſt "have recourſe to the *law* again; we are ſtill but where we were; "*that is*, condemned ſiners. Is *the goſpel-method*, then, inſufficient "to juſtifie and ſave us? And JESUS CHRIST the miniſter of ſin, to "condemn men, as the law did? GOD forbid! And yet this is cer- "tainly the caſe. If I, who have quitted the *law of Moſes*, to put "myſelf under the *goſpel*, ſhould again put myſelf under the *law*, I "make myſelf a tranſgreſſor. I reaſſume the guilt of all my former "tranſgreſſions; from which, by that *law*, I cannot be juſtified. "And, when you build again the *wall of partition*, to keep out the "*gentiles*, which you yourſelf firſt broke down; do not you deſtroy "your own works; and repreſent theſe *gentiles*, as ſtill *polluted*, and "*unclean:* though then GOD ſhowed you not to account any man "*polluted*, or unfit for your ſociety, and converſation? By the tenor "of the *law of Moſes* itſelf, I, by imbraceing *chriſtianity*, am diſ- "charged from *that law*; that I might be appropriated to GOD, and "live acceptably to him, in his kingdom; which he hath now ſet "up, under *his ſon*. I, as a member of CHRIST's body, am cru-

"cified

" cified with him. But, though I am thereby dead to *the law*, I An. Chriſti
" nevertheleſſe live. Yet not I; but CHRIST liveth in me. *That* 50.
" *is*, the life, which I now live in the fleſh, is upon no other prin- Claud. 10.
" ciple, nor under any other *law*, but that of *faith* in the *ſon of* Book III.
" GOD; who loved me, and gave himſelf for me. In ſo doing, I Ch. III.
" avoid fruſtrateing the favor, which GOD has manifeſted, in the Sect. VII.
" *goſpel*. For, if juſtification, or acceptance with GOD, come by Acts xv.
" the *law of Moſes*; then CHRIST is dead, and the *goſpel* reveled, 34.
" in vane."

## CHAP. IV.

### *The continuation of the* jewiſh *and* roman hiſtory.

Herod Agrippa's *dominions turned into a* roman province. *The præſidents of* Syria, *and procurators of* Judæa. *Seditions among the* jews. Agrippa *the younger, and* Felix, *advanced.*

I HAVE already related the tragical death of *Herod Agrippa*; and the great pains, which he, in many inſtances took, to oblige the *jews*. But he doeth not ſeem to have equally obliged and gratified his other ſubjects. For, as ſoon as they of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* knew of his death, they made public rejoiceings; caſting bitter reflections upon the deceaſed king, and treating his family with great indignity. His ſon, *Agrippa*, who was onely ſeventeen years of age, was then at *Rome*; where he was educated in the *emperor*'s *court*. When *Claudius*, the *emperor*, heard of the death of *Herod Agrippa*, whom he looked upon, as his old and faithful friend, he was greatly troubled: and could not forbear reſenting it, that the inhabitants of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* ſhould rejoice at his death, and inſult his memory and family. As for his own part, he reſolved to ſend away *Agrippa*, his ſon, immediately, to take poſſeſſion of his *father*'s *kingdom*. But his freedmen and favorites diſſuaded him from it, under a pretence that it was too great a truſt to be committed to ſo young a man.[a] Though they, in reality, aſpired



[a] Joſeph. antiq. l. 19. c. 9.

An. Christi 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. IV. Acts xv. 34.

after the government themſelves. And, accordingly, it was granted to ſuch of them, as could make the greateſt intereſt with the *emperor* for it.[b] And, in the firſt place, *Cuſpius Fadus* was ſent as *procurator*.[c] For the kingdom of *Herod Agrippa* was now turned into a *roman province*. To *Fadus*, *Claudius* gave it in charge, that he ſhould chaſtiſe the people of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte*, for inſulting the memory of the deceaſed king; and for the contumely, which they had done to his daughters. But they made ſuch intereſt with the *emperor*, that they did not ſuffer much, upon that account. Not long after this, *Vibius Marſus* was recalled from being præſident of *Syria*; and *Caſſius Longinus* ſent thither, in his ſtead. When *Fadus* came into *Judæa*, he found the *jews*, who inhabited *Peræa*, had killed ſeveral of the *Philadelphians*, in an inſurrection; which they had made, about the boundaries of a village, which lay between them. But he ſoon put a ſtop to it, by puniſhing the heads and authors of the ſedition. After that, he cleared the country of the robbers, who had greatly moleſted them. And, upon ſome diſguſt, which the *emperor* had receiv'd from the *jews*, *Caſſius Longinus*, the *præſident* of *Syria*, and *Cuſpius Fadus*, the *procurator* of *Judæa*, were ſent to *Jeruſalem*, with ſome forces. Where, haveing called together the chief-prieſts, and leading men of that city, they acquainted them, that the *emperor* would have the high-prieſt's robes depoſited, in the tower of *Antonia*, as they had been formerly. But *Agrippa the younger*, who was then in the *emperor's court*, prevailed with *Claudius*, to revoke that order.[d] About the ſame time, *Herod*, *king of Chalcis*, obtained, of *Claudius*, the power of the *temple*, and of the ſacred treaſury; as, likewiſe, to appoint who ſhould be *high-prieſt*. Upon which, he depoſed *Simon Cantheras*; and made *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Camys*, high-prieſt, in his ſtead.

*Cuſpius Fadus*, haveing been *procurator* of *Judæa*, for about two years, he was removed; and *Tiberius Alexander* was ſent to ſucceede him.[e] He had been a *jew*; and was ſon to *Alexander*, the *alabarch*, or chief magiſtrate of the *jews*, at *Alexandria*, in *Ægypt*. But he had renounced his religion, and gone over to the *heathens*. Dureing his adminiſtration, the famine happened, of which *Agabus* had propheſied. And to provide for which, the *gentile chriſtians*, at *Antioch*, had ſent a generous collection, to the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*,

[b] Tacit. hiſt. l. 5. c. 9. Bell. l. 2. c. 11. § 6. jud. l. 20. c. 5. § 2.

[c] Joſ. antiq. jud. l. 19. c. 9. *ad fin.* & de

[d] Joſ. antiq. l. 20. c. 1.

[e] Joſ. antiq.

*ruſalem.* By him, alſo, *Jacob* and *Simon* were apprehended and crucified. They were the ſons of *Judas* of *Galilee*, who had excited the people to revolt from the *romans*, when *Quirinius* made a *cenſus*, in *Judæa*. And, very probably, *they* had attempted ſomething of the like nature. —— *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Camys*, did not long injoy the dignity, before *Herod*, *king of Chalcis*, depoſed him; and confered the high-prieſthood upon *Ananias*, the ſon of *Nebedæus*. After which, *Tiberius Alexander* was recalled, and *Ventidius Cumanus* made *procurator* of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, in his ſtead. Dureing the great feſtivals, the *romans* uſed to order a number of ſoldiers, to keep watch, in the *porticoes* of the *temple*; to prevent any diſturbance, from the vaſt multitudes of people, who uſed to flock to *Jeruſalem*, upon ſuch occaſions. It happened, that, at the paſſover, one of the ſoldiers, whom *Cumanus* had ordered upon that ſervice, did, in a wanton and inſolent humor, expoſe what modeſty teaches men, univerſally, to conceal; perhaps to expreſſe his contempt of the *jewiſh* cuſtom of *circumciſion*. Such an indecency, within the limits of the *temple*, did greatly exaſperate the *jews*; who cried out, that "it was a ſhowing contempt, not to them, but to GOD himſelf." And ſome of the more warm and forward of them inveighed againſt *Cumanus*, as if it had been done by his order. This greatly incenſed the *procurator*; who, nevertheleſſe, kept his temper ſo far, as to beg of them to make no ſedition, dureing the *feſtival*. But intreaties would not do. No! they rather reviled and inſulted him the more. He, therefore, ordered all the ſoldiers, in the city, inſtantly to repair, with their arms, to the tower of *Antonia*. Upon which, the people were terrified; and fled with ſo great precipitation, that about twenty thouſand of them were trod, or preſſed, to death; by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the gates of the *temple*. This turned the feſtival into a time of univerſal lamentation. So that the *jews*, in general, neglecting their prayers and ſacrifices, gave themſelves up to tears and mourning. Nay, farther; that great calamity brought on another. For ſome of them, who had eſcaped, were filled with reſentment; and happening to meet with one *Stephen*, a ſervant of *Cæſar*'s, at *Bethoron*, about twelve miles from *Jeruſalem*, they fell upon him, in a furious manner; and plundered him of all his baggage. As ſoon as *Cumanus* heard of it, he ſent out ſome of the *roman ſoldiers*, to plunder the neighboring villages, and to bring the principal perſons therein, to him; as if they had been guilty of that fact. The villages were, accordingly, laid waſte. And one of the ſoldiers, ſent upon that expedition, hap-

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. IV. Acts xv. 34.

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. IV. Acts xv. 34.

pening to find, in a village, the *books of Moſes*, he publicly tore them in pieces; withall, throwing out ſcoffs, and bitter reflections, on the *jewiſh* laws and nation. The report of this, ſuddenly drew together a vaſt number of *jews*; who went to *Cæſarea*, and petitioned *Cumanus* "to revenge the injury done, not to *them*, but to the *deity*; whoſe "laws were treated in ſo unworthy a manner. For they could not "bear to live, to ſee the laws of their *fathers* treated with ſuch in-"dignity." He, fearing a general inſurrection, adviſed with his council; and beheaded the ſoldier. By which mean, the tumult was appeaſed.[f]

The former of theſe inſtances ſhows what great regard the *jews* had for their *temple*; and the latter points out their excedeing great reverence for the *law of Moſes*. From whence, we may be ſatisfied, that the repreſentations of the new teſtament, concerning both theſe particulars, are juſt, and well-grounded.

*Herod, king of Chalcis*, died. And *Claudius* confered his kingdom, on his nephew, the *younger Agrippa*. To whom he, alſo, committed the power, over the *temple*, and the ſacred treaſury, as well as of confering the high-prieſthood, on whom he pleaſed.[g] The *emperor*, *Claudius*, was very much influenced by his wives and freed-men; as we ſhall ſhow, more particularly, hereafter. And hence it was, that *Antonius Claudius Felix*, one of his freed-men, was made *governor of Samaria*. For he was brother to *Pallas*, another of the *emperor*'s freed-men, who was highly in favor with his maſter; and yet more with *Agrippina*, whom he had been greatly inſtrumental, in promoteing to be *empreſſe*.[h] By *Agrippina*'s intereſt, therefore, *Pallas*

[f] Joſeph. antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 3, 4. In the *hiſtory of the jewiſh war*, [l. 2. c. 12. § 1.] *Joſephus* computes thoſe that were preſſed to death, about the gates of the *temple*, at *above ten thouſand*. But here, at *twenty thouſand*. Either the numbers might be changed, by the tranſcribers; or the ſlain might be between ten and twenty thouſand.

[g] There is ſome miſtake, or wrong reading, *Joſ. antiq.* l. 20. c. 1. § *ult.* where it is ſaid, "that this power continued, in the deſcendents of *Herod, king of Chalcis*, to the end of the war." See *Hudſon in loc.* and Dr. *Lardner*'s *credibility*, &c. part. i. p. 30. in the *notes*. 2d edition, p. 49. 3d edition. See, alſo, *Joſeph. antiq.* l. 20. c. 8. § 8; 11. & c. 9. § 1. edit. *Havercamp*. From whence it will appear that none of the ſons of *Herod, king of Chalcis*, did nominate any high-prieſts. But all the changes, in the high-prieſtood, after the death of the ſaid *Herod*, [which happened in the 8th of *Claudius*,] to the time of the war, were made, by *Agrippa the younger*, nephew of this *Herod, king of Chalcis*. And, when the people of *Jeruſalem* had a mind to apply the ſacred money, to any particular purpoſe, they addreſſed to *Agrippa*, and he gave the directions. [*Joſeph. antiq.* c. 9. § 7.] In which place, *Joſephus* ſais expreſly, that "the king [*Agrippa*] had been intruſted with the care, "or government, of the *temple*, by *Claudius Cæſar*."

[h] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 1, 2, 3.

*las* obtained, for his brother *Felix*, the government of *Samaria*.[i] And, afterwards, got him farther promoted. An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10.

*Caſſius Longinus* being removed, *Ummidius Quadratus* was made *præſident of Syria*. Dureing his adminiſtration, the quarrel happened between the *jews* and *ſamaritanes*; which hath been related above.[k] And, when *Cumanus* would not do them juſtice, the *jews* appealed to *Quadratus*; accuſeing the *ſamaritanes* of begining the quarrel, and *Cumanus* of favoring them.[l] And (according to *Tacitus*) *Felix* was alſo criminal; by applying unſeaſonable remedies; and even partakeing of the plunder, which had been carried off, in that quarrel. The *ſamaritanes* had, indeed, complained firſt to *Quadratus*; chargeing the *jews* with begining the quarrel, and with contemning the *roman authority*. But, when *Quadratus* did, after ſome time, go into *Samaria*; he found they had given him a falſe information, and that they themſelves had begun the quarrel. However; underſtanding that ſome of the *jews* were meditateing ſome new tumults and inſurrections, he crucified thoſe, whom *Cumanus* had taken alive; and put others to death; to terrifie the reſt. And haveing power, from the *emperor*, to try *Cumanus* and *Felix*; who were, perhaps, more guilty than either the *jews* or *ſamaritanes*; he found ſome difficulty in procedeing againſt them. And, after all, was hindered from executeing juſtice, upon *Felix*; whoſe brother, *Pallas*, was ſo much in favor with the *emperor*, and with *Agrippina*, the *empreſſe*. For, inſtead of being tried, himſelf; he was made one of the judges in that affair. Which put an intire ſtop to all accuſations againſt him.[m] But *Cumanus*, who had no ſuch friend, in the *emperor*'s *court*, was depoſed, and ſent to *Rome*, together with *Celer*, the *tribune*; to give an account of their conduct, before *Cæſar*. And, farther; *Quadratus* ſent, in chains, *Jonathan*, and *Ananias* the high-prieſt, and his ſon *Ananus*, the captain of the temple; and ordered ſeveral other leading men, among the *jews* and *ſamaritanes*, to appear before *Cæſar*, concerning that affair. *Cumanus*, and the *ſamaritanes*,[n] had made ſuch intereſt with the *emperor*'s freed-men and favorites; that, when the affair came to an hearing, they would have got the better of the *jews*; had it not been for *Agrippa the younger*, who was ſtill at *Rome*; and interceded ſo powerfully with *Agrippina*, the empreſſe. She had the aſcendent over *Claudius*; and prevailed with him to put

Book III. Ch. IV. Acts xv. 34.

[i] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. *ad fin.* [k] See *vol.* 1. *of this hiſtory*, p. 154. [l] Joſ. Antiq. l. 20. c. 6. § 2. & de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 5, &c. [m] Annal. l. 12. c. 54. [n] Joſ. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 6, &c. Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 6. § *ult.*

An. Christi 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. IV. Acts xv. 24.

put to death, ſuch of the *ſamaritans*, as were then at *Rome*: to baniſh *Cumanus*; and to order *Celer*, the tribune, who had alſo been criminal in that affair, to be carried back to *Jeruſalem*; that he might be publicly draged through the ſtreets of the city, and afterwards beheaded. Whereas; *Felix* (who had been as guilty as *Cumanus*, and the others, who ſuffered, upon that occaſion) not onely continued in the government of *Samaria*; but was alſo, by the intereſt of his brother, made *procurator of Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Peræa*. Where he exerciſed great injuſtice and cruelty; and lived in a voluptuous and debauched manner. *Tacitus* ſais, that he married one *Druſilla*, the grand daughter of *Mark Antony* and *Cleopatra*. By which mean, he became related to the *Cæſarean family*; and even to *Claudius* the *emperor*.[o] *Joſephus* informs us, that he married *Druſilla*, daughter of *Herod Agrippa*; and that ſhe left her former huſband, *Azizus*, king of the *Emiſenes*, on purpoſe to marry *Felix*, who was mightily inamored with her beauty.[p] Both theſe accounts may be true. For *Suetonius* ſais, that *Felix* was the huſband of three queens; though there is no intimation who the third was.

The *emperor*, *Claudius*, took the kingdom of *Chalcis*, from *Agrippa the younger*, after he had governed it four years; and gave him, inſtead of it, a larger kingdom; namely, *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Gaulanitis*; which had been the *tetrarchy of Philip*; together with *Abila*, that had been the *tetrarchy of Lyſanias*. To which he, likewiſe, added the *province*, which had belonged to *Varus*.[q]

[o] Tacit. annal. l. 5. c. 9. [p] Antiq. l. 20. c. 7. § 2. [q] Joſeph. antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 2. & c. 7. § 1. De bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § ult.

CHAP.

# CHAP. V.

*St.* PAUL's *ſecond* apoſtolic journey, *along with* Silas *and* Timothy, *to eſtabliſh ſuch as were already converted to* chriſtianity, *in part of* Aſia minor; *and to convert others, in* Phrygia, Galatia, Troas, Macedonia, *and* Greece. *Or his* Phrygian, Galatian, Græcian, *and* Macedonian journey. *Acts* xv. 35, — xviii. 22.

## SECT. I.

PAUL *propoſeth to* BARNABAS *to go out again. They differ about* John Mark; *and go ſeparate journeys.* BARNABAS *goeth to* Cyprus; *and* PAUL, *through* Syria, *and* Cilicia. *They deliver the* apoſtolic decree *to the* churches. *Acts* xv. 35, *to the end of that chapter.*

PAUL and BARNABAS, haveing now continued, for ſome time, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, teaching the *chriſtian doctrine*, in conjunction with many others. And the *church*, there, being ſettled, by the *letter*, from the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, at *Jeruſalem*: — PAUL propoſed to BARNABAS, that they ſhould go out again; and ſee how things went, with the ſeveral *churches*, which they had gathered, in their former *apoſtolic journey*. BARNABAS readily conſented to the propoſeal. But, out of his very great natural affection for his nephew, *John Mark*, he inſiſted upon it, that he ſhould be permitted to go along with them, a ſecond time; as an *evangeliſt*, or their *miniſter*, and aſſiſtent. Whereas; St. PAUL, judgeing more impartially, and without the bias of conſanguinity, did not think it proper to admit him. Becauſe, he had, at *Pamphilia*, (either in a cowardly, or humorſome, manner,) left them, in their laſt *apoſtolic journey*; and would not accompany them, in their neceſſity, as he ought to have done. And the contention grew ſo ſharp and violent, between thoſe two excellent men, that they parted company: though, perhaps, in as friendly a manner, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did, after their contention. [*Gen.* xiii. 7, *&c.*] But, ſuppoſe

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. I. Acts xv. 35, *&c.*

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. I. Acts xv. 39, &c.

poſe it was with diſlike and reſentment, there is nothing wonderful in it. For, though they were inſpired with the whole ſcheme of the *chriſtian* doctrine; and ſo far under the guidance of an unerring ſpirit; yet no *chriſtian* ſuppoſes that they were inſpired in their ordinary conduct, or deveſted of all human infirmities. And it would[c] be ridiculous to make ſuch things any objection to the truth of the *chriſtian religion.* On the contrary, it ought to be looked upon, as a proof of the great fairneſſe and impartiality of the ſacred hiſtorians, that they frankly owned; and, without reſerve, publiſhed; the foibles and imperfections of their *fellow-chriſtians*; and even of the APOSTLES and firſt planters of the *glorious goſpel.* —— But, whatever human infirmity there was, in this contention between PAUL and BARNABAS; GOD, in his good providence, made this ſeparation of theirs turn to the greater and more extenſive good of mankind. For, by that mean, they ſpread *chriſtianity*, in more, and diſtant, countries. And not onely the *chriſtian churches*, in general; but St. MARK, alſo, was profited, by this ſeverity of St. PAUL. And behaved himſelf ſo, as again to deſerve the eſteem and commendation of *that great* APOSTLE. For they were perfectly reconciled; and acted in concert, in ſpreading and promoteing *chriſtianity*; as appeareth from both BARNABAS and *John Mark*'s being mentioned, after this, with great honor and reſpect, once and again, in *the epiſtles of* St. PAUL.[a]

BARNABAS took his nephew, *John Mark*, along with him; and (after they had been recommended, unto GOD, for his bleſſing, by the *church*, at *Antioch*,[b]) they ſailed unto the iſland *Cyprus*, BARNABAS his native country, to confirm the *chriſtians*, and convert others. And PAUL, haveing choſe for his miniſter, or aſſiſtent, *Silas*, or *Silvanus*; (who had been one of the meſſengers, from the *church*, at *Jeruſalem*, to the *church*, at *Antioch*; and who prefered going along with that APOSTLE, to the going back to *Jeruſalem*:) And they two, haveing been, alſo, recommended, to GOD, for his bleſſing, by the prayers of the *chriſtian brethren*, at *Antioch*, (accompanied, again, perhaps, with *faſting*, and the *laying on of their hands*;) they went, through ſome parts of *Syria*, and through *Cilicia*, PAUL's native

Ver. 39. [a] Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. *See on* Philem. ver. 24. *and on* 1 Pet. v. 13.

Ver. 40. [b] St. LUKE, deſigning here to drop the ſtory of BARNABAS, and perſue that of PAUL alone, hath not mentioned this circumſtance. But, it is highly probable, the *church* at *Antioch* wiſhed them both ſucceſſe. And, therefore, recommended both of them, together with their aſſiſtents, unto GOD, for his bleſſing; before they ſet out, upon ſo great an undertakeing.

native province, to eſtabliſh the *chriſtians*, and to convert others. And, as they paſſed along through the cities, where-ever it was proper, they delivered the *letter*, from the APOSTLES, *elders*, *and brethren*, at *Jeruſalem*; that ſuch of the *devout gentiles*, as imbraced *chriſtianity*, might not be impoſed upon, or made to obſerve more of the *law of Moſes*, than they had done, antecedent to their becomeing *chriſtians*.[c] For that *determination* reached to *converts*, from among the *proſelytes of the gate*, where-ever they lived. And we find ſome, as far diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, as *Antioch*, in *Piſidia*; and *Philippi*; and *Theſſalonica*, in *Macedonia*. Nay; there ſeemeth, generally, to have been ſome of them, where-ever there was any *jewiſh ſynagogue*, or *proſeucha*. Upon the reception of the *letter*, the *churches* were greatly confirmed in *chriſtianity*. And their numbers increaſed daily. Whereas; if the *devout gentiles* had been obliged to *circumciſion*, and the whole *law of Moſes*, upon their imbraceing *chriſtianity*; it would have ſhaken ſuch of them, as had already received the *goſpel*; and would have greatly deterred others from imbraceing the *chriſtian religion*, becauſe of ſubmitting to ſo great and intolerable a burthen. The more moderate *jewiſh converts*, alſo, would be determined to acquieſce, and not moleſt their *gentile brethren*; when they conſidered that the *ſpirit of* GOD had ſettled the terms, on which they were to be accepted; and the APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren* of the *circumciſion*, at *Jeruſalem*, had given it, under their hands, as their *unanimous opinion* of that matter.

An. Chriſti 50. Conſul. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. I Acts xv. 41.

Ver. 41. [c] The *author* of *Miſcellanea ſacra* hath, with great judgment, ſhown, that either the two verſes, *Acts* xvi. 4, 5. are miſplaced, and ought to have been added to the concluſion of the xvth *chapter*; or (which I rather incline to) that *Acts* xvi. 1, 2, 3. ought to be read in a *parentheſis*. [See *Eſſay* iv. p. 33, *&c.*] And the different readings of *Acts* xv. 41. mentioned by Dr. *Mill*, confirm this obſervation. I have, therefore, brought *ver.* 4, 5. of the xvith *chapter*, in here. Though I am ſatisfied, that they delivered the *letter* to the *churches*, where-ever there were *proſelytes of the gate*; that they might ſtand up for *their liberty*, and that the *jewiſh converts* might not attempt to abridge them of it.

## CHAP. V. SECT. II.

### *St.* PAUL *and* Silas *go to* Derbe *and* Lyſtra: *There* Timothy *is* circumciſed; *and joineth them, as another* evangeliſt, *or aſſiſtent to St.* PAUL. Acts xvi. 1, 2, 3.

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. II. Acts xvi. 1.

PAUL (haveing *Silas* along with him) went to *Derbe* and *Lyſtra*, where he and BARNABAS had been, in their former *apoſtolic journey*, and had planted the *chriſtian religion*. There they found *Timothy*; who, though he was a mere youth, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among the *chriſtians*. His father was a *greek*, or *gentile*; but his mother was a *jeweſſe*. Very likely his *father* was a *devout gentile*; as he had married ſo pious a *jeweſſe*.[a] His grand-mother,

Ver. 1. [a] Dr. *Mill* has taken notice that the MS. called *Covel.* 2. inſtead of [a *jeweſſe*,] read [χήρας, ἰουδαίας, *a widow, a jeweſſe.*] He has, likewiſe, obſerved that *Veleſius* his MSS. and two of the *latin* fathers, inſtead of [*a jeweſſe*,] read, onely, [*a widow.*] According to that reading, it would here be intimated, "that *Timothy*'s father was now dead, and that his mother was *a widow.*" But, as *Eraſmus* has, moſt ingeniouſly, conjectured, that reading aroſe from the negligence of ſome tranſcriber; who, in his hurry, tranſpoſed the letters, in his copy of the vulgate. And ſo, for [*judæa, a jeweſſe*,] writ [*vidua, a widow.*]

This may be confirmed, by the following obſervations, (1.) That the words ἰουδαίας and χήρας, in *greek*, are not ſo like one another, as *judæa* and *vidua*, in *latin*. And, therefore, not ſo likely to be miſtaken, the one for the other. (2.) *Veleſius* collected his various readings, not from the *greek*, but from 16 *latin* copies; which various readings he tranſlated into *greek*, for fear of the inquiſition, or of being ſuſpected of *hæreſie*; and placed them in the margin of his new teſtament. But he has often tranſlated them very unhappily. And, thereby, he has ſome readings, which are not found, in any *greek* copy; neither are they *greek*, at all. —— Theſe things appear, not onely from *Wetſtein*'s obſervations; but from examining ſeveral of *Veleſius* his various readings. The *Veleſian* readings are, therefore, no other than the teſtimonies of *latin* copies. (3.) The MS. called *Covel.* 2. ſeems to have added the word, [χήρας *a widow,*] as a tranſlation from the *latin* copies. And, if ſo, it is not ſingular, in doing ſuch a thing. For ſome other of the *greek* MSS. ſeem to have been altered, in ſome places, in conformity to the *vulgar latin*. (4.) Two of the *latin fathers*; namely, *Jerome* and *Auſtin*, inſtead of [*a jeweſſe*,] read, [*a widow.*] But none of the *greek* fathers are alleged, in favor of that reading. Moſt probably, theſe two *latin* fathers had copies of the new teſtament, in the vulgar *latin*, which ſo read this text. (5.) None of the moſt antient and moſt valuable MSS. nor any other of the antient verſions, except the *vulgate*, have that different reading. —— From all which, *Eraſmus* his conjecture ſeems highly probable. And the common may appear, evidently to be the true reading; eſpecially when it is added, that *Timothy*'s mother

ther, whoſe name was *Lois*, and his mother, whoſe name was *Eunice*, being *jeweſſes*, and both of them very pious, they had given *Timothy* a virtuous and religious education; and had taken particular care to acquaint him with the *ſcriptures* of the old teſtament; in which he was inſtructed, even from his childhood. As his father was a *gentile*, and did not approve of it, *Timothy* was not *circumciſed*, in his infancy. It hath been taken notice of, already, that *Timothy* (together with his mother and grand-mother) was, moſt probably, converted to *chriſtianity*, when PAUL and BARNABAS were at *Lyſtra*, in their *firſt apoſtolic journey*.[b] When PAUL now came to *Lyſtra* again, among other agreeable circumſtances, he found young *Timothy*, to have made a progreſſe in *chriſtianity*, much beyond what could have been expected, from one of his years. For he had arrived to ſuch a degree of knowlege and piety, that he was very much taken notice of; and greatly admired, and reſpected; by the *chriſtians*, in general, at *Lyſtra* and *Iconium*. One of ſuch early zele, and diſtinguiſhed piety, was not to be loſt in the croud. Nor would *the great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles* ſuffer ſuch talents to lie buried in a napkin. No! He knew mankind too well; and had ſuch an ardent and indefatigable zele for propagateing *chriſtianity*; that (as BARNABAS had parted company; *John Mark* forſaken him, when he had very great occaſion for him; and he had none but *Silas* to go along with him, and aſſiſt him; in a work, which required ſo many diligent and faithful laborers: —— For theſe, and like reaſons, I ſay,) he, with great earneſtneſſe, deſired to take *Timothy*, along with him, as another *evangeliſt*, or aſſiſtent. But the APOSTLE's ſagacity, and zele, was not all. In this caſe, there was ſomething *ſupernatural*. For ſome of the *chriſtian prophets* (very likely, at *Lyſtra*,) propheſied of *Timothy*'s future uſefulneſſe; and directed the APOSTLE to the choice of him, for one of his fellow-laborers, or attendents.[c] Thus directed by heaven, St. PAUL determined to take *Timothy* along with him. But firſt, with his own conſent, he took him, and circumciſed him. For *Timothy* was now of age, to have it done, with his own conſent. And, if his father was dead, there was nothing to obſtruct the doing it. The APOSTLE did not think it neceſſary; or, in the leaſt, conduceing; to *Timothy*'s ſalvation. But he did it, to take away all occaſion of offence, from the

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. II. Acts xvi. 1.



mother is here called *a jeweſſe*, by way of oppoſition to what immediately follows; *namely*, "that his father was a *greek*, or *gentile*."

Ver. 2. [b] See above, in *this hiſtory*, book III. chap. ii. ſect. vii. towards the end.

Ver. 3. [c] 1 Tim. i. 18. *and* iv. 14.

An. Chriſti 50. Claud. 10. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. II. Acts xvi.

*jews*, in thoſe parts. For they, in general, knew that *Timothy*'s father was a *gentile*; and that he had not been circumciſed, in his infancy. —— The APOSTLE would not allow *Titus* to be circumcised; becauſe both his parents were *gentiles*. And it had been determined, in a full and unanimous aſſembly of APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, that there was no neceſſity for ſuch to be circumciſed, upon their becoming *chriſtians*. For, unto them, *chriſtianity* was the *perfect law of liberty*, or of freedom from the *law of Moſes*. But *Timothy*'s mother was a *jeweſſe*. And it has, all along, been a rule with the *jews*, "that, (*partus ſequitur ventrem*,) if the father be a "*jew*, and the mother a *gentile*, the ſon is no *jew*, but a *gentile*. "But, though the father be a *gentile*, if the mother be a *jeweſſe*, "the ſon ought to be looked upon as a *jew*; and, as ſuch, ought to "be *circumciſed*."[d] In ſuch a ſituation, therefore, it was lawful, and proper, to do it; to take away all occaſion of offence, from the *jews*, in thoſe parts. For it was well known, that *Timothy*'s father was a *gentile*; and that he had not been *circumciſed*, in his infancy.

*Timothy* had, moſt likely, been *baptized*, when he firſt imbraced *chriſtianity*; but it doeth not appear that he then received any *ſpiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*: very probably, becauſe of his unripe age. But, as he had, ſince his *baptiſm*, approved himſelf, in a diſtinguiſhing manner, and much beyond his age; and was now pointed out, for an *evangeliſt*, by the *ſpirit of prophecie*; the APOSTLE layeth his hands upon him, and imparteth unto him the *holy ſpirit*; that is, to qualifie him, for the great work, whereunto GOD, by the mouth of his *prophets*, had appointed, and called, him.[e] And, along with the APOSTLE, or ſoon after him, the *elders* of the *church*, at *Lyſtra*, laid their hands, alſo, upon *Timothy*,[f] (not to impart the *holy ſpirit*; for that St. PAUL himſelf did;[g] and none but APOSTLES could do it; — but) to ſignifie their concurrence, in prayer, for the divine bleſſing upon him, and his future labors.[h]

[d] *Vid.* Limborch in loc. Herodotus [*edit.* Gale, p. 72.] repreſents the *Lycians*, as haveing been once called *ſolymi*, & *Milyæ*; and who, in other things, generally followed the cuſtoms of the *Cretans* and *Carians*; but as haveing this peculiar, and different from all other men, "that they reckon the genealogy on the mother's ſide, "and not from their father's; and that, if a free woman married a ſlave, the children "were free; but if a free-man, or even their prince, married a foreigner, or an "harlot, his children were infamous."

[e] 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. [f] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [g] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[h] It ought to be obſerved, that *ver.* 4, 5. are taken into *ſection* i. of this *chapter*. See the *note*, above, on *Acts* xv. 41.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V. SECT. III.

*St.* PAUL *and his two companions,* Silas *and* Timothy, *go through* Phrygia, Galatia, *and* Troas, *in their way to* Macedonia. *Acts* xvi. 6, — 10.

ST. PAUL, haveing *Silas*, before, with him, and haveing now added *Timothy* to his company, went through *Lycaonia*. And, when he had farther inſtructed and eſtabliſhed the *chriſtians* there, they paſſed through *Phrygia*, and the region of *Galatia*; where they had never been before. And there, alſo, they planted the *goſpel*. St. LUKE hath not, in this place, taken any notice, of their preaching the *goſpel*, there, at this time. But, from *Acts* xviii. 23. it planely appears that *chriſtianity* was now planted among them. For, when the APOSTLE *of the gentiles* paſſed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, the next time; he is ſaid to have "*confirmed*, and eſtabliſhed, ſuch *diſciples*, as were formerly con- "verted." And the *epiſtle* to the *Galatians* was writen, ſoon after this, to the *churches*, which St. PAUL had planted, in that country.[a]—— At *Galatia*, St. PAUL now preached the *goſpel*; *through* (or with) *infirmity of the fleſh*. That was, very probably, *the bodily diſorder*, which made his preſence mean, and his ſpeech contemptible; and which he, elſewhere, calleth *his thorn in the fleſh*. And yet, notwithſtanding *that diſorder* affected him ſo much, the *Galatians* did not deſpiſe him, (as others did,) upon the account of that trial in the fleſh; neither did they reject the *doctrine*, which he preached; but received him, as if it had been an *angel* from GOD, or as if JESUS CHRIST himſelf had come among them. Nay; he beareth them record; that, if it had been practicable, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and given them to him.[b] However; (though he made a mean appearence, as to his perſon) he both worked miracles among them, and communicated to them the *gifts* of the *holy ſpirit*.[c] Which things were ſufficient to procure regard. From

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. III. Acts xvi. 6.

Ver. 6. [a] See *Gal.* i. 6. & iv. 13, *&c. Miſcellanea ſacra*; *præface*, p. 56, 57, 58. *Abſtract*, p. 31. and what will be ſaid, in *this hiſtory*, in the year 53. when the *epiſtle to the Galatians* cometh to be conſidered; *namely*, book iii. chap. 5. § 11.

[b] Gal. iv. 13, 14, 15. [c] Gal. iii. 2, 3; 5.

An. Christi 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. III. Acts xvi. 6, &c.

From *Galatia*, they intended to have gone and planted the *gospel* in *Asia*; that is, in *Asia propria*, or the *proconsular Asia*; which was but a small part of *Asia minor*; in which stood the city of *Ephesus*, *Miletus*; and other towns, not mentioned in the *scripture*. But, by an impulse of the *spirit*, they were hindered from going thither, at this time. For GOD designed, that they should first plant *christianity*, in *Macedonia*, and *Greece*; as knowing, very probably, that things were riper, there, for the harvest. And so *Asia propria* was reserved for St. PAUL's next *apostolic journey*. Being hindered from going to the *proconsular Asia*, they went to *Mysia*. And intended, from thence, to have gone, and preached the *gospel*, in *Bithynia*. But the *spirit*, again, directed otherwise. Passing, therefore, through *Mysia*,[d] they came down to the city *Troas*; (not far from which, the famous and antient city, *Troy*, had stood; and, out of the ruines of which, this new city is said to have been built.) And there, in the night, St. PAUL had a *vision* from GOD: in which, there seemed to appear[e] unto him, a man, in the habit of a *Macedonian*; who approached him; and (speaking in the *Macedonian dialect*) intreated him, in an humble and ardent manner, to come over to *Macedonia*, and assist them. When St. PAUL awaked, he acquainted his companions with the *vision*.[f] From which, they unanimously concluded, that GOD had signified his intention, that they should go, and preach the *christian doctrine*, there.

Now St. LUKE, who wrote one of the *four gospels*, and the *Acts of the* APOSTLES, was one of St. PAUL's company. For it is said, "After the vision, *we* indeavored to go into *Macedonia*; concluding that the LORD had called *us*, to preach the *gospel*, there" I have taken notice of a different reading, *Acts* xi. 28. which intimateth, that St. LUKE was, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, together with St. PAUL, long before this time. That agreeth very well with the account, which is commonly given of him. For he is thought to have been a native of that *city*. And, as St. PAUL doeth not reckon him, among his companions of the *circumcision*, but of the *uncircumcision*;[g] I suppose that he was one of the *devout gentiles*, or *proselytes of the gate*, who had there imbraced the *christian religion*. For *that church* consisted of such. It is highly probable, that he was

Ver. 8. [d] It is διελθόντες, in the *Cambridge manuscript*. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

Ver. 9. [e] Ὡσεὶ ἀνὴρ, according to two *antient manuscripts*, and the *syriac version*. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

Ver. 10. [f] See the *Cambridge manuscript*, in Dr. *Mill*.

[g] Col. iv. 10, 11. *compared with* ver. 12, 13, 14.

was converted to *chriſtianity*, about the year 42; when BARNABAS and SAUL preached, for a long time together, in that city. And, haveing been a *chriſtian*, for about eight or nine years; he now followed his *father in the goſpel*, to *Troas*. From whence, he went with him, to *Philippi*; and was, afterwards, frequently in his company. St. PAUL, in one of his *epiſtles*, calleth him *a phyſician*; and frequently maketh a very honorable mention of him. He had been trained up, in the *greek learning*; and is reckoned, by ſome, to have wrote that language, with greater purity, than the other *evangeliſts*. An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. III. Acts xvi. 10.

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## CHAP. V. SECT. IV.

*St.* PAUL, *together with* Silas, Timothy, *and* LUKE, *ſail to* Macedonia; *preach the* goſpel, *in the* proſeucha, *at* Philippi; *convert* Lydia; *diſpoſſeſſe the* pythoneſſe. PAUL *and* Silas *are ſcourged*; *convert the* jaylor, *whileſt in the priſon. And, being* freemen of Rome, *are honorably diſmiſſed.* Acts xvi. 11, *to the end of that chapter.*

THIS ſecond of St. PAUL's *apoſtolic journeys* had been thus far by land. But, now, they took ſhip; and ſailed, with a proſperous gale, to *Samothracia*, an iſland in the *Ægæan ſea*. And, the next day, they ſailed again; and arrived at *Neapolis*, a city of *Macedonia*; through which they paſſed, without preaching the *goſpel*, there, at this time. From *Neapolis*, they ſailed, up the river *Strymon*, to *Philippi*; which was a city, or town, of the firſt diviſion of *Macedonia*, and a *roman colony*. It had, more antiently, gone, by the name of *Crenides*, or *Crenidæ*: probably, from the ſprings, or fountains, which aroſe there; it being, according to *Appian*, built upon an hill.[a] It had, afterwards, the name of [Δάτος] *Datus*;

Ver. 12. [a] See Mr. *Pierce's ſynopſis* of the *epiſtle* to the *Philippians*; and *Le-Clerc*, on *Phil.* i. 1.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 12.

*Datus*; becauſe of the gold mines, which were near it.[b] And, laſtly, it was called *Philippi*; from *Philip*, king of *Macedonia*, the father of *Alexander the great*; who very much improved the town, and increaſed the number of it's inhabitants: partly for the ſake of the gold mines, there; andpartly to make it a good fence againſt the *Thracians*.[c] It was a city, upon the borders of *Thrace*; and, by ſome of the antient *geographers*, was reckoned to belong to that country.[d] But St. LUKE ſaith, that it now belonged to *Macedonia*. As it ſtood upon the borders of thoſe two countries, no wonder that it was ſometimes aſcribed to one, and ſometimes to the other. But, as St. LUKE, who was upon the ſpot, wrote, not long after his being there; and is ſo fair an *hiſtorian*; it might reaſonably have been ſuppoſed, that, (according to his aſſertion) it now belonged to *Macedonia*; if there had been no other antient teſtimony to confirm it. But the ſpeech of *Paulus Æmilius*, related by *Livy*, is a ſufficient confirmation of St. LUKE's aſſertion. For he aſcribeth all, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, to *Macedonia*.[e] And *Philipi* lay between thoſe two rivers. St. LUKE calleth this city, *Philippi*, a *colony*. And, as he here maketh uſe of the *latin* word κολωνια, inſtead of the proper *greek* term ἀποικία; it is moſt likely, he deſigned to intimate, that it was made a *colony*, by the *romans*; and not by the *greeks*. Which is farther confirmed, from *ver.* 21. where he repreſenteth the *Philippians*, as calling themſelves *romans*. From ſome antient *coins* and *inſcriptions*, compared with the *roman hiſtorians*, it appeareth, that *Julius Cæſar* firſt planted the *colony* there; and that *Auguſtus Cæſar* afterwards augmented it; by ſending thither ſome of the people of thoſe towns, in *Italy*, who had oppoſed him, and fallen in with *Mark Antony*.[f] This was the nature of *colonies*; [according to *Agellius*, l. 16. c 13.] "They neither came, from "abroad, into the city of *Rome*; nor did they grow upon their own "roots, where they were ſettled. But they were, as it were, pro"pagated, from the city; and had all the *laws* and *cuſtoms* of the "people of *Rome*, and not of their own makeing."

*Livy*

[b] Hence came the *proverb*, Δάτου ἀγαθῶν· *Datus, which abounds with good things.* [See *Hammond* on *Philip.* i. 1.]

[c] *Vid.* Appian. de bello civili, l. 4.

[d] *Vid.* Pompon. Mel. l. 11. c. 2. & Pliny, nat. hiſt. l. 4. c. 11. *laudat. apud* Hammond. *in* Phil. i. 1.

[e] Lib. 45. c. 29. [f] Dion. l. 51. p. 445. *C, D.*

*Livy* [g] informeth us, that *Paulus Æmilius*, who conquered *Macedonia*, and brought it into ſubjection to the *romans*, ordered it to be divided into *four parts*, or *regions*; and that one of theſe, and the firſt part, ſhould be all, that lay between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*. In that *firſt part*, and between thoſe two rivers, ſtood *Philippi*. But, as *Livy* hath informed us, in the ſame chapter, *Amphipolis* was the chief city of the firſt part, or firſt diviſion; and not *Philippi*. Neither was *Philippi* the *firſt* city, which they came to; when they ſailed from *Troas*, to *Macedonia*. For that was *Neapolis*; as St. LUKE hath here obſerved. [*ver.* 11.] We ought, therefore, to follow *Eraſmus* his *notes* on *verſe* 11. and *Caſtellio's tranſlation of verſe* 12; and call it *a city, of the firſt part of Macedonia*.[h] In this city, St. PAUL, and his companions, tarried, for ſome time. It ſhould ſeem that there were but few *jews* ſettled there; and thoſe moſtly women, who could not afford to have a *ſynagogue*. But the *jews*, where they could not have a *ſynagogue*; (either, becauſe they were few, or poor; or were prohibited by the magiſtrate;) there they uſed to have *an oratory*, or *a proſeucha*; that is, an open court for prayer; which they commonly built upon the ſea-ſide, or upon the banks of a river.[i] Such of the *jews*, as lived in, or nigh, the city *Jeruſalem*, went up frequently to worſhip, at the *temple*. Though they, alſo, had a great number of *ſynagogues*. And, where it was inconvenient to go to the courts of the *temple*, they frequented them. In like manner, the *jews*, in more diſtant places, built *ſynagogues*, and worſhiped GOD there. But, where they could have no *ſynagogue*; there they built open courts, like the *roman forums*; or rather, like one of the courts of the *temple*. And, there, they uſed to aſſemble, for their devotion; eſpecially on the *ſabbath-day*.[k] Some of the *latin poets* make mention of the *proſeuchaes*.[l] And, into one

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 12.



[g] Lib. 45. c. 29.

[h] It is a miſtake to ſay, (as Dr. *Doddridge* has ſaid) that the *ſyriac* verſion and *Chryſoſtom* read πρώτης for πρώτη τῆς. But, very probably, πρώτη τῆς, through the inadvertency of ſome tranſcriber, repeteing the laſt ſyllable, crept in, for πράτης. And then the reading of the original will be agreeable to antient hiſtory. And the tranſlation as above. [See Mr. *Pierce's ſynopſis of the epiſtle to the Phillippians.*]

Ver. 13. [i] Dr. *Lardner*, [in his *credibility of the goſpel hiſtory*, part i. p. 140, *&c.* 2d edition; p. 235, *&c.* 3d edition,] has ſhown, not onely that it was cuſtomary, for the *jews*, to worſhip, by the ſide of a river, or lake; or by the ſea-ſide; but that it was, with them, a matter of choice; and that they prefered ſuch places, as more pure and holy. [Compare, with this, *Acts* xxi. 5. See alſo, *Vitringa, de vetere ſynagoga*, p. 217, *&c.* & *Wolfius in loc.*]

[k] See *Prideaux* his *connection*, &c. part i. p. 387, *&c.* 4th edition, 8vo. 1718.

[l] *Juvenal*, Sat. 3. v. 215.—— "Ede ubi conſiſtas, in quâ te quæro *proſeuchâ*?"

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 13.

of them, OUR SAVIOR is ſaid to have gone, and ſpent a whole night, in prayer, and other acts of devotion, before he choſe the twelve APOSTLES, from among the multitude of his *diſciples*.[m] Thoſe *proſeuchaes* differed from the *ſynagogues*, in ſeveral particulars. For (1.) In the *ſynagogues*, the *prayers* were offered up, in public form; in common, for the whole congregation. But, in the *proſeuchaes*, they prayed, as in the courts of the *temple*; every one apart, and by himſelf. (2.) The *ſynagogues* were covered houſes. But the *proſeuchaes* were open courts; like the *forums*; which were incloſures, open at the top; where antiently, at *Rome*, and in other cities, under *democratical governments*, the people uſed to aſſemble, for tranſacting the buſineſſe and affairs of the public. Or like the *court of the women*, before the *temple*, at *Jeruſalem*. (3.) *Synagogues* were, generally, built within the cities, to which they did belong. Whereas; the *proſeuchaes* were, commonly, out of the city; either by a river, or by the ſea-ſide; and often upon an hill, or mountain. The *proſeucha*, in which OUR SAVIOR is ſaid to have continued all night, was upon a mountain. And the *high places*, mentioned in the old teſtament, ſeem to have been ſomewhat of the ſame nature with the *proſeuchaes*. For thoſe *high places* were not condemned; but onely, when they were made uſe of, for *idolatrous*, or *ſchiſmatical worſhip*; as appeareth from their being frequented, by *prophets*, and *good men*, without any hint of diſapprobation.[n] And what confirms this, is, that the *proſeuchaes* had groves of trees, in or about them; (in the ſame manner, as the *high places* had;) under which they could ſhelter themſelves, from the ſcorching of the ſun, or from a ſudden ſhower of rain. The *ſanctuary of the* LORD, in which *Joſhua* ſet up his pillar, under the *oak*, or *oaken grove*, in *Sichem*, was (very probably) a *proſeucha*. And it is plane, from the text, that it had a grove of oaks, in or nigh it.[o] The *proſeuchaes*, which *Philo* maketh mention of, nigh *Alexandria*, had ſuch groves, in or about them. For he complaineth that the *Alexandrians*, in a tumult, which they made, againſt the *jews*, there, had cut down the trees of their *proſeuchaes*.[p] And the *proſeucha*, at *Rome*, in *Ægeria*'s grove, was of the ſame ſort with thoſe at *Alexandria*.[q] The *pſalmiſt*, where he maketh mention of green olive-trees, in the houſe

[m] *Luke* vi. 12. We have tranſlated the words, "He continued all night *in prayer* to GOD." But they ought to have been tranſlated, "He continued all night in *a proſeucha of* GOD;" *that is*, in an houſe, or rather a court, for prayer to GOD.

[n] 1 Sam. ix. 19. *and* x. 5, &c. [o] Joſh. xxiv. 26. [p] In *Legatione ad Caium*, p. 1011, *A*. [q] *Juvenal*, Sat. 3.

houſe of GOD, doeth (perhaps) refer to ſuch a *proſeucha*. And ſuch an one was antiently in *Miſpa*; as the *author* of the *firſt book of Maccabees* hath informed us.[r] Theſe were, moſt likely, ſome of the *moade el*; [Pſal. lxxiv. 8.] which ought not to have been rendered *ſynagogues*; but onely, *the aſſemblies of* GOD; or *the places, where the people uſed, then, to aſſemble, for religious worſhip*. For the *ſynagogues* do not appear to have been ſo antient, as the time of writeing that *pſalm*. In the days of OUR LORD, and his APOSTLES, *ſynagogues* were more common; and the *proſeuchaes* but few. Though the word, *proſeucha*, is ſometimes uſed for a *ſynagogue*, both by *Joſephus* and *Philo*. And it appeareth, from the latter, that the ſervice of the *ſynagogue* was performed, in ſome of the *proſeuchaes*, at *Alexandria*. Yet there was commonly a diſtinction ſtill preſerved, between the *ſynagogues* and the *proſeuchaes*. And the place, where the *jews* aſſembled, for their religious worſhip, at *Philippi*, was of the latter ſort. St. PAUL, and his *aſſiſtents*, being well acquainted with the cuſtom of the *jews*, waited, at *Philippi*, 'till the *ſabbath-day*. And, then, they went, out of the city, to the banks of the river *Strymon*; where it had been thought fit, that the *proſeucha* ſhould be, according to a very uſual cuſtom of the *jews*, who choſe the ſea-ſide, or the banks of a river, for the places of divine worſhip.[s] And (though the *proſeuchaes* were commonly uſed, onely for private prayers; and there was no reading of the *law*, or the *prophets*, in them; nor any diſcourſes uſually made, there; — yet) they ſate down, after the manner of the *jewiſh doctors*; and diſcourſed, concerning the *goſpel doctrine*, to the *women*, who were aſſembled, in that *proſeucha*; who were partly *jews*, and partly *proſelytes of the gate*. For it was the cuſtom of the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles*, every where, to begin with ſuch; and firſt to offer the *goſpel* to them. Among others, there was preſent, at that time, one *Lydia*; whoſe buſineſſe was to buy and ſell purple. She was a native of the city of *Thyatira*, and a *proſelyte of the gate*; that is, one, who worſhiped the *true* GOD; though ſhe did not conform to the *jewiſh law*, in all it's rites and ceremonies. She heard St. PAUL with uncommon attention. And (through the goodneſſe of GOD, in ſeting, before her, the light of the *goſpel*, with ſufficient evidence,) her heart was affected, and her mind convinced of the truth and excellence of the *chriſtian religion*.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 13.

[r] 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

[s] See note i, above, on the ſame verſe, ὡς νομίζουσι Ρωμαῖοι. *Ut mos* Romanis *erat*. Herodian. L. vi. *ſub init.* Oxon. p. 204. Boecler. p. 254.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 14, &c.

*ligion.*[t] Which ſhe immediately imbraced. And ſhe was baptized, and her whole family along with her. And ſo pleaſed was ſhe, at hearing theſe glad tideings of ſalvation, and being admitted into full communion with the *church* and people of GOD; that ſhe intreated the APOSTLE, and his *aſſiſtents*, (if they judged her to be a ſincere convert, and worthy of ſuch a favor,) to come, and take up their lodgings, at her houſe. And ſhe inſiſted ſo much upon it, that ſhe would take no denial.

It happened, one day, as St. PAUL and his attendents were going, from *Lydia*'s houſe, to the *oratory*, or *proſeucha*, by the river's ſide, that a maid-ſervant met them; who was, perhaps, a *lunatic perſon*; and was reckoned, by the people, to be poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of *Pythian Apollo*, or a *ſpirit of divination*. That *damſel*, haveing heard their character, (which, moſt probably, was become the common talk of the town) turned back, and followed after them; crying aloud, and ſaying: "Theſe men are the ſervants of the moſt "high GOD; who are come hither, to ſhow unto us the way to "ſalvation." And, in that manner, ſhe followed, and diſturbed, them, ſeveral days. The APOSTLE, who valued not the teſtimony of evil ſpirits, or *lunatic perſons*; at firſt ſlighted her, and took little or no notice of what ſhe ſaid. But, when he ſaw, that ſhe continued to diſturb them, he was troubled. And, as ſhe was, one day, following them, to the *proſeucha*; and crying out, as uſual; he (by an impulſe of the *ſpirit* of GOD) turned about, and ſaid, to the *ſpirit*, by whoſe inſpiration ſhe was ſuppoſed to divine; "In the name, and by the power, of JESUS CHRIST, I command thee to come out of her." And, that moment, there was an end of her *lunacy*, and of her *pretended divination*. The *damſel* had, before that, brought in a conſiderable revenue to her maſters, by her pretences to *ſooth ſaying* and *divination*. But, when they ſaw, that their gainful trade was at an end, they were excedeingly inraged. And (leaveing *Luke* and *Timothy*, thoſe two young *evangeliſts*, as leſſe conſiderable) they ſeized upon PAUL and SILAS, the two principal perſons; and draged them away, to the *forum*, the place of public judicature. Preſenting them to the *duumviri*, the magiſtrates of the *roman* city, or *colony*; and, hideing their own private reſentments, under the maſk of public zele; they accuſed them, in a ſevere manner, ſaying: "Theſe men, though they are *jews* and ſtrangers, "do excedeingly diſturb this our city; by attempting, contrary to "the

[t] Ver. 14. Vid. *Clerici art. crit.* P. ii. § 1. c. 4. n2.

" the *roman laws*, to introduce *jewiſh cuſtoms*, and a *new religion.* An. Chriſti 51.
" For they teach laws, and inſtitutions; which it would not be law- Claud. 11.
" ful for us, as we are a *roman colony*, to receive, and obſerve." Book III.
This ſpeech incenſed the populace againſt them. And the too cre- Ch. V.
dulous magiſtrates (even before they had carefully examined into the Sect. IV.
matter) uſed them ſhamefully, and with cruelty; tearing off their Acts xvi.
cloathes: and ordering the lictors to beat them, with rods. Which 21, &c.
they did, immediately, and with great ſeverity. To this, the APOSTLE himſelf alludeth; [1 *Theſſ.* ii. 2. and again, 2 *Cor.* xi. 23.] where he, reciteing ſome of his many ſufferings, intimates, that " he had received ſtripes above meaſure." And this is, likewiſe, one of the three times, to which he refereth, when he ſaith, [*ver.* 25.] " Thrice was I beaten with rods." After the *lictors* had given them many ſtripes, the *duumviri* threw them into priſon; giveing the jaylor a very ſtrict charge to keep them ſafe and ſecure. He underſtood their meaning. And, therefore, he put them into the innermoſt part of the priſon, the place of the greateſt ſtrength and ſecurity. And, to make all as ſafe as poſſible, he likewiſe faſtened their feet in the ſtocks; which was a very uneaſie, painful poſture. They were as little daunted, at ſuffering; as elevated, when they were careſſed; and might have been even adored, for their miraculous cures. This was true courage, and proper *fortitude*; a compoſure and firmneſſe of mind, ariſeing from a ſenſe of haveing done their their duty, and being accepted by the ſupreme ruler of heaven and earth. From this conſciouſneſſe of their integrity, and ſenſe of the divine favor, PAUL and SILAS, (though they had been lately ſcourged, with great ſeverity; and were now in a dungeon, in a moſt uneaſie ſituation, in the ſtocks;) at mid-night, when ſuch wounds and torments give the greateſt uneaſineſſe; inſtead of uttering ſighs and groans; or ſhrieking with the anguiſh; they prayed; and ſang hymns of praiſe and thankſgiveing, unto *almighty* GOD; ſo loudly and ſo chearfully, that all the priſoners heard them. For they rejoiced, that they were honored with ſuffering for the ſake of CHRIST. And, therefore, they ſang their hymns of praiſe. While they were at this extatic devotion, they had a *miraculous* and extraordinary token of the divine acceptance; as remarkable, as the ſending fire down from heaven, to conſume the ſacrifices of old. For, on a ſudden, there was a great earthquake; which made the very foundations of the priſon ſhake under them. Upon which, all the doors burſt open, in a moment; and the chains and fetters fell off, from the priſoners, at once. The jaylor was awaked, by the noiſe, in the

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 27, &c.

the utmoſt conſternation. And, when he found all the doors of the priſon open; though he had ſhut them, in the evening, with ſo much care; he drew his ſword, and was going to ſtab himſelf; as thinking that all the priſoners were fled: and as knowing, that, by the *roman law*, if one priſoner eſcaped, the jaylor was to ſuffer what the priſoner was to have ſuffered. When, therefore, he apprehended, that *all* the priſoners were fled; and remembered what ſtrict orders he had received, the day before, concerning PAUL and SILAS; he was afraid of the moſt cruel treatment, from the magiſtrates, for haveing executed their orders no better. But St. PAUL, like a true *chriſtian*, and a benevolent and brave man, was tender and ſolicitous about the life of one, who, but a few hours before, had treated him with ſuch rigor. And, perceiveing that he was about to lay violent hands upon himſelf, he cried, with a loud voice, and in an earneſt manner, "Do yourſelf no harm. Your priſoners "are all ſafe. And we would not go out, 'till we were legally diſ-"miſſed; though the doors were open." Upon hearing this, the jaylor called for lights; and ruſhed into the priſon, with trembleing and aſtoniſhment. And, with the greateſt veneration, proſtrated himſelf, at the feet of his two priſoners, PAUL and SILAS. And (as knowing ſomewhat of their character; and being induced by the miraculous earthquake; and the tenderneſſe, which they had ſhown to him, in tarrying, after the doors were opened: — Being induced, I ſay, from ſuch conſiderations, to believe that they were *extraordinary perſons*, ſent of GOD, as they themſelves profeſſed, to teach men the way of ſalvation) he brought them, out of that dungeon, which was in the innermoſt part of the priſon; and aſked them, the moſt important queſtion, that ever was propoſed: "Sirs! "what muſt I do to be ſaved?" Such a diſpoſition and inquiry was what they, of all things, ſought after. They, therefore, readily anſwered: "Imbrace the *chriſtian religion*. And it will bring you, "and yours, into the ſure way to eternal ſalvation." After which, they proceded to teach him, and all his family, the *chriſtian doctrine*, more particularly; and laid, before them, the proofs and evidences of it, as far as the time and circumſtances would permit. The reſult of all which, was, that the *jaylor* was convinced, and imbraced *chriſtianity*. And, as a proof of his altered ſentiments, he took them, that very hour of the night, and waſhed the ſtripes, which they had received, the day before; and then, he, and his whole family, were all *baptized*, immediately: as the *converts* to *chriſtianity* commonly were, in that *truely primitive and apoſtolic age*. For that had

had been the way, by which the *jews* uſed to receive whole families of the *heathens*, when they became full *proſelytes* to the *jewiſh religion*. And OUR SAVIOR had appointed it, as the way of initiateing perſons into the *chriſtian church*. The *jews* would naturally have inquired of *John the baptiſt*, "What the meaning of *baptiſm* was?" and not, "Why he *baptized*; though he profeſſed that he was not "the *meſſiah?*" if it had not been *a rite*, which they themſelves had made uſe of, before that; when they received *proſelytes* into *their church*. And OUR SAVIOR, in like manner, would not have commanded his APOSTLES, "Go, and *baptize* all nations;" without explaneing what he meant, by *baptizeing* them: unleſſe it had been a thing well known; and which they had no need to have explaned to them. It is very remarkable, that we have two inſtances, in this one *chapter*, of *whole houſholds* being, in this manner, and at once, received into the *chriſtian church*. And (I think) ſuch expreſſions, [as *Lydia*'s being *baptized*, and *her houſe*; and the *jaylor*, and *all his family*,] cannot be underſtood, with their proper *emphaſis*; unleſſe we ſuppoſe them to be alluſions to ſuch a remarkable and well-known cuſtom.[u]

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But to procede: The *jaylor*, now, no longer feared the reſentment of the *magiſtrates*. But with the *profeſſion*, had acquired the *fortitude*, of a *chriſtian*. Bringing PAUL and SILAS into his own houſe, and ſpreading a table for them, he entertained them, as well as he was able; greatly rejoiceing in the happy change: in that he, and all his family, had forſaken *idolatry*; believed in the *one true* GOD, and imbraced the *religion* of JESUS; which was ſo excellent, in itſelf; and ſo miraculouſly, and in ſuch an extraordinary manner, atteſted.

The *duumviri*, who had ordered PAUL and SILAS to be beat and impriſoned, without a legal trial, or any crime, ſeem to have had a more diſturbed night, than their innocent priſoners. Very probably, they had ſince reflected, in a more cool manner, upon their miraculouſly cureing the *pythoneſſe*. And (according to the reading of two *antient manuſcripts*) they had felt the earthquake, and

Ver. 33. [u] Agreeable to this, was the practice of *Abraham*, with reſpect to the initiateing rite of *circumciſion*. Gen. xvii. 26, 27. For the ſacred hiſtorian, haveing given an account of the *circumciſion* of *Iſhmael*, he adds, "In the ſelf-ſame day, "was *Abraham* circumciſed; and *Iſhmael*, his ſon. And all the men of *his houſe*; "borne in the houſe; and bought with money, of the ſtranger; were circumciſed "with him." That this jaylor was not the ſame with *Stephanas of Corinth*, (as the *greek* expoſitors phanſyed,) *See on* chap. xviii. 4.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 35, &c.

and were terrified thereby.[x] But, whether that *reading* be genuine, or no; before the next morning, they appear to have been very ſenſible, that they had gone beyond their commiſſion; and that they were in danger of being called to an account, by their *ſuperiors*, for their illegal and raſh procedeings. For the *jews* were generally, through the whole *roman empire*, allowed the free exercise of their *religion*; and to make as many *proſelytes*, as they could, by fair and legal methods. And the *chriſtians* were thus far looked upon, as a ſect of the *jews*; and had the ſame privileges. The converſion, therefore, of the *jaylor*, and his family, (which happened in the night) was ſcarce over; when, early the next morning, and before they had heard any thing, from the *jaylor*, or his family; or known that the men were *romans*; the *magiſtrates* were ſenſible that they had done wrong; and ſent the *beadles*, or *lictors*, to the priſon; with orders to the *jaylor*, that the two men (PAUL and SILAS) ſhould be releaſed. Upon this, the *jaylor* went, with great joy, to PAUL, and told him, what meſſage he had received, from the *magiſtrates*. Withall, exhorting them to lay hold of the favor offered; and go, while they might do it, with peace and ſafety. But PAUL and SILAS, though of the humble and charitable ſpirit of *chriſtians*, were not for *a tame and paſſive obedience to tyrants*, in ſuch actions, as were arbitrary and illegal; eſpecially, when they had an opportunity to right themſelves. And, therefore, they inſiſted upon their privileges, as being *freemen of Rome*. For ſuch, by the *roman laws*, could neither be bound, nor beaten with rods.[y] St. PAUL, therefore, (conſidering what a vindication of them, and of their innocence, it would be, in the account of the people, that the *duumviri* ſhould publicly acknowlege their crime; and what credit it might bring to the *chriſtian doctrine*, which had been ſo lately, and ſo unjuſtly, reflected upon, in that city; —) anſwered the *lictors*, in the following manner: "What! do your *magiſtrates* beat us publicly, "without any legal trial, though we are *freemen of Rome*; and im-"priſon us? And then (after all) think to thruſt us out, in a pri-"vate

Ver. 35. [x] See the *Cambridge*, and one of *Stephens* his *manuſcripts*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*.

Ver. 37. [y] *Cicero*, l. 5. in *Verrem*. § 66, *vel* n. 170. "Facinus eſt vinciri "*civem Romanum*; ſcelus verberari:" "It is a crime to bind a freeman of *Rome*; "but a much greater to ſcourge him." "*Porcia lex virgas* ab omnium *civium Ro-*"*manorum* corpore amovit:" "The *Porcian law* permits not a citizen of *Rome* to "be whipped with rods." *Id. pro Rabirio*. See Dr. *Lardner*, as quoted in the next "note; & *Le Clerc*, on *Acts* xxii. 25.

" vate manner, as if we had broke priſon, and run away[z]?" No, " indeed! We inſiſt upon our privileges, and the reparation of our " honor. And will not go out, 'till they themſelves come, and ac- " knowlege their offence; and conduct us out; thus vindicateing our " innocence, in as public and honorable a manner, as they have us baſely and unjuſtly." When the *magiſtrates* knew, that they were *freemen of Rome*, their concern was ſtill the more increaſed. Upon which, they came, with all ſpeed, to the priſon, and ſeveral of their friends along with them; makeing an apology for their raſh conduct; deſireing them to put up the affront. And, waiting upon them, in a reſpectful manner, they conducted them out of the priſon, and humbly beged of them to depart out of their city.[a]

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IV. Acts xvi. 37, &c.

PAUL and SILAS, being thus honorably diſmiſſed, went to *Lydia*'s houſe; where *Luke*, *Timothy*, and the other *chriſtians* were (very probably) waiting to receive them. Which they did, with great joy. And, when they had ſeen the converts, which they had made there; and related to them what had happened, the night before; and how honorably they were diſmiſſed; and renewed their exhortations to them, to perſevere in the *chriſtian faith*, (notwithſtanding the treatment, which they had met with,) they took their leave of them; and peaceably departed, to preach the *goſpel*, in other places.

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## CHAP. V. SECT. V.

### *St.* PAUL *and his companions go, and preach at* Theſſalonica, *and* Berœa, *with ſucceſſe, but are perſecuted, by the* unbelieveing jews. *St.* PAUL *conducted to* Athens. *Acts* xvii. 1, — 15.

*Amphipolis* and *Apollonia*, were two cities of *Macedonia*.[b] The firſt was built, by *Cimon*, the *Athenian*; who ſent ten thouſand *Athenians*, as a colony thither. It ſtood, in an iſland of the river



[z] See Dr. *Lardner*'s *credibility*, &c. *part* i. *p.* 294. 2*d edition*; *p.* 401; 498, &c. 3*d edition.*

Ver. 39. [a] The *Cambridge manuſcript*, *greek* and *latin*, and one of *Stephens* his *manuſcripts*, have a large addition to this purpoſe. [See Dr. *Mill* on *ver.* 38.]

Ver. 1. [b] *Cornel. Nep.* in vit. *Cimon.* c. 2.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 1, &c.

river *Strymon*, and had the name of *Amphipolis*, from the river's running on both ſides of the city.[b] The latter is mentioned by *Cæſar* and *Strabo*; and called, by *Ptolemey*, *Mygdonia*. It was a colony of *Corinthians* and *Corcyreans*, nigh the ſea-ſide.

St. LUKE ſeemeth to have gone no farther than *Philippi*, the APOSTLE, at this time. But *Silas* and *Timothy* ſtill attended him. And, paſſing through thoſe two cities, they came to *Theſſalonica*, another celebrated city, and the metropolis, of that part of *Macedonia*; very famous for it's origin, ſituation, and amplitude. It was a maritime town; remarkable for it's trade and commerce; in which, many *jews* had ſettled. It ſtood upon the *Thermaian bay*, and was antiently called *Thermæ*. But, being rebuilt, and inlarged, by *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the great*, upon his victory over the *Theſſalians*, it was, in memory of the fact, called *Theſſalonica*, which ſignifieth *the victory of Theſſalia*. It is now, by a corrupt pronunciation, called *Saloniki*; and is a maritime, tradeing town; in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*. — Upon their arriveal, they found that the *jews* had a *ſynagogue* there,[c] though there was none at *Philippi*, nor (very probably) at *Amphipolis*, or *Apollonia*. Into *that ſynagogue*, at *Theſſalonica*, St. PAUL went; (according to his conſtant cuſtom; wherever there was a *ſynagogue* of the *jews*) and, for three ſabbath-days ſucceſſively, he diſcourſed with the *jews*, and *proſelytes of the gate*, who attended the ſynagogue ſervice: confirming what he ſaid, from the *ſcriptures* of the old teſtament; laying open the meaning of thoſe *ſacred writeings*, and ſhowing them evidently, that, according to the *antient prophecies*, the *meſſiah* was to ſuffer; and even to undergo a violent death: though the nation of the *jews* did, then, ſo generally deſpiſe a *ſuffering meſſiah*.[d] However; he likewiſe ſhowed them, that, as he was to reign *for-ever*, he was, alſo, to riſe again, from the dead; and ſo to enter upon, and rule over, his kingdom; and that, as all thoſe *prophecies* centered in JESUS of *Nazareth*, (in whoſe name he preached,) and in him alone; therefore, he muſt be the promiſed and long-expected *meſſiah*. — Some of the *jews* laid aſide their præjudices, yielding to the evidence, and imbraceing the *chriſtian doctrine*. And of the *devout gentiles*, a great multitude. And of the *matrons*, or women of diſtinction, not a few.

Either

[b] *Thucidydes*, l. 4.

[c] Ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. "Where was *the ſynagogue* of the *jews*." The onely ſynagogue, perhaps, which they had, in *Macedonia*.

Ver. 3. [d] Iſa. liii. Dan. ix. 26.

Either the *idolatrous gentiles* had flocked to the *ſynagogue*, after the firſt ſabbath-day; induced by the rumor of thoſe *new teachers* being come to the city; (which was the caſe at *Antioch*, in *Piſidia*:[e]) or elſe, upon the oppoſition, which the APOSTLE had, for three ſabbath-days, met with, at the *ſynagogue*, from the body of the [illegible], he had left them; and taught in ſome other public pla[illegible]erhaps, at the houſe of *Jaſon*; as he did at *Epheſus*, in the ſ[illegible]ool of *Tyrannus*;[f] and, as he ſeems to have done, at *Corinth*, in the houſe of *Juſtus*.[g] I am apt to believe, indeed, that the latter was the caſe; becauſe St. LUKE hath taken no notice of the *idolatrous gentiles* frequenting the *ſynagogue*, nor of the indignation of the *jews*; which they were ready to ſhow, upon all ſuch occaſions. However; it is evident that St. PAUL and his aſſiſtents tarried much longer, than three weeks, at *Theſſalonica*. For they preached the *goſpel* to the *idolatrous gentiles*; and ſeem to have made a conſiderable number of converts among them. And, "whileſt the APOS-"TLE was at *Theſſalonica*, the generous *Philippians* ſent preſents, "*once and again*, to him and his companions, to ſupply their ne-"ceſſities." [*Phil.* iv. 16.] Moreover; they themſelves, alſo, la-"bored, with great diligence, night and day, that they might preach "the *goſpel* to the *Theſſalonians*, gratis; and not burthen any of "them." [1 *Theſſ.* ii. 9.] Surely; it can hardly be thought that, in *three weeks time*, the *Philippians* would ſend preſents, *once and again*; or that the APOSTLE and his *aſſiſtents* could have had any occaſion, ſo diligently to have labored, with their own hands, for a ſubſiſtence, for ſo ſhort a time; if the *Philippians* had ſent, ſo often, to ſupply their wants. — But the numerous converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles* might, alone, have induced us to ſuppoſe, that their ſtay at *Theſſalonica* was conſiderable. For "the APOSTLE himſelf "addreſſes that church; as haveing, in general, turned from lifeleſſe "idols, and fictitious gods, to worſhip the liveing and true GOD, "and to an expectation of JESUS CHRIST's comeing, from heaven, "at laſt, as ſavior and judge. And they did it, ſo readily, and in "ſuch great numbers, as that the ſurrounding countries were filled "with aſtoniſhment." [1 *Theſſ.* i. 7, *&c.*] And (as there is nothing ſaid, throughout the *two epiſtles*, which St. PAUL wrote, afterwards, to the *Theſſalonians*, peculiarly, either to, or of, the *jewiſh converts*; and nothing peculiarly to, or of, the converts from among *the devout gentiles*,) it ſhould ſeem that the *chriſtian church*, at *Theſſalonica*,

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 4.



Ver. 4. [e] Acts xiii. 44. [f] Acts xix. 9. [g] Acts xviii. 6, 7.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 4.

*ſalonica*, conſiſted chiefly of *converts* from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. However; I acknowlege that there were ſome *jewiſh converts* in that city; and a great many from among the *devout gentiles*. Who ſeem to have imbraced *chriſtianity*, ſoon after the [illegible] thither. Though, afterwards; he made a much more numerous converſion, among the *idolatrous gentiles*. And I ſuppoſe the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*, aſſembled together, for [illegible] ſhip, as one church, without difference or diſtinction [illegible] in the *hiſtory* of St. PAUL's reſidence there, at this [illegible] indeed, given us any particular account of the converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles*; neither hath he ſo much as intimated any thing of St. PAUL, or his aſſiſtents, preaching to them. Perhaps, he thought it needleſſe; as haveing ſuch frequent occaſions to mention the converſion of *idolatrous gentiles*, throughout the courſe of St. PAUL's apoſtolic journies; and ſo much ſtudying brevity, as not to take notice of a fact, which could afford no new obſervations. However; St. LUKE has given us many inſtances, of St. PAUL's preaching to *idolatrous gentiles*, elſewhere. And St. PAUL, in his *firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, has planely intimated, that he and his fellow-laborers had converted a number of ſuch; when they planted the *goſpel*, at *Theſſalonica*.

St. PAUL worked *miracles*, at *Theſſalonica*; and exerciſed *ſpiritual gifts* himſelf, as well as imparted *ſpiritual gifts* and *miraculous powers*, unto the *chriſtians* there, by the laying on of his hands. [1 *Theſſ.* i. 5, 6. and v. 19, 20, 21.] From St. LUKE's takeing no notice, of theſe things being done, at *Theſſalonica*, it ſeemeth as if they were things of courſe; or nothing but what were commonly done, every where, where-ever the APOSTLE planted a *chriſtian church*. And that St. LUKE's deſigned brevity would not permit him to mention any *miracles*, but what were great and uncommon; or ſuch as had remarkable and extraordinary effects. And (that we may not have occaſion, frequently, to repete theſe *reflections*) we ſhall find, as we procede, in *the hiſtory*, that St. LUKE hath not taken any notice, of the *miracles* worked, and the *gifts* conferred, by the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*, at *Corinth*: though it is evident, from St. PAUL's *epiſtles to the Corinthians*, (which he was obliged to write, in his own vindication,) that *that church* abounded with *ſpiritual gifts* and *miraculous powers*. And it is the planeſt indication of the great *modeſty* of the *ſacred writers*; that, inſtead of inlargeing, or takeing all occaſions to mention the *miracles*, which were actually worked; they have contented themſelves with

with giveing a particular account of ſome few; and have, with deſign, avoided the mention of much the greateſt number. An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11.

The *miracles*, which they worked, at *Theſſalonica*, together with their holy lives; and open, diſintereſted behavior; and their plane, faithful, indefatigable, and affectionate, preaching the *goſpel*; brought converts. And, with ſo much readineſſe and alacrity, did imbrace the *chriſtian faith*; that (though the unbelieveing *jews* raged, and exaſperated others againſt them) *they* became patterns of zele and fortitude, unto all the *chriſtians*, and unto ſuch as were diſpoſed to turn *chriſtians*, throughout *Macedonia*, north-ward; and *Achaia*, ſouth-ward. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 5, &c.

When the unbelieveing *jews*, in *Theſſalonica*, ſaw what progreſſe St. PAUL and his aſſiſtents made, and how much they ſucceded; they were full of envy and indignation. And, takeing along with them certain looſe, profligate, fellows; ſuch as the *lictors*, or beadles, or ſome of the vile creatures belonging to the *forum*: [For the *forum* was like many of our market-houſes; *that is*, both a place of trade, and a court of judicature. —— Haveing collected ſuch a mob;] they put the city in a tumult: and broke, violently, into the houſe of *Jaſon*. He was, perhaps, a *jewiſh chriſtian*; at whoſe houſe, PAUL, and his companions, commonly lodged. Their view, was, to have ſeized them; and to have brought them out to the populace: that they might have uſed them at their mercy. But, not finding the APOSTLE, and his two aſſiſtents, there, they draged away *Jaſon* himſelf, and ſome others of the *chriſtians*; and hurried them to the rulers of the city. [For that was all the *jews* could ſafely do, as it was a *gentile city*, and they had not the civil power in their own hands.] There, they loudly clamored againſt them, ſaying; "Theſe men, who, by attempting to introduce a new and ſtrange "*religion*, have turned the world upſide down; and cauſed great "confuſion and diſturbance, in many places; are come hither alſo. "And this *Jaſon* hath received them, into his houſe; and enter-"tained them, there. But we have apprehended him, and ſome "other of their diſciples, and have brought them, before you, as "perſons that are dangerous to the ſtate. For they all (in contra-"diction to the decrees of *Cæſar*) affirm that there is another *lord*, "or *king*, beſides *Cæſar*; namely, one JESUS, the head of their ſect, "or faction." [From whence I cannot forbear remarking, how proper it was, that OUR LORD ſhould aſcend, before his *diſciples* declared him to be *lord*, or *king*: when this accuſation, at *Theſſalonica*, though relateing to a perſon, in another world, and his kingdom

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 7, &c.

dom not *a kingdom of this world*, but a merely *ſpiritual kingdom*; could yet give umbrage to the higher powers; or, at leaſt, afford matter of accuſation againſt his diſciples.] Groundleſſe as the pretence was, it at firſt alarmed, not onely the populace, but even the *magiſtrates* of that city; who thought it worth their while to examine into it. For the *romans*, within the bounds of the [illegible] would not ſuffer that any one ſhould be called *king*, with[illegible] their permiſſion. And, in the nature of things, they could not be ſuppoſed to allow of any potentate, in the *roman empire*; that ſhould ſtand in competition with the power of *Cæſar*. But, when they found that the *king*, of whom they had ſpoken, was in another world; and that he laid no clame to a *temporal kingdom*, ſo as to interfere with the rights of *Cæſar*, or any other temporal potentate: and that the APOSTLE, and his companions, had not attempted any thing of any dangerous conſequence to the *roman empire*, or to the peace of their city: they onely took ſecurity of *Jaſon*; and of ſuch others, as had been brought before them; that they would behave like peaceable and good ſubjects; and appear again, if called for; and ſo diſmiſſed them.

What moved the *jews* to treat the APOSTLE and his aſſiſtents, in that manner, was, that (though they were themſelves extremely deſireous to make *proſelytes* to *their religion*; yet) they took it very ill, that a *new ſect* ſhould ariſe, in *their nation*, to whom a much greater number joined themſelves, than ever they could bring over in ſo ſhort a time. And then, they brought them over to *doctrines*, which the *jews* very much diſliked; ſuch as that of a *ſuffering meſſiah*, who came to erect a *ſpiritual kingdom*; and that ſuch of the *gentiles*, as imbraced *chriſtianity*, were not to be circumciſed, nor obliged to obſerve the whole *law of Moſes*, before they were received to full communion with the *jewiſh converts*. Theſe, and like things, made them more inraged againſt the *chriſtians*, than againſt the *heathens* themſelves. But, though they were ſo highly offended; and would, by unjuſtifiable methods, have drawn in the *magiſtrates*, of that city, to perſecute the *chriſtians*, they could not prevail. The *romans* treated perſons of different *religions*, with more candor and moderation. And, as the *chriſtians* worſhiped the ſame GOD with the *jews*; and were, then, looked upon, by the *romans*, as a *ſect* of the *jews*; they were under the protection of the *roman laws*. For ſeveral *edicts* and *decrees* had been put forth, from time to time, by the *roman ſenate*, and their *emperors*, to eſtabliſh, to the *jews*, many privileges and liberties. But of this, we ſhall find more confirmation, as we procede.

The

The *chriſtians*, not knowing what new accuſations the unbelieveing *jews* might deviſe, or what freſh tumults might happen, ſent away PAUL and *Silas*, without delay, even by night, to *Berœa*, another city of *Macedonia*; not far from *Pella*, where that grand oppreſſor of mankind, *Alexander the great*, was borne. To which *Timothy* followed them, ſoon after. And, notwithſtanding the uſeage at *Philippi*, and the furious oppoſition of the *unbelieveing jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, they entered, as chearfully as ever, upon preaching the *goſpel*, in the ſynagogue of the *jews*, as ſoon as they arrived at *Berœa*. And there they met with a much better reception. For they found the *jews* of *Berœa*, to be of a more candid and generous ſpirit than thoſe at *Theſſalonica*. Which they teſtified, by a careful examination into the nature and evidence of the *chriſtian doctrine*; daily ſearching the *ſcriptures* of the old teſtament, to ſee, "whether "things were as the APOSTLE repreſented them; and inquireing "particularly, whether the *prophecies*, relateing to the *meſſiah*, were "fulfilled in JESUS of *Nazareth?*" And many of the *Beræan jews*, upon ſuch a diligent and careful inquiry, were convinced, and imbraced *chriſtianity*, with all alacrity. So did, likewiſe, ſeveral women, who were *devout gentiles*, and perſons of ſome diſtinction; and of the men alſo, who were *devout gentiles*, not a few.

An. Chriſti 51. Claud. 11. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. V. Acts xvii. 10, &c.

But, when the *unbelieveing jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, underſtood, that PAUL, and his companions, had gone, and preached the *goſpel*, at *Berœa*; they were ſo malicious, as to follow them thither, alſo. And there, again, they indeavored to excite the populace againſt them. Upon which, the *chriſtian brethren* (apprehending that the weight of the ſtorm would, probably, fall upon him) ſent the APOSTLE away, by the road, which led to the ſea.[h] And they, who had undertaken to convey him to a place of ſafety, conducted him to *Athens*. *Silas* and *Timothy* tarried behind him, at *Berœa*. But, when they, who conducted the APOSTLE to *Athens*, had received his orders, to his

Ver. 14. [h] *To go, as it were, to the ſea.*] Πορεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. The *Cambridge* MS. has not [ὡς, *as it were.*] Dr. *Mill* mentions ſome antient MSS. as well as the *vulgate*, and *Euthalius*, which read, [ἕως ἐπὶ *to go unto the ſea.*] Some learned commentators underſtand the paſſage, as our tranſlators did. To explane which, *Grotius* ſuppoſes, "that PAUL was brought down to the ſea-coaſt, as one about to "ſail, and that the rumor thereof was ſpread; but that, in reality, he haſtened, by "land, to *Athens*." However; as *Raphelius* has, ſo clearly and abundantly, proved, that the proper tranſlation is, [*to go towards*, or *unto*, *the ſea*;] and, as there is nothing ſaid, of his going by land; I confeſſe, I doubt of the truth of *Grotius* his interpretation.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. his two aſſiſtents, *Silas* and *Timothy*, that they ſhould come to him, with all ſpeed; they left him, and returned to *Beræa*.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 16, &c.

## CHAP. V. SECT.

*St.* PAUL *at* Athens. *He preacheth, among* ſophers, *there. And converts ſome of* them; *as well as other perſons, in* that city. *Acts* xvii. 16, *to the end of that chapter.*

WHILE St. PAUL waited at *Athens*, for the comeing up of *Silas* and *Timothy*, he walked about, to take a view of the city; and particularly (as it became his *apoſtolic character*) to make obſervations on their *religion*. And the more he ſaw, the more was he filled with grief and indignation, to find a city, which pretended ſo much to *wiſdom*, to be ſo full of *idols*. But, though his ſpirit burned within him, he was a man of more prudence and temper, than to go and throw down *their altars*, or ſtamp upon their *images*; or even ſpeak againſt *their religion*, in a revileing manner. No! he, with great modeſty and wiſdom, took the moſt likely method to plant *chriſtianity* among them; begining firſt (according to cuſtom) at the *ſynagogue*, on the *ſabbath-day*, with the *jews* and *devout gentiles*, who frequented the worſhip of GOD there. And afterwards, every day, with the *idolatrous gentiles*; as he accidentally met them, in the *forums*, or places of moſt public concourſe. This made him ſoon taken notice of, in that vane and conceited city. Upon which, ſome of their *philoſophers*, of two of the moſt famous *ſects*; namely, the *epicuræans* and *ſtoics*, confered with him, concerning the *doctrine*, which he preached. For it differed very much from the *doctrines*, which they held. "The *epicuræans* are ſaid to have aſcribed neither "*creation* nor *providence* to GOD; but held, that the *world* was made, "by a caſual conflux of atoms. That the GODS, if there were "any, were of human ſhape; who lay lolling upon the clouds, in "eaſe and indolence; intirely unconcerned about human affairs. "They likewiſe held, that, in the preſent ſtate, *pleaſure is the chief* "*good*; and that *men are not to expect a reſurrection from the dead*,

"*nor*

" *nor any future ſtate of rewards, or puniſhments.* The *ſtoics* were " intolerably proud and arrogant; compareing *their wiſe man* to " GOD himſelf; and (in ſome caſes) giveing him the preference to " the *deity.* They held, that *matter was eternal,* GOD *corporeal;* " and that either GOD was the *ſoul of the world*; or *the world itſelf,* " [illegible] They, generally, looked upon all things, as ſubject to an " *irreſiſtable fatality*; that *virtue was it's own ſufficient reward,* and " *vice it's own ſufficient puniſhment.* And they fluctuated excedeing- " ly, as to their belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; " though they had ſome expectations of *a future ſtate,* as well as of " *the conflagration and renovation of the world.*" [For a larger account of the *epicuræans* and *ſtoics*; ſee the *prolegomena* to *Le-Clerc*'s *eccleſiaſtical hiſtory,* ſect. 2. chap. 4, 5.] An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 18, &c.

When the people found the APOSTLE ingaged with men, ſo renouned for wiſdom, they reckoned him over-matched. And ſome of them ſaid, " What would this vane trifleing man pretend to? " Doeth he think himſelf capable of diſputeing with perſons of " ſuch profound ſcience and erudition?" Others muttered that " he ſeemed (to be guilty of that, for which *Socrates* had died; " and others had brought themſelves into danger; *namely,*) to in- " troduce ſtrange *dæmons,* or *deities,*[i] and a *new religion*;" becauſe he preached to them concerning *Jeſus,* and the *reſurrection.*[k]

At *Athens,* they had two courts of judicature. The one was choſen every year, and conſiſted of five hundred perſons. The other was perpetual; and they uſed to aſſemble in the *forum,* called *Areopagus,* which ſtood upon a hill, and was the higheſt *forum* in *Athens.*[l] The *judges,* who ſate in this court, (of whom *Dionyſius,* mentioned *ver.* 34. of this *chapter,* was one;) were, from the place, where they ſate, called *Areopagitæ.*[m] And they were looked upon, with ſuch reverence, that an *Areopagite* was uſed *proverbially,* for an *ex-*



Ver. 18. [i] *Cic. de Legib.* l. 2. c. 8. *init.* Separatim nemo habeſſit deos, neve novos. Sed ne advenas, niſi publice adſcitos, privatim colunto.

[k] It is evident, from verſe 32. that the *Athenians* underſtood the word ἀνάστασις, as we commonly do, of *men's riſeing from the dead.* And, one would have thought, they muſt have underſtood the meaning of the word, ἀνάστασις, [the *reſurrection,*] too well to have taken it for a *goddeſſe.* But *Pauſanias* tells us, that they had erected altars to *ſhame, fame,* and *deſire.* And, ſurely, they might take ἀνάστασις, the *reſurrection,* for a *goddeſſe,* as well as them. *Herodotus* [l. 8. c. 111. p. 500. edit. *Gale.*] repreſents *perſuaſion, neceſſity, want,* and *impoſſibility,* as four goddeſſes. [*Vid. etiam,* Clerici. Art. crit. p. ii. § 1. c. viii. 7, 8, 9. & c. ix. 8. & § 2. c. 5. 3.]

Ver. 19. [l] *Budæi* Annot. in Pandect.

[m] *Auguſt.* de civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 10.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 19, &c.

*cellent perſon.*[n] They were the *Athenian ſenate*, or ſtanding court of judicature; and (beſides other things) "matters of *religion*, blaſ-"phemy againſt the *gods*, contempt of the holy myſteries, and all "ſorts of impiety; the conſecration, alſo, of *new gods*; the erecting "of temples, or altars, the introduction of new ceremonies into di-"vine worſhip, were refered to the judgment of this court." And, therefore, *Plato*, haveing been inſtructed in the knowlege of the *one* GOD, in *Ægypt*, was forced to diſſemble, or conceal his opinion, for fear of being called to an account, by the *Areopagites*; and dealt with, as his maſter *Socrates* had been. And, when St. PAUL was thought to be one, who preached up *ſtrange gods*, they had him to this *forum*; that there he might declare his opinion, in a proper place, and before proper judges. For, though the court of *Areopagus* might decree the introduceing *new deities*; yet it was unlawful, for a private perſon, to attempt any ſuch thing. In that variety of ſentiments, concerning the APOSTLE, and his *doctrine*, they brought him, one day, to *Areopagus*. And, a great number haveing gathered around him, in ſo public a place, they ſaid; "May we know "what new doctrine it is, which you bring, among us? For you "have already alleged ſeveral ſtrange things, in our hearing. But "we want to have a more full and particular account of your ſen-"timents." [For the *Athenians* in general; and all the ſtrangers, who went, for the ſake of ſtudying, or converſeing, in that city; ſpent their time, chiefly, in publiſhing, or inquireing after, ſomething new and ſtrange.[p]]

Then PAUL, ſtanding in the midſt of *Areopagus*, (among their *elders* and *ſenators*, and before a large aſſembly of their *philoſophers*, *orators*, and great men,) wanted neither the courage, nor the addreſſe, to ſpeak to the following purpoſe. "O ye *Athenians*, I deſire you "would attend to what I have to ſay. Whereas; ſome of you have "charged me as an introducer of *new gods*, or *ſtrange dæmons*; I would "have you know, that I reckon you are already very full of *dæmons*, "or *deities*; and, in all things, more religious, than other cities,[q] "For,

[n] *Auli Gell.* l. 12. c. 7.
[o] See Dr. *Potter's greek antiquities*, vol. 1. p. 105.
Ver. 21. [p] *Sophocl. Oedip. Colon.* p. 95.
Ver. 22. [q] See *Mede's* works, p. 635.
The *Athenians* were famous for collecting the *gods* of all *nations*. See Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel hiſtory*, part i. p. 253, 254. 2d edition; p. 430. 3d edition.

"It

" For, as I walked about, to view the places, and objects, of your religious worſhip; I ſpied, among the reſt, one *altar*, upon which " I found

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 23.

" It ought to be obſerved, that the firſt followers of JESUS did, every where, obſerve an admirable decorum, in all their words and actions. It may, perhaps, be inconceiveable by ſome, how they ſhould be able, thus to behave, every where; animated, as they were, with a warm, as well as juſt, zele for the truths of the *chriſtian doctrine*; and a thorough diſlike of all the abominations, and abſurdities, of the *heathen* worſhip. But yet, it is certain, they did ſo. We have unconteſted evidence of it. —— St. LUKE aſſures us, that, when St. PAUL was at *Athens*, *his ſpirit was ſtirred in him, when he ſaw the city was wholly given to idolatry.* But, when he comes to make his ſpeech, in the *Areopagus*, his temper, and addreſſe, are equal to his argument; which, certainly, can never be exceeded. According to our tranſlation, indeed, there is an harſhneſſe, in the very introduction; *Ye men of* Athens, *I perceive that, in all things, you are too ſuperſtitious.* Whereas; the original is peculiarly ſoft; if any cenſure was intended. [*Si lenitatem* Pauli *ſpectemus —— confirmat hoc imprimis a* δεισιδαιμονία *tradućta vox: cui quidem ineſt multâ ſuavitate permiſta caſtigatio.* Sam. Drake, S. T. P. *de arâ ignoto deo ſacrâ.* Cantab. 1724. p. 12.]

" But, I apprehend, that St. PAUL tells them, he perceived they were, *in all things, very devout.* [Κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. The word δεισιδαιμονία is often uſed in a bad ſenſe; but it has, alſo, a good, or, at leaſt, an innocent, meaning. *Feſtus* tells *Agrippa*, that PAUL's accuſers had nothing againſt him, but certain queſtions, περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας, *of their own ſuperſtition.* Acts xxv. 19. It ſhould be rendered *religion.* It cannot be ſuppoſed that *Feſtus* would ſpeak contemptuouſly, to *Agrippa*, of the *jewiſh*, that is, of *Agrippa*'s own, religion; when *Agrippa* was come to *Cæſarea*, with his ſiſter *Berenice*, to ſalute him. It is alſo apparent, that *Feſtus* does ſhew *Agrippa* a great deal of reſpect. *Joſephus* ſais, that *Manaſſes*, haveing repented of his idolatry, and other ſins againſt GOD, he reſolved, for the future, πάσῃ σπεύσεσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ, *to be conſtant in the worſhip of him.* Joſeph. p. 437. 20. *Claudius*, in his edict, publiſhed, in favor of the *jews*, exhorts them, μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων δεισιδαιμονίας μὴ ἐξουθενίζειν, *not to ſet at nought*, or revile, the *religions of other nations.* Id. p. 866. 18. *Vid. eund.* p. 632. 39. p. 1066. 31.

" It appears alſo, from what follows, that St. PAUL had not blamed the *Athenians.* Haveing mentioned the inſcription of the altar, *To the unknown* GOD, he goes on, ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε· *Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worſhip; him declare I unto you.* The verb, here uſed, for *worſhip*, is always expreſſive of a laudable piety. See examples, in *Grotius*, upon the place. The harſh ſenſe of the word, δεισιδαιμονία, is inconſiſtent with the whole deſign of St. PAUL's argument. If he had told them, at firſt, that they were *ſuperſtitious*, he incourages them in it, and indeavors to make them more ſo. If St. PAUL's inſtance had been that of ſome falſe god, there had been ſome reaſon to put the harſh ſenſe, upon the word, in this place. But, now, there is no reaſon, at all, for it; ſince the inſcription which he produces, directly intended; or, at leaſt, comprehended, under it; the true GOD, whom St. PAUL preached. I think, therefore, that St. PAUL ſais: *I perceive that, in all things, you are very devout. For, as I paſſed along, and obſerved the objects of your worſhip, I found, alſo, an altar, with this inſcription,* TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. *Whom, therefore, ye worſhip, without knowing him; him do I declare unto you.*]

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 23.

" I found this inſcription, [To THE UNKNOWN GOD.'] Whom, " therefore, you worſhip, without knowing him. Him declare I " unto

" The telling them, that, *in all things, they were very devout*, would give no of- " fence, at *Athens*. It was their peculiar character, the encomium which they " were fond of, above any other.

" [Εἰ γάρ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν πρώτοις ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ περὶ τοὺς " πράγματος, καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τοῖς θεοῖς ἕπεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ μαντικῆς καὶ χρησμοῦ ἐπιτε- " λεῖν. *Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. judic.* § 40. *Vid. & Sophoc. Oed. Col.* v. 1000, &c. It was " cuſtomary, for eminent ſtrangers, who ſpoke, in public, at *Athens*, to give them, " in their firſt diſcourſe, ſome commendation, for the wiſdom of their laws and " inſtitutions, or ſome other topic. St PAUL had good reaſon, not to be defec- " tive, in this point, upon ſo nice an occaſion. He could truely ſay, they were *a* " *devout people*. It was extremely to his purpoſe. And they would be much pleaſed to " hear it from him. Ἡ μὲν δὴ διάλεξις ἐπαινοι ἦσαν τὸ ἄστεως, καὶ ἀπολογίαι πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηναί- " ους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ περίεργον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀφῖχθαι. *Philo. vit. Alexand. ſophiſt.* § 3. Ἀθηναίοις " μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτοχεδίους λόγους, ὅτε καὶ πρῶτον Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκετο, ἐκ ἐς ἐγκώμιος " καθίσησεν ἑαυτὸν τὸ ἄστεως, τοσούτων ὄντων, ἃ τις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων εἶπεν. *Id. vit. Polem.* § 4. " It was, therefore, a ſingularity, in *Polemon*, a moſt proud man, that, in his diſ- " courſe, at *Athens*, at his firſt viſit, he ſaid nothing in their praiſe. There is an- " other like example, particularly obſerved, in *Adrian*, the ſophiſt. Μετὰ δὲ ὅτω " παῤῥησίας ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον παῆλθε, τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς καὶ πρεσίμιον οἱ γενέσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰς " διαλέξεως, μὴ τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῦ. *Id. vit. Adrian.* § 2. *Grotius* un- " derſtood St. PAUL to ſpeak, here, of the *Athenians*, in the way of commenda- " tion, as I do.

" I take the liberty to add a paſſage, or two, from Mr. *Warburton*, confirming " the interpretation, which I have given of this text. His words are theſe; ' *Athens* ' was a city, moſt devoted to religion, of any, upon the face of the earth. On this ' account, their poet, *Sophocles*, calls it *the ſacred building of the gods*,' Ἀθηνῶν τῶν ' θεοδμήτων. *Warburton's divine legation of* Moſes. B. i. § 4. p. 136. 2d edition. " Again; ' This was the reaſon, why St. PAUL, who was regarded, as the bringer " in of *foreign gods*, was had up, to the court of *Areopagus*; not as a criminal, but " rather as a public benefactor, who had a new worſhip to propoſe, to a people, " *above all others, religious*, ὡς δεισιδαιμονέστερον. Id. ibid. book ii. § 2. p. 296.']

" It is true, that, at the concluſion, *ver.* 30. when *the* Athenians *heard of the re-* " *ſurrection of the dead, ſome mocked. And others ſaid, We will hear thee again, of* " *this matter*. It is poſſible, ſome might be ſurprized at the novelty of St. PAUL's " principles; and be inclined to make themſelves merry with them. But I do not " perceive, by St. LUKE, that there were; I think, there could not be any ex- " ceptions made, to the propriety, or decency, of any of his expreſſions." [*See* " *Dr.* Lardner's *credibility of the goſpel hiſtory*, part i. p. 427, &c. 3d edition. " Poole's *ſynopſis, and* Wolfius *in loc.*]

Ver. 23. ' Dr. *Welwood*, in the introduction to his *tranſlation* of *the banquet of Xenophon*, hath the following words. " I know that there are different opinions, " about *this altar*, and upon what occaſion it came to be erected. But, it is very " probable, and I have ſeveral of the moſt antient *hiſtorians* and *divines*, for vouchers, " that it was done by *Socrates*. It ſeemeth, inſtead of raiſeing an *altar*, as was " the cuſtom, to any of the *fictitious gods of Greece*; he took this way, as the ſafeſt, " to expreſſe his devotion to the *true and one* GOD. Of whom the *Athenians* had " no notion; and whoſe incomprehenſible being he inſinuated, by this inſcription, " was far beyond the reach of theirs, or his own underſtanding. And it is very " reaſonable to think that it was oweing to the veneration, they had, for the me- " mory

" unto you. My profeſſed deſign, is to preach unto you that *un-* An. Chriſti 52.
" *known* GOD; and to point out the right and acceptable way of Claud. 12.
" worſhiping him. He it is, who made heaven and earth, and all
" things that are therein; and who, by his providence, governeth Book III. Ch. V.
" all things. But it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the univer- Sect. VI.
" ſal creator, and ſupreme governor, can be confined to *temples*, Acts xvii.
" made by the hands of men. For he is not the GOD of one city, 23, &c.
" mountain, or river. The whole creation is his. But it is a
" temple too narrow to circumſcribe and confine his preſence. For
" the

" memory of it's founder, that it came to be preſerved, ſo many ages after; though
" they underſtood not the ſenſe of the *inſcription.*"

To which I would add, that, though the *heathens* held *Jove* to be the *one ſupreme* GOD; yet their *Jove* was not *the true* GOD; but a being, whom they ſuppoſed to be attended with many imperfections; and to whom they aſcribed ſeveral enormities. And, whether *that altar* was erected, by *Socrates*, or by any other perſon, and upon any other occaſion; it is highly probable, that it was deſigned in honor of the *true* GOD, the GOD of the *jews*. For, as the *jews* neither erected any *image* to the *true* GOD, nor were willing to diſcover his *name* to ſtrangers; he had, therefore, neither *image*, nor *name*, at *Athens*; though there was an *altar* dedicated to him: at once, to expreſſe the *Athenians* reverence for, and ignorance of, him.

Sir *George Littleton* [in his *obſervations on St.* PAUL's *converſion*, p. 71.] has the following remarks.

" St. PAUL's holineſſe conſiſted in the ſimplicity of a good life, and the unwearied
" performance of thoſe apoſtolical duties, to which he was called. The ſufferings,
" which he met with, on that account, he chearfully bore, and even rejoiced in
" them, for the love of JESUS CHRIST; but he brought none on himſelf. We
" find, on the contrary, that he pleaded the privilege of a *roman* citizen, to avoid
" being whipped. I could mention more inſtances, of his haveing uſed the beſt me-
" thods, that prudence could ſuggeſt, to eſcape danger and ſhun perſecution, when-
" ever it could be done, without betraying the duty of his office, or the honor of
" GOD.

" [A remarkable inſtance of this, appears, in his conduct, among the *Athenians.*]
" There was, at *Athens*, a law, which made it capital, to introduce, or teach, any
" new gods, in their ſtate. [*Joſeph. contra Apion.* L. ii. c. 37.] Therefore, when
" PAUL was preaching JESUS *and the reſurrection*, to the *Athenians*, ſome of them
" carried him before the court of *Areopagus*, (the ordinary judges of criminal mat-
" ters; and, in a particular manner, intruſted with the care of religion) as haveing
" broken this law, and being *a ſetter forth of ſtrange gods.* Now, in this caſe, *an*
" *impoſtor* would have retracted his doctrine to ſave his life; and *an enthuſiaſt* would
" have loſt his life, without trying to ſave it, by innocent means. St. PAUL did
" neither the one nor the other. He availed himſelf of an altar, which he had
" found in the city, inſcribed TO THE UNKNOWN GOD; and pleaded, that he
" did not propoſe to them the worſhip of any new god; but onely explaned to
" them, one, whom their government had already received. —— *Whom, therefore,*
" *ye ignorantly worſhip, him declare I unto you.* By this, he avoided the law, and eſ-
" caped being condemned by the *Areopagus*, without departing, in the leaſt, from
" the truth of the *goſpel*, or violateing the honor of GOD. An admirable proof,
" in my opinion, of the good ſenſe, with which he acted; and one, that ſhews,
" there was no mixture of *fanaticiſm*, in his religion."]

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VI. Acts xvii. 24, &c.

" the heavens, and heaven of heavens, cannot contain him. He
" provides for the ſupport of all; and is ſelf-ſufficient, as well as all-
" ſufficient; incapable of any addition to his perfection and happi-
" neſſe. And therefore he cannot ſtand in any need of men's aſſiſt-
" ence, to provide, for him, ornaments and veſtures, meats and
" drinks, ſacrifices and oblations. On the contrary; it was he, who
" gave to all men their being, life, and breath; and every thing,
" which they injoy. And, from one man,[r] originally, hath he made
" all men, of every nation under heaven; greatly multiplying the
" race, to people the earth, that it might not be a deſolate wilder-
" neſſe. The times, in which men are to appear, upon this earth;
" and the places, where they are to tranſact their parts; were always
" known unto GOD. And he, by his infinite wiſdom, hath ap-
" pointed the diſpenſations, under which they are to live. But GOD
" hath placed men upon earth, principally with a view to feel af-
" ter, and find out, his exiſtence and perfections;[t] that they might
" imitate and obey him, and be happy in his favor. Nor is it dif-
" ficult to know ſomewhat of him; though you have intitled him,
" *The unknown* GOD. For, the works of *creation* point out the
" knowlege of him; though he is inviſible to mortal eyes. And
" theſe ſtanding proofs are always expoſed to open view; that men
" of every age and nation (unleſſe they are wilfully blind) might grope
" him out, and learn ſomewhat of him. But, in truth, the diſ-
" covery of his being, and great perfections, is eaſie, and at hand.
" For he is omnipreſent. And, *in him we actually live, and move,*
" *and have our beings.* And (as ſome of your own *poets* have ſaid)
" *we men are the off-ſpring of the deity.*[u] For as much then, as it
" is confeſſed, that we men are the *off ſpring of* GOD; we ought
" not to ſuppoſe, that the *deity* can be like to any thing, made of
" gold or ſilver, wood, or ſtone; or to any thing, that can be form-
" ed, by the art of man, however curiouſly painted, carved, or in-
" graven.

Ver. 26. [r] Αἵματος, [*blood,*] is not found in the *Alexandrian*, and other three *manuſcripts:* nor in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; *Veleſius*, the *vulgar*, and *coptic verſions.* [See Dr. *Mill.*] However; *Wolfius* has ſhown that the antients did, ſometimes, uſe ἄιματος for σπέρματος. And, therefore, the ſenſe is the ſame; whether we retain, or reject, the common reading.

Ver. 27. [t] See the antient *manuſcripts*, *verſions*, and *fathers*, quoted by Dr. *Mill.*

Ver. 28. [u] Hemiſtich. heroic. ex phænomen. Arati. τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. *Homer* alſo, and *Heſiod*, and many other of the *greek poets*, have called *Jove* —— Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε Θεῶν τε, *The father, both of men, and gods.* [See *Raphelii* & alii *Wolfius in loc.*]

" graven. A great part of mankind have long imagined ſo. But An. Chriſti
" GOD, (looking with contempt and indignation [x] upon thoſe ages of 52.
" ignorance and error) out of his great goodneſſe and compaſſion, Claud. 12.
" hath reveled his mind and will, in ſo clear a manner, and ſo well Book III.
" atteſted, that now he commandeth all men, every where, to repent; Ch. V.
" and to forſake their *idolatry*, as well as their other vices. For he Sect. VI.
" hath appointed a ſignal day, in which he will judge the whole Acts xvii.
" world in righteouſneſſe; by that man, even JESUS CHRIST, whom 29, &c.
" he hath appointed to be univerſal judge. And, of this appoint-
" ment, he hath afforded, to all, ſufficient evidence. For, after he
" had been dead three days, he actually raiſed him from the dead."
—— St. PAUL, from the article of the *one true* GOD, was ſlideing, gently, into the other grand article of the *chriſtian faith*; namely, " That JESUS of *Nazareth* was the *lord*, *ſavior*, and *judge*, of all." The principal proof of which, was, *his reſurrection from the dead*. But the vane and conceited auditory would hear no more. No! upon the mention of *the reſurrection from the dead*, ſome mocked, and laughed out. —— Very probably, the *epicuræans*, who believed no *reſurrection*; nor any future ſtate, or judgment to come. But others ſaid, " We ſhall be glad to hear you, again, upon this ſubject." Moſt likely, they were the *ſtoics*; who had ſome notions of a judgment to come; and of the conflagration and renovation of the world; as well as of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

Thus the APOSTLE went out, from among them; and left them divided, in their ſentiments, about him and his *doctrine*; as they were, before, among one another. However; his diſcourſes and labors, at *Athens*, were not wholly ineffectual. For ſome were converted. Particularly, *Dionyſius*, who was an *Areopagite*; that is, one of the honorable *ſenators*, or *judges*, who belonged to that *high court of judicature*; and a woman of diſtinction, callled *Damaris*; and ſome others of leſſe note, whoſe names are not particularly mentioned.

Ver. 30. [x] ὑπεριδὼν. See *Poole's ſynopſis* and *Wolfius in loc.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. V. SECT. VII.

SILAS *tarried ſtill at* Berœa. Timothy *cometh up to the* APOSTLE, *at* Athens; *and is, from thence, ſent back to* Theſſalonica.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VII. Acts xvii. 34.

THOUGH the enmity of the *unbelieveing jews* had made St. PAUL leave *Berœa*, in ſo great an hurry, that *Silas* and *Timothy* could not go along with him; yet he ſent orders that they ſhould follow him, with all ſpeed. Accordingly; *Timothy* came up, to the APOSTLE, whileſt he was at *Athens*. But *Silas* tarried ſtill at *Berœa*. How far the affairs of the *infant church*, at *Berœa*, might want the preſence of an *evangeliſt*; or the ingenuous and noble ſpirit of the *Berœans* might induce *Silas* to tarry a little longer, among them; — cannot now be determined. But, though *Timothy* was come up, to him; the APOSTLE choſe to be left alone, at *Athens*; [1 *Theſſ.* iii. 1.] amidſt the oppoſition of the *jews*, and the inſolence and contempt of the *heathen philoſophers*. In which ſituation, it muſt have been a very diſagreeable thing, to have no body, to ſtand by, and aſſiſt, him. But notwithſtanding ſuch inconveniencies, ſo great was the APOSTLE's anxiety, for his young, and perſecuted, converts, at *Theſſalonica*; that he choſe to be left alone, at *Athens*; and to ſend *Timothy* back, to *Theſſalonica*; to rectifie any thing, which might be amiſſe, in that *church*: and, particularly, to comfort them, under their perſecutions, from the unbelieveing *jews*, or others; and to eſtabliſh them in the *chriſtian faith*. He had left the *Theſſalonians*, in ſuch an hurry, and amidſt ſuch reſtleſſe and implacable enemies; that, when the APOSTLE conſidered it, he was very uneaſie; and would gladly have gone back again, himſelf, to fortifie and comfort them. But his adverſaries, eſpecially the *unbelieveing jews*, always hindered him from returning. [1 *Theſſ.* ii. 17, 18.] However; the more he was hindered, the more his anxiety for them increaſed. And, when he ſaw no proſpect of returning ſhortly, in perſon; he thought it eligible to ſend *Timothy*. For, though he was but a mere youth, the APOSTLE could truſt him with the moſt important affairs of the *chriſtian church*. What he feared, was, leſt the afflictions, and perſe t ., which had befallen him, their APOSTLE, at *Philippi*, *Th* ' ' ,

*Bercæa*, and other neighboring places, ſhould cauſe the *Theſſalonians* to apoſtatize, from *chriſtianity*, to their *old religions* again; as terrifi- ed, by his ſufferings, and by the apprehenſions of what might be- fal themſelves. Whileſt he was among them, he had indeavored to præpare them for the worſt; dealing frankly with them; and aſſure- ing them, that affliction, from a wicked world, was what he always expected; and what good and upright men moſt commonly meet with. But, now, he ſendeth back *Timothy*; for fear he had not armed and fortified them ſufficiently.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VII. Acts xvii. ult.

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## CHAP. V. SECT. VIII.

*St.* PAUL *goeth to* Corinth: *converteth ſeveral to* chriſtianity; *eſpecially among the* gentiles. *Worketh, with his own hands, for a ſubſiſtence. Is oppoſed by the* unbelieveing jews; *but incouraged by the* LORD JESUS CHRIST; *who appeared, to him, in a* viſion. *Acts* xviii. 1, — 11.

ST. PAUL went alone, from *Athens*, to *Corinth*. "*Achaia pro-* "*pria* was a part of *Greece*; and *Corinth* the metropolis of "*Achaia propria*. It was a famous mart town. For, by ſtanding "in the middle of the *Iſthmus*, it had the trade of both the *eaſtern* "and *weſtern* ſeas; *that is*, through *Aſia* and *Europe*. It was at "firſt called *Ephyre*. But it had the name of *Corinth*, from one "*Corinthus*, who took it, and rebuilt it. And it had now gone, by "that name, for ſeveral ages.[a] *Cenchrea* was it's port, or haven, "for the *eaſt*, or *Ægean ſea*; as *Jochæum*, or *Lechæum*, was for the "*weſt*, or the *Adriatic ſea*. *Corinth* and *Carthage* had been deſtroyed, "by the *romans*, in one and the ſame year. An hundred years af- "ter which, *Julius Cæſar* ordered the rebuilding of them both, a- "gain. And, in a little time, he ſent to them *roman colonies*. From "the

Acts xviii. 1.



Ver. 1. [a] In an hiſtorical relation of ſome antient facts, it is called *Ephyre*. [*Hom. Il.* z. 152] But it was called *Corinth*, in *Homer*'s time: and as long before, as the wars of *Troy*. Il.. B. 570. N. 664.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 1, &c.

" the *colony*, which he ſent to *Corinth*, were deſcended the *gentiles* " of that city; to whom the APOSTLE now went, and preached " the *everlaſting goſpel*. *Corinth* was almoſt as famous as *Athens*, " for *philoſophers* and *orators*; and made very great pretences to *learn-* " *ing* and *wiſdom*. And, being a place of ſuch vaſt trade and reſort, " it was a rich and luxurious city; even to a proverb. It had a " temple dedicated to *Venus*; to whom, (as *Strabo* informs us, l. 8.) " a thouſand harlots were conſecrated." From this ſhort account of the city of *Corinth*, it appeareth, what reaſon the APOSTLE had, to condemn their extraordinary pretences to wiſdom and eloquence; as well as their luxury and uncleanneſſe. In this city, St. PAUL found *Aquila*; who was a *jew* by nation; but, by religion, a *chriſtian*; as appeareth from ſeveral things that follow.[b] He had lately come from *Italy*, with his wife *Priſcilla*; becauſe *Claudius Cæſar*, who was then the *roman emperor*, had commanded all *jews* to depart from *Rome*. *Dio* ſaith, that *Claudius* did not baniſh the *jews* from *Rome*; but onely prohibited their aſſemblies.[c] But (though that was, in effect, to baniſh all the moſt zeleous and conſcientious perſons among them) *Suetonius*, who lived nearer the time, ſaith, that " he expelled the *jews* from *Rome*, who were continually makeing " tumults; *Chreſtus* inciteing them, or being the occaſion of their " diſturbances."[d] It is, indeed, a matter of diſpute, among learned men, whether, by *Chreſtus*, *Suetonius* meant JESUS CHRIST, or no? It is likely enough, he might mean ſo. For he hath, in other places, ſhown himſelf peculiarly virulent againſt the *chriſtians*.[e] But, if he meant to ſay, that CHRIST incited the *jews* to make tumults, at *Rome*; he could not, with any propriety, charge OUR LORD with doing it, in perſon. One cannot ſuppoſe that *Suetonius* ſhould ſo far miſtake, both in point of time and place; as to ſuppoſe, that JESUS CHRIST was at *Rome*, in the reign of *Claudius Cæſar*; and that, there, he incited the *jews* to tumults and ſeditions. For OUR LORD was crucified at *Jeruſalem*; and gone from our world, many years before *Claudius* was advanced to the imperial dignity. He could, therefore, onely intend to charge it upon CHRIST's doctrine, and followers.

Ver. 2. [b] See particularly, *ver.* 26. from whence it planely appears, that he and his wife were both *chriſtians*. And, yet, there is no intimation of St. PAUL's converting them. On the contrary; from his ſo immediately joining company, and working, with them; they appear to have been *chriſtians*, before he met with them.

[c] Dio. lib. 60. p. 669. *A*, *B*. alias, p. 666.

[d] Sueton. in vit. Claud. c. 25.

[e] Sueton. in Nero. c. 16.

lowers. And that the *jews* ſhould make tumults, when *chriſtianity* began to ſpread, in *Rome*, is not wonderful; if we conſider their behavior towards St. STEPHEN, towards the other APOSTLES; and towards St. PAUL, at *Lyſtra*, *Theſſalonica*, and *Beræa*; as well as, afterwards, at *Corinth* itſelf. And, when tumults were made, *Claudius* his timorous and ſuſpicious temper would, very naturally, lead him to puniſh both the guilty and the ſuſpected. However; neither CHRIST himſelf, nor *chriſtianity*, were, in the leaſt, to be charged, with being the *criminal cauſes* of thoſe tumults; ſuppoſe they were the innocent occaſion of them. If bigots and perſecutors will abuſe the virtuous and the modeſt, for ſpeaking the truth, and ſupporting it with proper evidence; ſuch *zeleots* are criminal; and not the innocent perſons, whom they perſecute. —— This baniſhment of the *jews*, from *Rome*, was not ordered, by a *decree* of the *ſenate*, but of the *emperor* onely. And, therefore, it died with him, at the fartheſt. But, as the *chriſtians* were then looked upon, by the *romans*, to be onely a *ſect* of the *jews*; it affected them, as well as the *jews*, as long as it continued.[f]

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 2.

*Joſephus* hath, no where, particularly, mentioned *this edict*. As it was in force, for ſo ſhort a time onely, he might partly (for that reaſon) omit it. But a more prevailing reaſon was, (probably) that it reflected diſhonor upon the *jews*; and was, therefore, diſagreeable to a *jewiſh hiſtorian*. And, if ſome diſpute between the *jews*, and the *followers* of JESUS, was really the occaſion of *this order*; (as *Suetonius* ſeemeth to affirm;) that might be another reaſon for *Joſephus* his ſilence. For he was very reſerved, if not altogether ſilent, about the affairs of the *chriſtians*.[g]

*Aquila* and *Priſcilla* ſeem to have had an houſe at *Corinth*. For they had ſetled, ſo far, in that city, as to enter upon their uſual imployment; which was to make tents, and pavilions, of linen, or of ſkins: ſuch as, in thoſe hot countries, they ſometimes lived in, dureing the ſummer-ſeaſon; ſuch as travellers made uſe of, where they had no houſes, nor caravanſaries, to lodge in; and ſuch, as ſoldiers lodged in, when incamped in the field. And, becauſe they were converts to *chriſtianity*; and of the buſineſſe, to which the APOSTLE had been trained up, in his younger days; he went and lodged with them;



[f] *Quære:* "Might not St. PAUL, *Rom.* xiii. 1, &c. have a reference to this? "and deſign to intimate, by what he ſaith there, that, though they had been unjuſtly "accuſed of ſedition; they ought to take care not to be really guilty of it?"

[g] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part i. p. 326. 2d edition; p. 556. 3d edition.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 3.

and worked, along with them, at their daily imployment. It hath been obſerved, above, that ſuch of the *jews*, as had the moſt liberal education, and were the moſt zeleous and diligent ſtudents of the *law*, were, likewiſe, very frequently, trained up to ſome handicraft buſineſſe. And, therefore, St. PAUL's caſe was not peculiar; nor his birth and education leſſe liberal, upon that account. He might, indeed, in his *apoſtolic* character, and even by the reaſon of things, have expected, that ſuch, as partook of *his ſpiritual things*, ſhould have miniſtered to him, in *temporals*. For, "what ſoldier goeth a "warfare, at any time, at his own charges? Or, what ſheepherd "partaketh not of the milk of the flock?" But, though it was *lawful*, the APOSTLE would not do it; becauſe it was not always *expedient*. It might have given occaſion, for his enemies, to ſay, that he compaſſed ſea and land, to make a gain of his converts; and that he ſought what they had, more than their benefit. And it might, likewiſe, have afforded a pretence to the *falſe apoſtles*, to have demanded a maintenance; and to the ſloathful perſons, who imbraced *chriſtianity*, to live in idleneſſe: As if diligence and induſtry, in ſome honeſt calling, was no longer required of them. Whereas; now, he could, from his own example, ſhow his converts, that ſuch, as would not work, when they were able, ought not to eat; and cut off all occaſion from the *falſe apoſtles*, for demanding a maintenance, under the ſhelter of his example. And, finally, by deſpiſeing the pleaſures, profits, and honors, of this world, he gave mankind the moſt convinceing proofs, that he believed *chriſtianity* to be true; and that, upon ſuch ſtrong evidences, as could leave no room, for any reaſonable doubt, or heſitation. To this his diligence, and diſintereſted behavior, he maketh frequent appeals, in his *epiſtles:* and that, with the greateſt juſtneſſe and propriety. For, what could more effectually have cleared him, from all ſuſpicion of carrying on a ſiniſter and worldly deſign?

By *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, St. PAUL had, very probably, an account of the planting of a *chriſtian church*, at *Rome*. And, from his hearing of the death of *Claudius Cæſar*, or of the aboliſhing of the above-mentioned *edict*; he thought it likely, that the *chriſtians* would return to that *imperial city*. "He, therefore, from that time, long-"ed to go to *Rome*; and frequently prayed to GOD, to grant him "a proſperous journey thither: that he might comfort them, under "their diſcouragements; farther inſtruct them, in the *chriſtian doc-"trine*, if they wanted farther inſtructions; and, above all, that he "might (by the laying on of his hands) impart, unto them, ſome

*ſpiritual*

"*ſpiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*, to eſtabliſh and confirm them "in their *chriſtianity*." [Rom. i. 9,—13. *and* xv. 22, 23.] An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

*Philo* ſaith, that the *jews* inhabited *Corinth*, and the chief and beſt parts of the *Peloponneſus*. And St. LUKE, in the *Acts of the* APOSTLES; and St. PAUL, in his two *epiſtles* to *Corinth*; have given plane intimations, that there were ſeveral *jews*, in that city. For they had a *ſynagogue*, there. Unto which, the APOSTLE went, as uſual, every ſabbath-day. And there he diſcourſed, concerning the *chriſtian doctrine*; and labored to convince both the *jews* and *devout gentiles*, that it was true, and worthy of their regard. Among them was *Epænetus*, who was the firſt convert, in *Achaia*; [Rom. xvi. 5;] as the houſhold of *Stephanas*,[h] was, the firſt family, that was converted there. The whole family of *Stephanas* was baptized by the APOSTLE himſelf. And he alſo, afterwards, baptized *Criſpus* and *Caius*. But he himſelf *baptized* no other of the *Corinthians*. He left that to his *aſſiſtents*; or to ſome of the *firſt converts* of the place. For, the buſineſſe of an APOSTLE, was, not to *baptize*; but to *preach* the *goſpel*. [1 Cor. i. 14, — 17.] Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 4, &c.

St. PAUL was at *Corinth*, ſome time, before his two *aſſiſtents* came up to him; and ſo long he frequented the *ſynagogue*. But, when *Timothy* was come up with him, again, from *Theſſalonica*; and *Silas* from *Beræa*; and they had told him, what ſucceſſe they had had, in watering the *goſpel*, which he had planted, in *Macedonia*; he was preſſed in his ſpirit; and grieved that he had hitherto preached, to the *jews*, in *Corinth*, with ſo little ſucceſſe. For which reaſon, he reſolved to puſh the matter, in the *ſynagogue*, there. And, therefore, he left off argueing, by diſtant hints and inſinuations; and aſſerted, in the planeſt terms, "that JESUS was actually the *meſſiah*; "and that this was the clear and undeniable concluſion, from all the "arguments, which he had formerly alleged; as well as the reſult of "the *miracles*, which he had worked; and the *gifts*, which he had "imparted, unto ſuch as had imbraced the *goſpel*." This freedom and planeneſſe of ſpeech, preſently made the *unbelieveing jews* diſcover themſelves. Which they did, by fiercely oppoſeing the *chriſtian doctrine*;

[h] The *greek expoſitors* phanſyed that this *Stephanas* was the jaylor, who was converted, at *Philippi*, and baptized there, with his whole houſe. Whereas; this *Stephanas* was a *Corinthian*; and his family, the firſt-fruits; or the firſt family, converted to the *chriſtian faith*; in *Achaia*. [1 Cor. xvi. 15; 17.] And the jaylor was, moſt probably, a native of *Philippi*, a city of *Macedonia*; at a conſiderable diſtance from *Corinth* and *Achaia*.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. VIII. Acts xviii. 6, &c.

*trine*; and blaſphemeing CHRIST and his religion. But all the anſwer, which the meek APOSTLE made, was, to ſhake the duſt off from his looſe, upper garment, and ſay; "Your blood be upon your "own heads. I, like a faithful watchman, have warned you of "your guilt and danger; and you, alone, muſt ſtand to the conſequence of your refuſeal. For the blood of your ſouls will not "be required at my hands.[i] However; I muſt go where I ſhall "not labor ſo much in vane. And, therefore, from henceforth, I "will apply myſelf to the *gentiles*, in this city; *that is*, to the *idolatrous*, as well as *devout*, *gentiles*. And no longer attempt the "converſion of you, *jews*, in this ſynagogue." Upon which, he left frequenting the ſynagogue. And, inſtead of the houſe of *Aquila*, he went to the houſe of one *Juſtus*; who was a *devout gentile*;[k] and whoſe houſe joined to the ſynagogue.[l]

But his labors, in the ſynagogue, had not been without ſome ſucceſſe. For *Criſpus*, one of the rulers of the ſynagogue, imbraced *chriſtianity*; together with his *whole family*. And, afterwards, many other of the *Corinthians*, when they heard the *chriſtian doctrine*, and the evidences of it, imbraced the *goſpel*, and were *baptized*. —— His teaching, ſo nigh the ſynagogue, in the houſe of an *uncircumciſed gentile*; his converting, and receiveing the *uncircumciſed gentiles*, into full communion with the *jewiſh chriſtians*; and his great and remarkable ſucceſſe; exaſperated the *unbelieveing jews* againſt the APOSTLE; which ſeems to have diſcouraged him. And, as he had already planted a conſiderable *church*, in that city, he might,

Ver. 6. [i] Ezek. xxxiii. 4; 8. 2 Sam. i. 16. 1 Kings ii. 33. Matt. xxvii. 25.

Ver. 7. [k] Some of the *antient manuſcripts* and *verſions* read *Titus*, here; and others read *Titus Juſtus*. [See Dr. *Mill in loc. & prolegom.* 437. & *Miſcellanea ſacra*; *eſſay* 4. p. 59.] But, whether *Titus* or *Juſtus*, or both the names, be the true reading; we cannot ſuppoſe that *Titus*, the *evangeliſt*, is here to be underſtood. For, as he was a *chriſtian*, long before this; St. LUKE would not, now, (contrary to his conſtant cuſtom) have deſcribed him, under the lower character of a *devout gentile*: but would have called him, one of the *brethren*, *diſciples*, or *believers*. Whereas; from the account here given, of this *Juſtus*, he was a *devout gentile*; whom St. PAUL now converted to *chriſtianity*, at *Corinth*.

[l] The *jews* had, in ſome places, houſes, annexed to their *ſynagogues*, for the entertainment of ſtrangers and travelers. But, as this was in the poſſeſſion of an *uncircumciſed proſelyte*; I can hardly think that it was deſigned for ſuch an houſe.

It may be inquired, "Whether the APOSTLE did not prefer the houſe of *Juſtus*, "to that of *Aquila*; becauſe it was ſo nigh the *ſynagogue*; that he might give any "of the *jews*, or *proſelytes of the gate*, an opportunity, if they pleaſed, to attend upon him, more conveniently, or more privately?"

might, poſſibly, begin to think of leaveing the place, and going elſe- An. Chriſti
where; as haveing little expectation of bringing in, any conſi- 52.
derable addition, to the number of *converts*, which he had already Claud. 12.
made, there. But, to prevent his departure, and to incourage him Book III.
in his work; the LORD JESUS himſelf appeared unto him, in a vi- Ch. V.
ſion, by night, and ſaid: "Be not afraid, PAUL; but preach the Sect.
"*goſpel*, with all openneſſe and *fortitude*; and let nothing ſilence VIII.
"thee. For I will bear thee up, under all fears and diſcouragements; Acts
"and will ſuffer no man, in this city, to attack thee, ſo as to do xviii.
"thee any, the leaſt, harm. Tarry, therefore, and continue to 9, &c.
"preach the *goſpel*, among them. For I know that there are ſeve-
"ral perſons, in this city, ſo well-diſpoſed, as, by thy preaching,
"to believe and imbrace my doctrine." Upon which, PAUL con-
tinued, a conſiderable time longer, at *Corinth*; teaching *the word of* GOD, among them.

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## CHAP. V. SECT. IX.

### *Dureing St.* PAUL'S *abode, at* Corinth; *he wrote his* firſt epiſtle *to the* THESSALONIANS. *An account of the ſubject, and deſign, of that* epiſtle.

SO great a concern had the APOSTLE, for his converts, at *Theſſalonica*, that (though it was not very long, ſince he had been there, himſelf; and, though he had, alſo, ſince that, ſent *Timothy* to them; and had, by Him, received a very agreeable account, of their faith and charity; of their affectionate rememberance of him; and their deſire to ſee him again; — yet) he is not fully ſatisfied, in his own mind. He, therefore, wrote this excellent epiſtle to them. Which I place (as the beſt chronologers have done) the firſt of all St. PAUL'S *epiſtles*. And I ſuppoſe that he wrote it; after he had been, ſome time, at *Corinth*; that is, *in the year of* CHRIST, 52; of *Claudius*, 12.

There are three different opinions, concerning the date of this *epiſtle*, which I would mention; together with my reaſons for rejecting them.

1. "*Grotius*

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. 11.

1. "*Grotius* hath contended, that this, which is commonly call-
"ed *the firſt*, was, in reality, *the ſecond, epiſtle to the Theſſalonians.*"
— But he has not ſupported that conjecture, by any hiſtorical evi-
dence. He ſeems to have ſtarted it, merely to ſerve his hypothe-
ſis about *the man of ſin.* However; what we have, farther to offer,
may be defered, 'till we come to abridge *the ſecond epiſtle.*

II. "Others have thought, that *this epiſtle* was writen, a year or
"two ſooner; and from the city of *Athens.* And, in our common
"bibles, the ſubſcription, printed, at the end of *this firſt epiſtle to*
"*the Theſſalonians*, poſſitively aſſerts, that *it was writen from Athens.*"
— But the *ſubſcriptions*, at the ends of the *epiſtles*, are of no authori-
ty. And it is moſt probable, that *this epiſtle* was not writen from
*Athens.* For the APOSTLE's ſtay, at *Athens*, was of no very long
continuance. And he did not write *this epiſtle*, 'till after *Timothy*
was returned, from *Theſſalonica*; and had brought him an account
of the ſtate of that church. [1 *Theſſ.* iii. 6.] Now, *Timothy* did
not come up, to the APOSTLE, at *Athens*; but ſome time after his
arriveal at *Corinth.* [Acts xviii, 1; 5.] And we have no account
of the APOSTLE's returning to *Athens.*

III. Mr. *Whiſton* [*in his eſſay upon the apoſtolic conſtitutions*, p. 46,
*&c.* and 110.] argues, "that *the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians*,
"commonly placed the firſt of all St. PAUL's writeings, were not
"writen, 'till the year 67. or a little before St. PAUL's death. (1.)
"Becauſe they are ſo ſeldom referred to, in *the conſtitutions.*"
*Anſwer.* Suppoſe one ſhould allow the high antiquity, and genuine-
neſſe of *the apoſtolic conſtitutions*, this argument ſeems not to have any
great force. For, if *the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians* are there re-
ferred to, though but ſeldom, it is evident, they muſt have been
writen before *the apoſtolic conſtitutions.* But, how long, or how
ſhort, a time, before; the quoteing them ſeldom, or frequently,
does not determine. (2.) Mr. *Whiſton* argues, for the late date of
*the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians*; "becauſe we find, therein, that
"the *Theſſalonians* fame was, then, ſpread over all *Macedonia*
"and *Achaia*; and in every place. [1 *Theſſ.* i. 7, 8.]" *Anſwer.*
As a pretty large *chriſtian church* was planted, in a ſhort time, in
ſo celebrated a city; which had a conſtant correſpondence with ma-
ny other places, by means of it's trade and commerce; the news
thereof muſt have ſpread, very ſwiftly, into the neighboring towns
and countries. And, places, at a greater diſtance, in a year or two's
time, would hear of it. It would, therefore, become a frequent
ſubject of converſation. (3.) It is alleged, "that St. PAUL would
"have

" have come to them, once and again; but was hindered, by *Sa-* An. Chriſti 52.
" *tan.* [1 Theſſ. ii. 18.]" *Anſwer.* It is probable, St. PAUL Claud. 12.
had ſome thoughts of returning, to his *Theſſalonian* converts, from Book III.
*Beræa*; but the unbelieveing *jews* of *Theſſalonica* perſued him thither; Ch. V.
and drove him, from thence, to *Athens*. He ſeems, alſo, to have Sect. IX.
had thoughts, of returning, to *Theſſalonica*, from *Athens*. But the Acts
virulent temper of the unbelieveing *jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, was ſuf- xviii. 11.
ficient to make him look upon a ſpeedy return, as improper. He, therefore, choſe to be left alone, at *Athens*; and to ſend *Timothy* back to *Theſſalonica*. To this, he ſeems planely to refer, 1 *Theſſ.* ii. 16, &c. and iii. 1. And, from the *Acts of the* APOSTLES, compared with *the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, it appears, that the unbelieveing *jews*, and ſuch as they could influence, were intended, by *Satan*, or *the adverſary*. (4.) It is argued, " that he was, now, " under perſecution. 1 *Theſſ.* iii. 3, &c." *Anſwer.* The perſecutions, to which the APOSTLE here refers, were, very likely, no other, than thoſe, which aroſe, from the fury of the unbelieveing *jews*, at *Theſſalonica*, *Beræa*, and *Corinth*. So St. PAUL, himſelf, has led us to think. [1 *Theſſ.* ii. 15. and iii. 4.] And St. LUKE has confirmed this. [*Acts* xvii. 5, &c. and xviii. 6, &c.] Beſides; [1 *Theſſ.* iii. 4.] the APOSTLE ſeems to intimate, that he was there ſpeaking, not of what he ſuffered, at preſent; but of perſecutions, which were paſt. His words are; " For, even when we were with " you, we told you, before-hand, that we ſhould ſuffer tribulation; " even as it came to paſſe, and you have known." καὶ οἴδατε. (5.) It is alleged, " that many of the *Theſſalonians* were dead, for their " religion; and that they wanted comfort thereupon. [1 *Theſſ.* iv. " 13, &c.]" *Anſwer.* As to any of them dying *martyrs*, for their religion; *that* does not appear. But, in the year 52. ſeveral of them might be dead: enow, to occaſion all, that the APOSTLE had ſaid, upon that particular. For, ſuppoſeing St. PAUL to have been, three quarters of a year, at *Theſſalonica*; that he had made an hundred converts there; that his ſtay, at *Beræa* and *Athens*, took up a quarter of a year more; and that he had been, a year and a quarter, at *Corinth*, before he wrote *this firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*. And, farther; ſuppoſeing that, ſince he left *the Theſſalonians*, onely four *chriſtians* had died; at whoſe interrment, the *chriſtians* had made the ſame doleful, funeral lamentations, which were uſed by the *heathens*, who had no hope of a reſurrection to a glorious and happy immortality: — then, the APOSTLE might juſtly reprove them, for their not duely conſidering the ſtate of the dead; and for expreſſeing

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. 11.

like exceſſive ſorrow and lamentation, as thoſe did, who were without ſuch hope. And then, alſo, it might be proper to aſſure them, that, as CHRIST was, himſelf, raiſed from the dead, he will come, and raiſe all the dead, and transform the liveing; and make the righteous, perfectly, and for-ever, happy. And they might, juſtly, comfort themſelves, and one another; with theſe words. (6.) It is argued, "that the APOSTLE expreſsly mentions thoſe perſecutions, which "the *Theſſalonians* indured; all, probably, under *Nero*, after the year "of OUR LORD, 64." *Anſwer.* The APOSTLE does, indeed, once and again, ſpeak of the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*, as afflicted and perſecuted. But, inſtead of pointing to their ſufferings, under *Nero*; in, or after, the year 64; he ſais, that, "when the goſpel came "[*firſt*] among them, they received it, with much affliction." [1 *Theſſ.* i. 6.] And that, "they became imitators of the *chriſtian* "churches, in *Judæa*; in that they had ſuffered, from their own "country-men; as thoſe of *Judæa*, had, from their neighbors: "[1 *Theſſ.* ii. 14.]" planely directing us to what is recorded, *Acts* xvii. 5, *&c.*

As to the arguments, which peculiarly concern *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, we chooſe to defer them, 'till we come to that *epiſtle*.

The arguments for placeing *the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, the firſt of all St. PAUL's *epiſtles*; or for ſuppoſeing that it was writen, from *Corinth*, ſoon after the planting of the *chriſtian* church, there, are ſuch as theſe; *namely*, that PAUL, *Silvanus*, and *Timothy*, plant-"ed that church; that they took that very rout, from *Theſſalonica*, "through *Beræa*, and *Athens*, to *Corinth*: that, as they had joined, "in planting that church, at *Theſſalonica*; ſo they join, in writeing "this *epiſtle*, to their converts, there: that the unbelieveing *jews* "fiercely oppoſed St. PAUL, and drove him away, from *Theſſalo-"nica*; and followed him to *Beræa*: and drove him, from thence, "alſo; that the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*, had received the goſpel, "with joy; in ſuch a turbulent ſtate of things." With theſe particulars, *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, and *the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, acquaint us.

Now, from this ſtate of things, the propriety of every part of this *epiſtle* will appear. It was proper to comfort ſuch young converts, under perſecution; to exhort them to ſtedfaſtneſſe in the faith; to commend what had been right in their conduct; and to excite them to go on, as they had begun; to fortifie them, againſt the diſcouragements, which might ariſe, from conſidering the perſecutions, that, every

every where, befell the APOSTLE and his aſſiſtents; and to expreſſe a peculiar affection and tenderneſſe, for ſuch young converts, in the midſt of their diſtreſſes. —— Adultery, fornication, and great impurity, were prevailing vices, in the *heathen* world. And *chriſtians*, juſt emerged out of the ſtate of *heatheniſh darkneſſe, and immorality*, would ſtand more in need of being earneſtly admoniſhed to beware of ſuch enormities; and to be told, in the planeſt terms, that ſuch things were inconſiſtent with that purity, which *chriſtianity* requires. —— Such young converts were more likely to retain the *heathen* cuſtom, of funeral lamentations, than *chriſtians* of ſeveral years ſtanding; as not being ſo clear in their notions, and ſo confirmed in their belief, of a reſurrection to a glorious and happy immortality.

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. 11.

In one word, every thing ſeems to fall in, with this date, of *the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians* being writen, at *Corinth*, in the year 52. And, more particularly, *the hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES, the grand key to all the *epiſtles*. And all theſe things cannot be ſaid of any other time, or place.

I can find no ſatisfactorie account, by whom this letter was ſent. *Silvanus* and *Timothy* (who have, by ſome, been ſuppoſed to have carried it) joined in the writeing of it; and were, alſo, with the APOSTLE, when he wrote his *ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*. Nor can I diſcern any hint, in *the ſecond epiſtle*, that either of them had then been, a third time, at *Theſſalonica*, or in *Macedonia*.

Imagine *the great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles* to be full of a juſt reſentment, and generous indignation, againſt his country-men, the unbelieveing *jews*; who had lately treated him and his aſſiſtents, as well as the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*, in ſuch a fierce and cruel manner: and haveing, at the ſame time, the moſt tender and parental care and affection, for his young converts, in that city. And you will have the very poſture of his mind, dureing the writeing of this *epiſtle*. For theſe two things appear, every where, throughout the *epiſtle*.

# *The firſt epiſtle to the* Theſſalonians.

*Writen from* Corinth. An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. 11.

" AFTER he had been, ſome months, at *Corinth*, St. PAUL ſent
" this *firſt epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*; in his own name, and in
" the name of (*Silas*, or) *Silvanus*, and of his beloved *Timothy*. He be-
" ing *the* APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; and they two haveing been his aſſiſtents,
" in planting and watering *that church*. He wrote, not to their *biſhops* and
" *deacons*. For it doeth not appear, that there were, as yet, any ſuch *of-*
" *ficers*, ordained, among them. But he wrote to the *chriſtian church*, there;
" and addreſſeth himſelf, more eſpecially, to that part of the *church*, which
" conſiſted of *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. However; I
" ſuppoſe that all the *chriſtians* of *Theſſalonica* aſſembled together, for reli-
" gious worſhip; that this (as well as the *ſecond*) *epiſtle* was read, public-
" ly, to them; and that ſuch parts of it, as contained the general doctrine,
" precepts, or evidences, of *chriſtianity*, might be of advantage to them
" all. And that they were, ſo far, by the APOSTLE, intended for general
" benefit.

" As an inſtance of that remarkable propriety, wherewith St. PAUL ex-
" preſſed himſelf; we may obſerve, that neither *this*, nor the *ſecond*, *epiſtle*
" to the *Theſſalonians*, is introduced with, PAUL *an* APOSTLE *of* JESUS
" CHRIST, *&c.* as in many other of his *epiſtles*. For, though the *unbe-*
" *lieveing jews* had fiercely oppoſed him; yet, as they acknowleged not the
" authority of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, nor of any of his APOSTLES:
" And the *judaizeing chriſtians* (who profeſſed a great regard to JESUS) had
" not yet begun to make any oppoſition to St. PAUL; nor called in queſ-
" tion his *apoſtolic* power and miſſion, at *Theſſalonica*; (as they did after-
" wards in *Galatia*, *Corinth*, and other places;) He, therefore, doeth not,
" here, aſſume the dignity, which belonged to him; becauſe he had no
" proper occaſion for aſſerting his *authority*. —— After the *introduction*,
" (in which he wiſheth them all manner of bleſſing from GOD, and from
" the LORD JESUS CHRIST, in whom they believed) he thanks GOD, for
" their faith and love, and patient expectation of CHRIST's ſecond comeing.
" He puts them in mind of the evidences, which attended his miſſion; *name-*
" *ly*, miracles, and the gifts of the holy ſpirit. He commendeth them, as
" the elect of GOD, for their ready reception of the *goſpel*, upon it's firſt ap-
" pearence among them; amidſt a fierce oppoſition, and ſome degree of
" perſecution: and that, in ſuch diſcourageing circumſtances, they had im-
" braced the *goſpel*, with ſo much alacrity, as to become examples to their
" neighbors, on all ſides. For, in the ſurrounding countries, it was com-
" monly talked of, what reception, the APOSTLE and his aſſiſtents had met
" with, at *Theſſalonica*; and how readily ſeveral of the inhabitants of that
" city had turned, from lifeleſſe idols and fictitious deities, to ſerve the live-
" ing and true GOD, and to wait for the ſecond appearence of JESUS CHRIST,

" to

" to deliver them from the wrath, which will then come upon the wicked. *Writen*
" The APOSTLE and his two aſſiſtents could appeal to the *Theſſalonians*, *from*
" themſelves, for the ſucceſſe, which they had met with; as well as the zele Corinth,
" and chearfulneſſe, with which they had begun to preach the *goſpel*, among An. Chriſti
" them; even after the injurious and baſe treatment, which they had met 52.
" with, at *Philippi*. And, in the midſt of harſh cenſures, and fierce oppo- Claud. 12.
" ſition, at *Theſſalonica*, they had acted, in the moſt upright and diſinte- Book III.
" reſted manner; foregoing that reſpect, and ſupport, which they might Ch. V.
" have claimed, and expected; and laboring, night and day, with their Sect. IX.
" own hands; that, while they preached the *goſpel*, to them, they might Acts
" not be burthenſome to any of them. The *Theſſalonians* could not have xviii.
" forgot, how holily and inoffenſively they behaved; and with what ten- 11.
" derneſſe and affection they had treated them; exhorting them, earneſtly, *Chap.* II.
" to live becomeing their high privileges, and glorious proſpects, as *chriſ-*
" *tians*, And the APOSTLE thanks GOD, that the *Theſſalonians* had received
" the *goſpel*, not as the contrivance of men, but as the word of GOD: and
" that they had imitated the antient prophets, CHRIST, and his APOSTLES,
" in ſuffering, for righteouſneſſe ſake, at the hands of the *jews*; who did
" all, they could, to prevent the *goſpel*'s being preached unto the *gentiles*.
" He often profeſſes his ardent affection, and vaſt concern, for the *Theſſalo-*
" *nians*; takes notice, with what reluctance he was parted from them, and
" what a ſtrong deſire he had to ſee them again. Which he had attempted
" more than once. But the adverſary had prevented.

" When he could no longer forbear, the APOSTLE choſe to be left alone, *Chap.* III.
" at *Athens*; and ſent *Timothy*, to eſtabliſh and comfort them. He lets
" them know, that *Timothy* had brought him, back, a very pleaſeing ac-
" count of the ſtedfaſtneſſe of their faith; of their love to him, their APO-
" STLE; and of their great deſire to ſee him again; as he moſt ardently
" deſired to ſee them. This afforded him great conſolation and joy, under
" all his perſecutions and difficulties. He earneſtly prayed, that GOD would
" order matters ſo, as that he might viſit them again, and farther inſtruct
" them; that they might abound, in love to each other, and to all men;
" and that they might live ſuch holy lives, as to find acceptance with their
" judge, at his comeing.

" His practical directions were peculiarly ſuted to the ſtate of that church. *Chap.* IV.
" The firſt direction of that kind, was, that they ſhould live chaſtely; and
" carefully abſtain from that impurity, to which the *gentiles* were much ad-
" dicted. For *chriſtianity* requires the greateſt purity. —— The *chriſtians*
" of *Theſſalonica* loved each other, and all the *chriſtians* in the neighborhood,
" ſo affectionately; that the apoſtle recommended it to them, onely to a-
" bound therein, more and more. —— He exhorted them to behave in a
" quiet and peaceable manner; and particularly, to mind the duties of their
" own proper callings and ſtations; that they might live in credit, and be
" eſteemed by the world around them.

" The

*Writen from* Corinth. An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. IX. Acts xviii. 11.

" The *heathens* had ſuch imperfect notions, and wavering expectations, " of a future ſtate, that they uſed to howl, at funerals, and exceſſively la- " ment over their dead; as if they were utterly loſt, and never to live in " any other ſtate. But the APOSTLE adviſed the *chriſtians*, not to ſorrow; " like thoſe, who had no hope of a reſurrection to an happy immortality. " For CHRIST's riſeing from the dead, to immortal glory and felicity, " was, to them, a ſure proof, that they, and their friends alſo, ſhould, " in due time, ariſe to a glorious and happy immortality. And he " acquaints them with the order, in which, things are then to pro- " cede. Firſt, the dead are to be raiſed; then the liveing transformed. " And, after that, all the righteous are to be taken up together, to meet " their LORD; and to live in perfect happineſſe, with him, for ever. ——

*Chap.* V. " The ſecond comeing of CHRIST will be ſudden and unexpected. And, " therefore, *chriſtians* ſhould be always præpared. —— The *chriſtian bre-* " *thren* were intreated to ſhow reſpect, unto ſuch, as præſided over their " church; and likewiſe, inſtructed them. Such, as præſided, were to in- " ſtruct, admoniſh, ſupport, and comfort, the *chriſtian brethren*, as the caſe " required.

" No *chriſtian* is to render evil for evil. But they ſhould always indea- " vor to do good, to all around them. They were not to be dejected, " whatever diſcouragements they met with. They were to pray daily; " and to give thanks for every mercy. They were not to quench the gifts " of the ſpirit. And they were, in particular, to prefer propheſying. " Though they were not to receive every thing, that was called a divine " revelation: but carefully to examine all things, hold faſt the good, and " reject the evil.

The APOSTLE prayed for the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*; that they might " be thoroughly ſanctified. And deſired their prayers. He ſent ſaluta- " tions: gave a ſtrict and ſolemn charge that the *epiſtle* ſhould be read " publicly. And then concluded with his uſual benediction.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V. SECT. X.

*Dureing St.* PAUL'S *abode, at* Corinth, *at this time, he wrote, alſo, the* ſecond epiſtle *to the* Theſſalonians. *An account of the ſubject, and deſign, of that* epiſtle.

THAT St. PAUL planted a *chriſtian church*, at *Theſſalonica*; that *Silvanus* and *Timothy* were his aſſiſtents, in that work; and what ſort of treatment they met with, from the unbelieveing *jews* and *heathens*, and from the *chriſtians*; has been related, at large, in the hiſtory of the former *epiſtle*. An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

In the former *epiſtle*, St. PAUL had expreſſed a great deſire to return, and make the *Theſſalonians* another viſit; in order to comfort them, under their perſecutions; and farther to inſtruct them, in the *chriſtian doctrine*. But, hitherto, he was prevented. Haveing, therefore, received an account of the effects of his former *letter*; and a farther account of the ſtate of that church; [ſee 2 *Theſſ.* i. 3. and ii. 2. and iii. 11.] he wrote a *ſecond epiſtle*, to them, within a few months after the firſt; whileſt he himſelf continued at *Corinth*; and *Silas* and *Timothy* remained, there, with him. I reckon that this *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians* was writen, not long after the firſt; partly, becauſe St. PAUL hath taken no notice of the *unbelieveing jews* haveing hurried him before *Gallio:* [of which, we find St. LUKE hath given a particular account, *Acts* xviii. 12, *&c.*] though, perhaps, the APOSTLE ſaw the ſtorm approaching; and hints at it; 2 *Theſſ.* iii. 2.

That the greateſt part of the *chriſtian church*, at *Theſſalonica*, had been converted, from among *the idolatrous gentiles*; and that the former *epiſtle* was addreſſed to the *chriſtians*, who had been ſuch; has been ſhown already, in the hiſtory of *the firſt epiſtle*. I apprehend that the *ſecond epiſtle* was writen to the ſame perſons, and near the ſame time, with the former. But theſe things have been denied. Let us, therefore, attend to what is alleged for the contrary opinion. The beſt chronologers, and the generality of learned men, ſeem now to be agreed, that this *epiſtle* was writen, from *Corinth*, about the year of CHRIST 52. of *Claudius*, 12. But *Grotius* was for placeing it, about the year of OUR LORD, 38. and in the ſecond year of the reign

An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

reign of *Caligula*. And Mr. *Whiſton* was for placeing it, in the year of CHRIST, 67. of *Nero*, 13. It may not be improper to examine the grounds of their opinions.

GROTIUS held, that this was not *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*. And he has alleged a variety of arguments, to prove, "that "the order of theſe two *epiſtles* is inverted, by thoſe, who have col- "lected, and put in order, *the epiſtles*: and that the ſame thing has "happened here, as in the books of the *Maccabees*; where the firſt "book is put in the third place; and for that reaſon, that the *greek* "*chriſtians* came later to the knowlege of that book. For, as to the "*latins*, they have not yet received it, *&c.*" —— In ſupport of this hypotheſis, *Grotius* alleges, 1. "That this *epiſtle* was writen to *Ja-* "*ſon*, a *jewiſh chriſtian*, the kinſman of *Silas* and *Timothy*; and to "other *chriſtianizeing jews*; who upon the perſecution, which aroſe, "upon the death of St. STEPHEN, fled, from *Judæa*, into *Syria*; "and, afterwards, to *Theſſalonica*." *Anſwer.* That, upon the perſecution, which followed the martyrdom of St. STEPHEN, ſeveral of the *jewiſh chriſtians* fled, from *Jeruſalem*, into the neighboring countries, is very true. [See *Acts* viii. 1, *&c.* and ix. 1, *&c.* and xi. 19, 20.] But, that any of them went as far as *Theſſalonica*, does not appear. Neither can I find any kind of proof, that this *Jaſon* was one of them, who fled, from *Jeruſalem*, on that occaſion; or that he was the kinſman of *Silas* and *Timothy*; or that he was ſo much as a *jewiſh chriſtian*. —— It planely appeareth, from the introduction, that this *epiſtle* was writen, *to the chriſtian church, at Theſſalonica*. And it ſeems, evidently, to have been writen, to a church, among whom, St PAUL had been, in perſon. Now, when he came firſt to *Theſſalonica*; (which was about the year of CHRIST, 51. of *Claudius*, 11.) there is no intimation of his finding any *chriſtians* there, already. But the contrary ſeems evident, from *Acts* xvii. 1, *&c.*

II. *Grotius* alleges, "that, as this *epiſtle* contained the wicked deeds "of *Caius*, the *emperor*, in very expreſſe words, but ſharp, as the "matter required; it could not be publiſhed, without harm to the "*chriſtian church*, whileſt the *Claudian* family reigned, at *Rome*; "*that is*, before the reign of *Galba*, or *Veſpaſian*. And, therefore, "when it was firſt publiſhed; then it began to be added to the *epiſ-* "*tles* of PAUL, writen to the *churches*. For the *epiſtles*, writen to "ſingle perſons, are placed laſt. And, becauſe the *chriſtians* then "placed it, as the ſecond *epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*; ſo it has ob- "tained that place and title, generally, ever ſince." *Anſwer.* This

of

of it's being writen, many years, before it was publiſhed, is all fiction. *Grotius* had no hiſtory, to lead him, to ſuch a concluſion. *Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

III. *Grotius* reckons, " that, in the end of this *epiſtle*, there is a " great argument for his opinion; where the APOSTLE ſais, [*The* " *ſalutation of me*, PAUL, *with mine own hand. Which is the token,* " *in every epiſtle. So I write.*] Now, PAUL would not have ſaid " ſo, if he had wrote an *epiſtle*, to *Theſſalonica*, before this." *Anſwer.* (1.) The former *epiſtle to the Theſſalonians* had this token; *namely*, the ſalutation, writen by St. PAUL's own hand, [*The grace of our* LORD JESUS CHRIST *be with you, Amen.*] For that, as he himſelf ſais, was his token, in every one of his *epiſtles*. (2) What he ſais, [2 *Theſſ.* iii. 17.] might be ſaid, with as much propriety, to perſons, to whom he had wrote, before. For, when they had ſeen the ſalutation, in a former *epiſtle*, in the APOSTLE's own hand-writeing, they could compare them, and more eaſily judge, whether the ſalutation, in the *ſecond epiſtle*, was writen with his own hand, or no. Beſides; if the former *epiſtle* had raiſed ſome difficulties, in the minds of the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*; or ſome ſcruples had been ſuggeſted, with reſpect to the genuineneſſe of the former *epiſtle*; it was moſt natural for the APOSTLE, not onely to ſubjoin the ſame proof of the genuineneſſe of the *ſecond epiſtle*; but, alſo, to intimate that, if they examined it again, they would find that proof, in the former *epiſtle*. And that that was the diſtinguiſhing mark of the genuineneſſe of every *epiſtle* of his. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

IV. *Grotius* argues, " that the perſons, to whom St. PAUL wrote " this *epiſtle*, muſt have been *jewiſh chriſtians*, converted, long be- " fore that APOSTLE came to *Theſſalonica*; becauſe it is ſaid, [chap. " ii. 13.] *that* GOD *had choſen them, from the begining, unto ſalvation,* " *&c.* For that expreſſion, [*from the begining,*] ſhows, that he was " treating of the *jews*; who are ſaid, *Eph.* i. 12. to have *firſt* truſt- " ed in CHRIST. Compare *Rom.* xi. 16." *Anſwer.* Suppoſe it had been ſaid, " that they had been *converted*, to the *goſpel*, *from the begining*;" even that expreſſion might have denoted no more, than that they were converted, among ſome of the firſt of the *idolatrous gentiles*; or ſoon after the APOSTLE came into *Macedonia*. So, [*in the begining of the goſpel*, Phil. iv. 15.] ſignifies, when the APOSTLE firſt preached the *goſpel*, in thoſe parts. —— Nay; Mr. *Locke* was of opinion, that *Eph.* i. 12. was not to be underſtood, of *jewiſh*, but of *gentile*, converts. —— However; the APOSTLE, 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 13. is not ſpeaking of the time, when the perſons, to whom he was writeing, were converted to *chriſtianity*; but of the time, when

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

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GOD (determined to take them, for his people; or) *choſe them, unto ſalvation, through ſanctification of the ſpirit, and belief of the truth.* Now, that was, [*from the begining.*] —— And, in many places of the new teſtament, GOD is repreſented, as haveing choſen the *gentiles*, to be his people, *of old, before the ſecular ages, from the begining, or from the foundation of the world*; and the like. [See Eph. i. 4, *&c.* and the note on *Tit.* i. 2.] Which was a plane proof, that GOD highly regarded them; and that they had a right to the *goſpel*-privileges, as well as *the jews*. But the time of the converſion of any of *the gentiles*, to the *chriſtian religion*, cannot, by any means, be inferred, from thence.

V. *Grotius* argues farther, from chap. iii. 6. "that, becauſe this "church was ſmall: and, conſequently, had not a preſbytery; there-"fore, if any of them did not live, according to the rules of CHRIST, "the other *chriſtians* are ordered *to avoid them.* Whereas; if there "had been a preſbytery, they would have been excommunicated; "as was the inceſtuous *Corinthian.*" *Anſwer.* (1.) Here is the ſame word, made uſe of, [2 *Theſſ.* iii. 14.] which is uſed, concerning the excommunication of the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, [1 Cor. v. 11.] μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, *namely*, that they were *not to keep up familiar ſociety with* ſuch diſorderly *chriſtians*, 'till they had repented, and reformed. The *withdrawing themſelves* from ſuch, [2 *Theſſ.* iii. 6.] is the ſame as, [1 *Cor.* v. 11.] *with ſuch a one, no not to eat.* And *Grotius*, on that place, ſais, "It was the cuſtom of the *hebrews*, not to eat, in common, with thoſe, who were in *Nidui.*" Now, *Nidui* was one kind, or degree, of excommunication, among the *jews*. [*See Dr.* Lightfoot's *works*, vol. 2. p. 747, *&c. Vitringa, de vet. ſynag.* p. 378.] (2.) This church, at *Theſſalonica*, ſeems not to have been one of the ſmalleſt of the churches, in, or about, that time; from any thing, that is ſaid, to, or of, them. —— As to their not yet haveing ſuch fixed officers, as *biſhops* and *deacons*; *that* was not peculiar to them: but common to all the churches, to which St. PAUL wrote; except that at *Philippi*; and, perhaps, alſo, that of the *hebrew chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem.* [*See the eſſay, annexed to* 2 Tim. *chap.* 2.]

VI. *Grotius* goes on, and ſais, "that the prophecies, in the ſecond "chapter of this *epiſtle*, ought to be referred to thoſe things, which "might happen in that age: becauſe PAUL, in three places, ſup-"poſed, that the laſt and univerſal judgment might happen, whileſt "he was liveing." *Anſwer.* There is no occaſion to confine the events, propheſied of, in the ſecond chapter of this *epiſtle*, to what

what was to happen, in that age. For St. PAUL did not expect the general judgment, in his time. [*See on* 1 Theſſ. iv. 15.]

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

The arguments for this being *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, are, ſuch as follow; (1.) St. PAUL has directed it, *To the church of the* Theſſalonians, *&c.* And, according to the conſtant tradition of the *chriſtian* church, this has always been called *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*. Nor do I know of any author, *popiſh*, or *proteſtant*, *antient* or *modern*, of *Grotius*, his opinion, in this matter. He, evidently, was led into it, by his hypotheſis, about *the man of ſin*. (2.) Chap. ii. 15. The APOSTLE ſais, "Stand faſt, therefore, bre- "thren, and hold the traditions; which you have been taught, whether "by [our] word, or by *our epiſtle*." From whence, it has been, generally, gathered, that this APOSTLE had wrote one *epiſtle*, to the ſame perſons, before this. Indeed, if, by *our epiſtle*, we were to underſtand this ſecond *epiſtle*; then the force of this argument would be taken away. But, as neither ταύτης, nor τῆς, is expreſſed, there is no reaſon for that interpretation. And to ſay, "that St. PAUL had wrote a former *epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, which is now loſt;" would be, to aſſert what there is no hiſtory, nor evidence, to ſupport. The moſt natural interpretation, is, that St. PAUL here refers to (that which is commonly called) *the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*. (3.) It is an argument of great force, againſt *Grotius* his conjecture, "that *Silvanus* and *Timothy* joined with St. PAUL, "in the introduction of *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*; as they "had done, in the introduction to *the firſt epiſtle*:" — It does not appear, that either *Silvanus*, or *Timothy*, was converted to the *chriſtian faith*, 'till long after the death of *Caligula*. For *Timothy* was but a youth, when St. PAUL wrote his firſt *epiſtle* to him: which was in the year of CHRIST, 58. of *Nero*, 4. [See 1 *Tim.* iv. 12.] According to what has been obſerved above, *Timothy* ſeems to have been converted to *chriſtianity*, at *Lyſtra*, by PAUL and BARNABAS; in the year of CHRIST, 46. of *Claudius*, 6. And not to have become the companion of St. PAUL, 'till the year of CHRIST, 50. of *Claudius*, 10. About which time, *Silvanus*, alſo, became the companion, and fellow-laborer, of that APOSTLE. [*Acts* xv. 40. and xvi. 1, &c.] Now, as theſe two evangeliſts aſſiſted this APOSTLE, in planting the church, at *Theſſalonica*, it was very natural for them to join, with him, in the introduction *of the firſt epiſtle* to that church. And, as they were ſtill with him, when he wrote *this ſecond epiſtle*; they, with as great propriety, joined with the APOSTLE again, in the introduction; as being well known to the *Theſſalonians*, and ſolici-

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

tous for their perſevereing in the true *chriſtian faith* and practice. (4.) It is an argument of great weight, for this being *the ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*, "that there is a plane reference, in *this epiſtle*, to many things, contained, in *the former epiſtle*." There, St. PAUL mentions their converſion to the *chriſtian faith*; here, their increaſe therein. *In the former epiſtle*, he had intimated, that CHRIST's comeing to judgment, would be ſudden and ſurprizeing; *here*, he takes pains, to guard them againſt thinking, that it would be preſently, or ſoon. In *the firſt epiſtle*, he had, briefly and gently, admoniſhed ſome diſorderly perſons, not to be idle, nor burthenſome to others: *here*, he inlarges upon that particular, and reproves them more ſharply; as they had not reformed, upon his former and gentle admonition. — But the correſpondence, between the two *epiſtles*, will be conſidered, more particularly, hereafter.

"Mr. *Whiſton* [in *his eſſay upon the apoſtolic conſtitutions*; p. 47; "110.] has contended, for placeing the writeing of *the two epiſtles to* "*the Theſſalonians*, in the year of OUR LORD, 67. *that is*, about "15 years later than we ſuppoſe them to have been writen." — In the hiſtory of *the firſt epiſtle*, all his arguments have been anſwered, except two; which are taken from two paſſages in *this ſecond epiſtle*. (1.) Mr. *Whiſton* has obſerved, "that [2 *Theſſ.* ii. 7, *&c.*] the APO-"STLE ſpeaks of *the myſtery of iniquity*, which did *already work*, in "the world; and was the prælude to *the man of ſin*, himſelf." *Anſwer.* There were many corruptions, in the *chriſtian church*, as early as the year of CHRIST, 52. And every corruption, was, in ſome meaſure, *a myſtery of iniquity, and a prælude to the comeing of the man of ſin*. And, therefore, that paſſage will not determine the date of *this epiſtle*; much leſſe that it was writen in the year 67. (2.) Mr. *Whiſton* has alleged, "that [2 *Theſſ.* iii. 17.] the "APOSTLE mentions *his own hand-writeing, as the token, in every* "*epiſtle*; as if he had writen, not a few, before that time." *Anſwer.* How ſtrangely men do argue! And what very different concluſions do they draw, from the ſame præmiſes? From this paſſage, *Grotius* argues, that the APOSTLE had not writen any *epiſtle*, to a *chriſtian church*, before this; at leaſt, not to the *Theſſalonians*." From this ſame paſſage, Mr. *Whiſton* infers, "that the APOSTLE had writen *epiſtles*, before this; and thoſe not a few." Neither of their arguments are clear, or indubitable. For, ſuppoſe St. PAUL had writen but one *epiſtle*, before this; and *the Theſſalonians* had miſtaken his meaning; or had, ſince that, received a letter, forged in his name; or had ſcruples raiſed, in their minds, about the genuineneſſe of his for-

mer *epiſtle*; he might, very reaſonably, write the ſalutation, again, with his own hand; and inform them, *that that was the token of the genuineneſſe of every epiſtle of his*; that is, of thoſe, which he had writen; or of thoſe, which he ſhould, afterwards, write. *Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

Had we the account, which the APOSTLE received, from *Theſſalonica*; or had we any other authentic hiſtory, of the circumſtances of that church, ſince his writeing *the firſt epiſtle*; we might, unqueſtionably, interpret *this ſecond epiſtle*, with more juſtneſſe and propriety, than any of the commentators have done; and, much more exactly, point out the beauty and emphaſis of ſeveral expreſſions. But, as we have no ſuch hiſtory, all, that we can do, is, to compare *the two epiſtles* themſelves; and carefully obſerve, wherein they correſpond, and wherein they vary. — We may reaſonably præſume, that what the former *epiſtle* had done effectually, the APOSTLE would not attempt to do it over again. Though it is highly probable that he would do thoſe things, by letter, as he was ſtill abſent; which he would have done, in perſon; if he had been preſent. *For inſtance*; that he would commend thoſe who had behaved right, in order to confirm, and incourage, them. That if, in any thing, they had miſtaken his meaning, he would (with all meekneſſe and readineſſe) ſet them right: that if, in any point, he thought, they were not fully inſtructed, he would indeavor to perfect that which was lacking in their faith: and that if, in any reſpect, any of them were grown worſe, he would, more particularly, and more ſeverely, reprehend them. — With this light, in our hand, we may, poſſibly, find out our way, through the *hiſtory* of the ſtate of this *church*, at the time of writeing this *ſecond epiſtle*.

Whether the APOSTLE (after all his moſt earneſt deſire to ſee them again,) deſpaired of viſiting his converts, at *Theſſalonica*, for ſome time; or thought them ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, by what he had already done; or reckoned, that he had ſaid enough, concerning that deſire, and intention, of his; and that, to have ſaid more, would have been improper; unleſſe he had had a fair proſpect of returning ſhortly: — Whatever was the reaſon, I ſay, he takes no notice, in *this ſecond epiſtle*, of his purpoſe, or deſire, to viſit them, again, in a little time. He did, indeed, viſit them, once or twice, after this. [*Acts* xx. 1, — 4.] But that was at the interval of four or five years. And, therefore, he had no proſpect of that, when he wrote *this epiſtle*. — He had, in the former *epiſtle*, given them ſuch affectionate and preſſing diſſuaſives from all manner of impurity: and had ſo fully ſhown, that imitateing their *heathen* neighbors, in their funeral lamentations,

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

mentations, was highly improper, as they had the proſpect of a reſurrection to perfect and everlaſting felicity; that he did not ſee occaſion to add any thing farther, upon either of theſe two heads. —He had, likewiſe, intreated them to pay a proper deference, unto ſuch, as labored among them, in inſtructing and admoniſhing them, and, in præſideing over their religious aſſemblies. And, then recommended it, to the præſidents of that church, to do their duty. And, as he is, in *the ſecond epiſtle*, wholly ſilent, with reſpect to both theſe particulars; we may reaſonably præſume, there was no occaſion, to add any thing farther, concerning them.

This was writen the ſecond of all St. PAUL's *epiſtles*. By whoſe hands it was ſent, does not now appear. But *the great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles* did not want meſſengers, attendents, or perſons ready to miniſter unto him.

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## *The* ſecond epiſtle *to the* Theſſalonians.

" THEY had now, for ſome time, profeſſed the *chriſtian religion*
" And, therefore, the APOSTLE doeth not (as in the *firſt epiſtle*) in-
" large, upon the reception, which the *goſpel* had met with, upon it's firſt
" appearence among them; nor upon his own planting it, with the moſt
" diſintereſted views, and amidſt ſo many difficulties and diſcouragements.

*Chap.* I. " But he wrote, again; in his own name, and in the name of *Silvanus* and
" *Timothy*. And then, (after an *introduction*, like to that, in the *former e-*
" *piſtle*) he commendeth the *Theſſalonians*, for their increaſe in faith and
" love; and tells them, that he gloried, in other churches, becauſe of their
" ſtedfaſtneſſe in the faith, and their patience under perſecution.

" He then, with great propriety, takes notice, that their perſecution
" was a clear proof of a righteous judgment to come; when their perſecu-
" tors ſhould meet with their proper recompence; and the righteous be de-
" livered out of all their afflictions. And all this (he aſſured them) would
" take place, when JESUS CHRIST returns, with pomp and majeſty, as u-
" niverſal judge. And, to that end, he prayed, that GOD would carry on
" their faith and holineſſe, unto perfection; that CHRIST might be glorifi-
" ed in them, and they in him.

*Chap.* II. " Haveing heard, that his diſcourſe, concerning the ſudden comeing of
" CHRIST, had been miſunderſtood, or perverted; he takes particular care
" to rectifie the miſtake, into which, the *Theſſalonians* had fallen: aſſure-
" ing them, that a remarkable apoſtaſie would firſt happen; and that there
" would appear, in the *chriſtian church*, one, who would deſerve the name

of

" of *the man of ſin*, and *ſon of perdition*, and who would, with intolerable *Writen*
" pride and arrogance, exalt himſelf above all the potentates on earth. *from*
" Of this, the APOSTLE had informed them, when he was at *Theſſalonica*; Corinth,
" and told them, what it was, that hindered the appearence of that tyran- An. Chriſti
" nical power. The myſtery of iniquity had then begun to operate; though 52.
" it's progreſſe was but ſmall. But, when the obſtructing power ſhould be Claud. 12.
" removed, the grand enemy of truth and righteouſneſſe ſhould be openly Book III.
" reveled; and would make uſe of ſuch power and craft, as that the apoſ- Ch. V.
" taſie would ſpread, far and wide; and none, but the ſincere lovers of Sect. X.
" truth and goodneſſe, would eſcape the deluſion. But, though thoſe ad- Acts
" verſaries of pure *chriſtianity* ſhould triumph for a while, yet their end xviii.
" would be deſtruction. However; the APOSTLE thanked GOD, that his 11.
" *Theſſalonian* converts were choſen unto ſalvation. Unto which, they had
" been called, by the *goſpel*: and which they would certainly obtain; if they
" held faſt the doctrines, and obſerved the precepts, which he had deliver-
" ed unto them. And he heartily prayed that they might do ſo.

" In the next place, the APOSTLE deſires the prayers of the *chriſtians*, *Chap.* III.
" of *Theſſalonica*, for him and his two aſſiſtents; that they might preach
" the *goſpel*, with like ſucceſſe, in other places, as they had done, at *Theſ-*
" *ſalonica*; and, particularly, that they might be delivered from ene-
" mies and perſecutors; whom they met with, almoſt every where. And
" he intimates, that, though the *Theſſalonians* could not eſcape perſecution
" here, they might confide in CHRIST, to preſerve them from evil; pro-
" vided they continued in the love of GOD, and in the patient expectation of
" CHRIST's ſecond comeing.

" 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 11, 12. the APOSTLE had, briefly and gently, admoniſhed
" ſome idle and diſorderly perſons, to be quiet, and to mind their own bu-
" ſineſſe; that they might maintain themſelves, in a creditable manner;
" and neither be burthenſome to the other *chriſtians*, nor give offence to
" their unbelieveing neighbors. But, as they ſeem rather to have grown
" worſe, he orders the other *chriſtians* to ſhun all familiar ſociety with them;
" that they might bring them to ſhame and to repentence. PAUL, *Silas*, and
" *Timothy*, had worked, diligently, with their own hands, for a ſubſiſtence;
" while they continued to preach the *goſpel*, at *Theſſalonica*. Though they
" might have been excuſed, conſidering their labors in the *goſpel*, and their
" office. Such examples deſerved imitation. And the APOSTLE command-
" ed the diſorderly perſons, again, and that in the name of OUR LORD
" JESUS CHRIST, to work, and maintain themſelves; and induſtrioufly a-
" void being troubleſome to others.

" In *the firſt epiſtle*, he had concluded, with [*The grace of* OUR LORD
" JESUS CHRIST *be with you all, Amen.*] He now concludes, in like man-
" ner; and informs them, that writeing the ſalutation, with his own
" hand, was, the token of the genuineneſſe of all the *epiſtles*, which he
" wrote."

Thus,

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 52. Claud. 12. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. X. Acts xviii. 11.

Thus, as it ſeemeth, we have taken the onely method, now left, of comeing at the ſtate of the church, at *Theſſalonica*, when the APOSTLE wrote *this ſecond epiſtle* to them. And the ſum, of what has been ſaid, comes to this; *namely*, "that *this epiſtle* may be looked "upon, as a ſupplement to the former: that the main point, about "which, he wrote *this ſecond epiſtle*, was, to rectifie a miſtake, into "which, the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*, had fallen, concerning the ſpee-"dy comeing of CHRIST. A miſtake! which, if not rectified, might "have proved of dangerous conſequence. — But he has, alſo, added "other things of conſiderable importance; comforting the *Theſſalo-"nians*, under their perſecutions; and reprehending the idle and "diſorderly among them. — Theſe three things, the APOSTLE hath "more eſpecially labored; in order to prevent the ruine, or great de-"cay, of the *chriſtian religion*, at *Theſſalonica*. — And it is to be "hoped that he ſucceded in his deſign. For we learn, from *the fa-"thers*, that there was a *chriſtian church*, at *Theſſalonica*, many ages, "after this.

## CHAP. V. SECT. XI.

### *The* hiſtory *of St.* PAUL's epiſtle *to the* GALATIANS.

IT hath been obſerved, above, that St. PAUL had, before this, planted ſeveral *chriſtian churches*, in *Galatia*. For we ſhall find, [*Acts* xviii. 23.] that, the next time, he paſſed through that country, "he *confirmed* ſuch diſciples, as were formerly converted to the *chriſtian faith*." It hath been commonly thought, that the *epiſtle*, to the *churches* of *Galatia*, was writen, but a little before the *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*. That opinion was grounded upon what the APOSTLE hath ſaid; [1 *Cor.* xvi. 1, 2.] "Now, concerning "the collection for the ſaints; as I have given orders in the *churches* "of *Galatia*, ſo alſo do you. Upon the firſt day of the week, let "every one of you lay up part of his treaſure, according as GOD hath "proſpered him: that there may be no collections to be made, "when I come." But, though there are ſome general exhortations to beneficence and liberality; [*Gal.* vi. 6, — 10.] yet there are no ſuch

ſuch orders, throughout the *epiſtle* to the *Galatians*, concerning collections for the poor *chriſtians*, in *Judæa*. And, therefore, nothing can be inferred, from thence, towards ſettleing the date of *this epiſtle*. St. PAUL had, perhaps, ſent that order, by ſome of his *aſſiſtents*; who were numerous; and very much imployed, in viſiting the *churches* of his planting; and in carrying orders and meſſages from him; as well as in bringing him an account of the ſtate of the *churches*. Or, (which ſeemeth more probable) he had ordered them to do ſo, when he came, again, to *Galatia*; and viſited the *churches*, which he had planted there. For that was, before the writeing *his firſt letter* to *Corinth*. As that paſſage, in the *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, will not help us, in fixing the time of the writeing the *epiſtle* to the *Galatians*; we are at liberty to fix the date of it, as other circumſtances will beſt accord. And, it appeareth to me, that he wrote *that epiſtle*, now; dureing his long ſtay at *Corinth*. For, he had not onely ſufficient leiſure to write; by continueing, ſo long, in one city: but he hath given a plane intimation, in the *epiſtle* itſelf, that he wrote it, about this time. For he ſaith, [*Gal.* i. 6.] "I "wonder, that you are, *ſo ſoon*, turned aſide, from him, who call-"ed you, by the grace, which is *manifeſted* in the *goſpel* of CHRIST, "unto another ſort of *goſpel*," &c. From whence, it is evident, that he wrote, *ſoon after* he had been at *Galatia*. And there is no hint, through the *whole epiſtle*, of his haveing, at that time, been, more than once, among them. So that, it is very likely, the *epiſtle* was writen, before his ſecond journey to *Galatia*.

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

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## *The* epiſtle *to the* Galatians.

THE occaſion of the *epiſtle*, was, the APOSTLE's haveing heard, that a certain *judaizeing chriſtian*, a *falſe apoſtle*, had either crept in, or riſen up, among them; who called in queſtion his [*that is*, St. PAUL's] *apoſtolic authority*; inſinuateing, that St PETER, and the APOSTLES *of* "*the circumciſion*, were much more to be regarded, and ſuperior to him. "That they never preached againſt the *circumciſion* of the *converts*, from "among the *gentiles*. But, that it was a doctrine peculiar to PAUL; who "was onely an APOSTLE *of men*; and had not ſuch extraordinary powers and "illumination, as the other APOSTLES had. Nay; he ſeemeth to have in-"timated, that PAUL himſelf did, ſecretly, and at ſome times, preach up "the neceſſity of *circumciſion*, to the *gentile converts*; though, generally, "and at other times, he inſiſted upon the contrary. The ſum of the mat-"ter,

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

ter, was, the *falſe apoſtle* was very deſireous to have made all the *gentile* *chriſtians* ſubmit to be *circumciſed*; and ſo to have bound themſelves to obſerve the *whole law of Moſes*: as if the *goſpel of* CHRIST, alone and of itſelf, had been inſufficient to juſtifie, and ſave, them.

"That it was but *one judaizeing chriſtian*, who made all that diſturbance, appeareth probable to me, from what the APOSTLE hath ſaid; [*Gal.* v. 9, 10.] A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I truſt in the LORD, concerning you, that you will not be of a different mind *from me*; but that he, who troubleth you, will fall under the condemnation, which *he deſerves*; whoſoever he be. And he ſeemeth to have been a man of an immoral character, from whatis ſaid, *chap.* vi. 12, &c. as not acting from religious views and motives; but out of vane-glory and fear, to curry favor with the *jews*, by increaſeing the number of *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*; and ſo eſcape the *perſecution*, which the *unbelieveing jews*, frequently, raiſed, againſt St. PAUL, and ſuch as adhered to the *doctrine*, which he preached. If it be remembered, that theſe things occaſioned the writeing of *this epiſtle*; it will not be difficult to obſerve the propriety of the ſeveral parts, and expreſſions, of it.

*Chap.* I. "In oppoſition to the inſinuations of the *falſe apoſtle*, St. PAUL begins, with aſſerting his *apoſtolic character* and *authority*; that he was not made an APOSTLE, by any man; but by JESUS CHRIST; and GOD the *father*, who raiſed JESUS from the dead. And, after directing the *letter* to the *chriſtian churches* in *Galatia*, (which was not a town, but a country; and had ſeveral *churches* in it,) he addreſſed himſelf, more particularly, to the *gentile chriſtians*; and wiſhed them all manner of bleſſing, from the *true* GOD; and from his ſon, JESUS CHRIST; in whom they now believed. And, haveing obſerved, that the deſign of the *death* of CHRIST, was, to deliver men from this preſent, evil world; he then falleth into the grand deſign of his writeing: letting the *chriſtians* in *Galatia* know, that he was aſtoniſhed, at the ſudden change, which had happened among them; and at their ſo quickly throwing off their great regard to him and his *doctrine*; though he kept ſteddy to it, at all times, and in every place. But he immediately ſoftened that rebuke, by laying the blame on the *judaizeing chriſtian*, the *falſe apoſtle*; whom he, in the name of CHRIST, pronounces *accurſed*, for preaching ſo directly contrary to the *revelations*, which he himſelf had received from heaven, and publiſhed among them. And he, in an oblique manner, repreſenteth *that falſe apoſtle*, as acting with a view to curry favor with the *jews*; which he himſelf ſcorned to do, when it interfered with truth and right.

"He then giveth them a brief *hiſtory* of his paſt life; as a farther vindication of himſelf: and of the *doctrine*, which he had preached among them. He was, at firſt, a *zeleous phariſee*, and a violent *perſecutor* of the *chriſtians*. But, when the *goſpel* was reveled to him, (from GOD, who had, from his birth, deſigned him for the APOSTLESHIP of the *gentiles*,) he did not conſult with any man; nor go up to *Jeruſalem*, to learn the doctrine of *chriſtianity*, from any of the APOSTLES. But he went, and preached *the goſpel*,

" *goſpel*, in *Arabia*; and went not up to *Jeruſalem*, 'till after three years. *Writen*
" At which time, he ſaw none of the APOSTLES, except PETER and JAMES. *from*
" And, with them, he continued onely fifteen days. Which had been too Corinth.,
" ſhort a time, to have learned the ſcheme of the *chriſtian doctrine*; if he An.Chriſti
" had then been ignorant of it. But he preached it before, in a diſtant 53.
" country; where there was no man to teach it him. And was ſo much Claud. 13.
" a ſtranger, among the *chriſtian churches* of *Judæa*, that they had moſt Book III.
" of them never ſeen him. Onely they had heard, with joy, that their Ch. V.
" great enemy, and perſecutor, was become a *chriſtian*; and that he preach- Sect. XI.
" ed *that doctrine*, which once he deſtroyed. From all this, it plainly ap- Acts
" peared that he had received the *revelation* of the *goſpel*; not from *men*, xviii.
" but from OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, himſelf. —— And, that he never, 11.
" ſecretly, or openly, favored the ſentiments of the *judaizeing chriſtians*; he Chap. II.
" farther proveth, from his takeing *Titus*, an *uncircumciſed gentile chriſtian*,
" up with him, to *Jeruſalem*; and there oppoſeing the *judaizeing chriſtians*;
" who would have had *Titus* to have been *circumciſed*, and brought into
" ſubjection to the whole *law of Moſes*. And, that he learned no part of
" the *goſpel*, from the other APOSTLES, when he was, then, at *Jeruſalem*,
" with them; (*namely*, fourteen years after his own converſion;) he ſhow-
" eth, in that he went thither, according to a *divine revelation*; and com-
" municated the *goſpel*, which he had preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, unto
" JAMES, PETER, and JOHN. Whereby, he added to their knowlege,
" though they could add nothing to his. Onely he deſired, that they
" would, for ſome time, keep it a as ſecret, from the *chriſtians*, at *Jeruſa-*
" *lem*; for fear the *zeleots*, among them, ſhould make a bad uſe of it.
" Nay; thoſe pillars in the *church*, thoſe moſt eminent APOSTLES, in whom
" the *judaizers* ſo much gloried; — even *they*, upon a careful obſervation
" of their illumination and miraculous powers, acknowleged both PAUL,
" and BARNABAS, for brother APOSTLES; and of equal dignity and au-
" thority with themſelves; giveing unto them the right-hand of fellowſhip;
" and agreeing that they ſhould go to the *heathens*, as they did to the *jews*.
" They did, indeed, propoſe their makeing a collection, in the *gentile*
" *churches*, for the uſe of the poor *jewiſh chriſtians*; eſpecially in *Judæa*.
" But that, alſo, St. PAUL had deſigned to do, before they mentioned it.
" Nay; (which might ſet him, not onely upon a level with, but even ex-
" alt him above, that renowned APOSTLE of the *circumciſion*) he letteth
" them know, that, when PETER came, down, from *Jeruſalem*, to *An-*
" *tioch*; and, out of fear of the *judaizers*, acted ſo, as tended to betray
" the liberty of the *gentile converts*; and their freedom from *circumciſion*,
" and the *burthen of the law*; he publicly reproved him; and that very
" juſtly: putting him in mind, that the *jewiſh converts* could not expect
" *juſtification*, by the *law of Moſes*; and, therefore, there could be no juſt
" reaſon to bring the *gentile chriſtians* under *that law*. For the *goſpel*, alone,
" was able to juſtifie, and ſave, all, that imbraced it; and, by the tenor
" of the *law* itſelf, and eſpecially according to the *prophecies* contained in

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

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" it, the obligation to it was diſſolved, upon the erecting the *ſpiritual kingdom* of the *meſſiah*. After the APOSTLE had, thus, deſtroyed the force of " all, that his adverſaries had alleged; he appealeth to the *Galatians*, themſelves, whether it was not reaſonable to regard him and his *doctrine?* — " Eſpecially, as they had, from him, received the *gift of the holy ſpirit*; " and that, in conſequence of their imbraceing (not the *law of Moſes*, but) " the *goſpel of* CHRIST? Nay; that they had alſo ſuffered for their *chriſtianity*; " (very probably, from the *unbelieveing jews*; who were incenſed that they " would not ſubmit to the *law of Moſes*.) And, if they would not render their paſt ſufferings in vane, they ought to perſevere, as they had " begun.

" As a farther confutation of the doctrine of the *judaizers*, he goeth " back, as far as the *Abrahamic covenant*; and ſhoweth them, that, by ſuch " a *faith*, as produced *obedience* to GOD, *Abraham* himſelf was juſtified; and " that the ſpiritual ſeed of *Abraham*, were all, that had like faith and obe- " dience, whether *jews* or *gentiles*. For, *in him, all nations were to be bleſſ-* " *ed*. Whereas; the *law* condemned every one, without mercy, who " tranſgreſſed any part of it. And (without haveing recourſe to the *goſpel*, " or the *Abrahamic covenant*, which was of the ſame kind with the *goſpel*,) " ſuch, as were under the *law*, and tranſgreſſed, could not hope for mercy. " But that CHRIST, by dying, had delivered the *jewiſh chriſtians*, from the " bondage and curſe of the *law*; and had obtained, of his father, that, " through him, even the *gentile converts*, alſo, ſhould inherit the bleſſings, " promiſed to *Abraham*, and his ſeed. As an earneſt of which, thoſe *gen-* " *tile chriſtians*, at *Galatia*, had received the *ſpirit*. —— Mere human " compacts are not altered, without the conſent of both the parties; much " leſſe the divine covenant and ingagement. Now; it was impoſſible, that " the *law*, or the *Sinai-covenant*, ſhould alter the covenant, made, between " GOD and *Abraham*, in behalf of all mankind; even *that covenant*, by " which GOD promiſed the *everlaſting inheritance*. A bleſſing, which there " was no poſſibility of obtaining, by the obſervation of the *law of Moſes!* " It was impoſſible (I ſay) that the *law*, or the *Sinai covenant*, ſhould alter " *that covenant*, made, with *Abraham*, between GOD and all mankind. For " a mediator is not a mediator, where there is onely one perſon, or party, " concerned. Whereas; GOD alone, of the two parties, concerned in the " *Abrahamic covenant*, was then preſent, at *mount Sinai*. Inſtead of the o- " ther party, which was *all mankind*, there was onely the one nation of *If-* " *rael*. The *law*, therefore, of which *Moſes* was the *mediator*, and which " was made between GOD and that *one nation* of *Iſrael* onely, could not " poſſibly diſannull the *Abrahamic covenant*, which extended to *all mankind:* " becauſe both parties muſt be preſent, or conſent, to the diſannulling of " *a covenant*, as well as to the makeing of it. The *law*, though delivered " in ſo pompous a manner, was given, onely to prevent the nation of *If-* " *rael*, 'till CHRIST came, from falling into the tranſgreſſions; *that is*, the " *idolatry* and wickedneſſe, of the ſurrounding nations. In this view, there " is no claſhing between the *law* and the *Abrahamic covenant*, or the *goſpel*.

" On

" On the contrary; the *law* tended to præpare the *jews* for the *goſpel*. For, *Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13.
" as all are ſiners, all have need of mercy; which the *law* manifeſted no-
" thing of. It, therefore, like a ſevere tutor to children, made the *jews*,
" very juſtly, long to get out of that ſtate of *minority*; and to wiſh for
" the mercy and liberty of the *goſpel*. Under which, the *gentile*, as well
" as the *jewiſh converts*, are looked upon, as the *ſons of* GOD; come to
" years of maturity; and emerged, into the ſtate of freedom and liberty.
" For there is, now, no diſtinction; but *all believers* are *the ſeed of Abra-*
" *ham*, and heirs of the promiſed bleſſing. Antecedent to the *goſpel-ſtate*,
" the *jews*, though heirs of the promiſe, were in bondage to the *law*; as the
" heir to an earthly inheritance, who is treated like a ſervant; *that is*, with
" rigor and ſubjection, dureing his minority. And the *gentile-converts* had
" been, likewiſe, in bondage; not indeed to the *law of Moſes*, but to *ido-*
" *latry*, and other vices. But now, GOD had ſent his ſon, in an human
" body, to adopt the *gentiles*, as well as to deliver the *jews* from their ſtate
" of *minority*. And, as a clear proof of this, he had given them the *ſpi-*
" *rit* of his ſon, JESUS CHRIST; which might fully ſatisfie them of their
" *adoption*. And it would have been a præpoſterous thing, for thoſe *gen-*
" *tile converts*, when they had eſcaped from the *bondage of idolatry*, to
" ſubmit to the *bondage* of the *Moſaic law*; which was onely the *rudiments*
" of *chriſtianity*: or of that *more perfect religion*, which they had imbraced.

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" The next argument, which the APOSTLE makes uſe of, is, to put
" them in mind of the great reſpect and affection, which they had ſhown
" him, when he planted the *goſpel* among them. Though he had labored
" under great weakneſſe of body, which he calleth *a remarkable trial in*
" *the fleſh*; alludeing (very probably) to what he, elſewhere, termed *his thorn*
" *in the fleſh*. But, notwithſtanding that trial, they did not then deſpiſe him;
" and he could not think of any thing, that ſhould, ſince, have alienated
" their affections from him; unleſſe his freedom and openneſſe in telling
" them the truth. They were now, indeed, fond of another. But it was
" reaſonable to continue that affection to the APOSTLE, in his abſence;
" which they had manifeſted, when he was preſent: For, he had a moſt
" tender affection for them; and was in pangs, 'till they were brought into
" the right way again. And, finally, he concludeth his diſcourſe, con-
" cerning the point in difference, between him and the *judaizing chriſtians*,
" in a beautiful *allegory*, taken from the prophet *Iſaiah*; thereby refering
" the *judaizing chriſtians* to thoſe writeings, which they ſo highly valued.
" For, whereas it is ſaid, in *Geneſis*, that *Abrakam* had two ſons; the one,
" *that is*, *Iſhmael*, by *Hagar*, the bond-woman; and the other; *that is*
" *Iſaac*, by *Sarah*, his wife, or the free-woman: Theſe things are *allegorized*,[a]
" by

[a] Gal. iv. 24. Ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. *Which things are allegorized.*" This is the true *tranſlation*. For which I am indebted to the *diſſertation*, that Mr. *Peirce* has publiſhed, on this place. Where it is ſhown, that theſe things *were allegorized*, not in the *hiſtory* of *Moſes*, but by the *prophet Iſaiah*. Which removeth the grand difficulty of this period of *holy ſcripture*; as the ſame *diſſertation* hath, likewiſe, removed many of the leſſer difficulties, with reſpect to the *reading* and *interpretation* of this place. [See *diſſertation* 1. annexed to Mr *Peirce's paraphraſe and notes on St.* PAUL's epiſtle *to the* Philippians.]

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

" by the prophet. [*Iſa.* liv. 1, *&c.*] And, in the *prophet's allegory*, theſe " *two women* repreſent the *two covenants*. The one, which came from *mount* " *Sinai*, and bringeth ſuch, as are under it, into a ſtate of bondage. Which, " in the *allegory*, anſwered to *Hagar*; and, in a lively manner, repreſented " the ſtate of the *earthly Jeruſalem*, or of the *jews*; who were, in the APO- " STLE's days, voluntarily in *bondage* to the *law*; notwithſtanding the *free-* " *dom*, which was offered them, by the *goſpel*. Whereas; the *ſpiritual*, or " *heavenly*, *Jeruſalem*; the church of the *meſſiah*, collected from among " both *jews* and *gentiles*; was, in the *prophet's allegory*, repreſented, by *Sarah*, " the free-woman; who was *the mother of the pious*, as *Abraham* was their " father. This is the true meaning of the *prophet's* words, when he ſaith, " *Rejoice thou barren, who did'ſt not bear any children* before. *Break forth* " *into ſinging, and cry aloud*; *thou who* ('till thou waſt paſt the uſual age) " *did'ſt not travail with child. For more numerous are the children of* [Sarah,] " *who was deſolate*, and paſt hopes; *than of* [Hagar,] *who became* Abra- " ham's *wife, and bare him a ſon*; *when, according to the courſe of nature,* " *he might expect to have children.* According to this *allegory*, we, *true* " *chriſtians*, are, like *Iſaac*, the children of the promiſe. And I may car- " ry the reſemblance farther. For, as *Iſhmael*, who was borne after the " fleſh, perſecuted *Iſaac*, who was given to his parents, miraculouſly, and " according to an extraordinary *promiſe*; even ſo it is now. For, in like " manner, the *jews* perſecute us, the ſpiritual ſeed of *Abraham*. But, as " the *bond woman* and her ſon were caſt out, without ſhareing in the in- " heritance of *Iſaac*. So ſhall the *unbelieveing jews* be debarred from par-

*Chap.* V. " takeing of like liberty and privileges with us. Onely remember, that, " as you are free, you ought not to intangle yourſelves, any more, with " a yoke of bondage. Nay; I, PAUL, (who am charged with ſecretly fa- " voring the ſentiments of the *judaizers*; even I PAUL) declare unto you, " that, if you be *circumciſed*, and become ſubject to the *burthen* of the *law* " *of Moſes*, you make void your *chriſtianity*. For the *goſpel* muſt either " ſave you wholly, or not at all. But it is ſufficiently able to ſave " *jews*, or *gentiles*; and that without diſtinction; if they conform to what " it requireth.

" One man hath done all this miſchief among you. But, I hope, you " will paſſe, upon him, the cenſure, which he deſerves. Nay; I could " wiſh (if there be no hopes of his *reformation*) that GOD would even cut " him off; rather than you ſhould be ſubverted from *true chriſtianity*. As " for my own part, I am ſtill perſecuted, by the *unbelieveing jews*; becauſe " I preach up the freedom of the *gentiles*, from *circumciſion*, and the *Mo-* " *ſaic law*. And I would have you aſſert *your liberty*. Onely, do not think " yourſelves at liberty to ſin. No! you are ſtill under bonds and ingage- " ments, to live in purity; and to love one another. For this is, in " the nobleſt ſenſe, to fulfil the *whole law*; as well as to comply with the " deſign of the *goſpel*. The works of *the fleſh*, are, evidently, all man- " ner of vice and impurity. And (as *chriſtians*) you are carefully to avoid

them;

" them; or elſe you cannot hope to inherit *the kingdom of glory*. But the
" fruit of *the ſpirit*, which *chriſtianity recommendeth*, is all manner of good-
" neſſe and purity. Such things, you are moſt carefully to practiſe. And
" ſuch things *all true chriſtians* will practiſe.

" Haveing thus, finiſhed the grand deſign of the *epiſtle*, the APOSTLE re-
" commends to them, thedealing tenderly with ſuch as offended; and not to
" treat them with pride and inſolence, as the *falſe apoſtle* ſeemeth to have done.
" In the next place, he exhorteth them to be generous to their inſtructors, and
" to the *præſidents* of their *churches*; letting them know, that, according as
" they then ſowed, ſo ſhould they afterwards reap. And, that they ought
" to do good to all men; but more eſpecially to their *fellow-chriſtians*.
" Upon takeing notice, that he had writen all this long letter, *with his*
" *own hand*; (which was what he did not uſually do. For commonly he
" either dictated, and another wrote; or he wrote the *original epiſtles*; and,
" when others had tranſcribed them, he ſent the *copies* to the *churches*. But,
" upon ſaying that he had writen *all this letter, with his own hand*;) his
" anxiety for the *Galatians* broke out, again. And he let them know, that
" the *judaizers* would make them *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*; onely, that they
" might glory among the *jews*, and eſcape perſecution. But, as for him-
" ſelf, he gloried, *onely*, in *pure, unmixed chriſtianity*; which raiſed him
" above all temporal conſiderations; and which regarded no ſuch diſtinc-
" tion as that of *jews* and *gentiles*. Upon them, who held *this pure chriſ-*
" *tian revelation*, and conformed to it, he pronounceth peace; and al-
" legeth his own ſufferings, as ſtrong proofs of his ſincerity. By all
" which, he labored to eſtabliſh them, in what he had taught them. And
" then, he *concludeth*, with his uſual benediction; wiſhing all the *brethren*,
" the favor of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. *Amen*."

*Writen from* Corinth, An Chriſti 53. Claud. 13.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XI. Acts xviii. 11.

*Chap.* VI.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V. SECT. XII.

*St.* PAUL *brought, by the* jews, *before* Gallio: *But acquited; becauſe he was not accuſed of any offence, againſt the* civil, *or* roman, law. Acts xviii. 12, — 18.

An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XII. Acts xviii. 12.

THE provinces of the *roman empire* were of two ſorts: *Cæſarean*; or ſuch as were ſubject to the *emperor*: and *proconſular*; or ſuch as were ſubject to the people and the *ſenate*. *Achaia* was a *proconſular province*, under *Auguſtus Cæſar*. *Tiberius*, at the requeſt of the *Achaians*, made it a *Cæſarean province*. About eight years before this, *Claudius* reſtored it to the *ſenate*[a]; and, from that time, a *proconſul* was ſent into this country. *Gallio* was the preſent *proconſul*. And, though the country, ſubject to him, was all *Greece*; yet he was, by the *romans*, called the *proconſul of Achaia*. St. LUKE, therefore, appeareth to have been maſter of all the circumſtances, which he had occaſion to mention; and to have ſpoken, of this affair, with the greateſt propriety. This *Gallio* was *Marcus Annæus Novatus*, elder brother to the famous *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, the *ſtoic* philoſopher, and *Nero*'s tutor. But, haveing been adopted by *Lucius Junius Gallio*, he was, from him, called *Gallio*. It was, moſt probably, by the intereſt of his brother, *Seneca*, that *Gallio* was made *proconſul* of *Achaia*. For *Agrippina*, who was wife to the *emperor*, *Claudius*, and mother to *Nero*, had ſuch influence over *Claudius*, that almoſt all things were managed, according to her direction. And her ſon's *præceptor* would (as it is probable) be readily gratified, in makeing ſuch a requeſt, for his brother. *Seneca* hath deſcribed *Gallio*, as a man of the moſt mild and excellent diſpoſition[b]; compoſed in him-

*Ver.* 12. [a] See Dr. *Lardner's Credibility*, part 1. p. 33, 34. ſecond edition; p. 51, —57. third edition. *Sueton.* in Claud. c. 25.

[b] *Seneca, præfat. ad natural. quæſt.* l. 4. Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat; etiam qui amare plus non poteſt) alia vitia non noſſe, hoc etiam odiſſe. ——Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis reſtitit, ut exclamares inveniſſe te inexpugnabilem virum adverſus inſidias, quas nemo non in ſinum recepit.

Cœpiſti mirari comitatem, & incompoſitam ſuavitatem, quæ illos quoque, quos tranſit, abducit, gratuitum etiam in obvios meritum. Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis eſt, quam hic omnibus; cum interim tanti naturalis boni vis eſt, uti artem ſimulationemque non redoleat.

*Lib.*

himſelf, and benign to mankind in general. And his behavior, upon the following occaſion, agreeth very well with the character, which his brother hath given him. For, when he was *proconſul of Achaia*, and reſided at *Corinth*, the *unbelieveing jews* aroſe, unanimouſly, againſt St. PAUL. And, ſeizeing upon that APOSTLE, they brought him before *Gallio*'s tribunal; allegeing, againſt him, "That he, "though a *jew*, perſuaded men to worſhip GOD, in a different way, "from that, which was præſcribed in the *law of Moſes*." Alludeing, partly to his teaching them to worſhip GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, as mediator; but, principally, to his admitting *uncircumciſed gentiles* to full communion with ſuch as had been *jews*, without requireing of them to conform to the ceremonies of the *jewiſh law*. — The truth is; that *religious* and *civil* affairs are of an intirely diſtinct nature: that the *latter* onely come under the cognizeance of the magiſtrate; and, that it is not his buſineſſe to interpoſe, in an affair relateing to the *former*; any farther, than to keep the peace; and to allow all good ſubjects, openly to profeſſe their own religion; and to worſhip in their own way. Accordingly; when the APOSTLE was going to ſpeak; *Gallio* would not give him the trouble of makeing an *apologie*; becauſe he did not look upon him as a criminal. But he ſaid to the *jews*, his accuſers, "If you had brought "any accuſation, againſt this man, of the breach of the *civil law*, "ſuch as rebellion, fraud, or murther; or any ſuch notorious crimes; "there would have been reaſon, why I ſhould have borne with you, "in your eager proſecution of this man. But, if you have nothing to "bring, before me, but queſtions concerning *religious* diſputes and "opinions; (As whether the *gentiles* ſhall be admitted into the *church*, "or upon what terms? Or what name ſhall be given to this, or "that, perſon; as whether JESUS ſhall be called the CHRIST, or "MESSIAH? Or concerning *your law*; namely, whether it obligeth "all men to be *circumciſed*, who go over to the worſhip of *your* GOD?) "— as it is not my proper province, I will not concern myſelf with "ſuch things; look you to them. For I will not be judge, in any "ſuch matters." Then he ordered them, not without threatenings, to depart from the tribunal. "[Would to GOD that all princes, "judges,

An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XII. Acts xviii. 12, &c.



*Lib.* 1. *epiſt.* 104. Iſtud mihi in ore Domini mei Gallionis, qui cum in *Achaia* febrem habere cœpiſſet; protinus navem aſcendit, clamitans, non corporis eſſe, ſed loci morbum.

*Dion Caſſius*, alſo, [l. 60. p. 688, 689. alias 685, 686.] intimates that he was a man of great wit, and good ſenſe.

An. Chriſti 53. Claud. 13. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XII. Acts xviii. 16, &c.

" judges, and magiſtrates, had always been of *Gallio*'s mind! and " diſcouraged ſuch tumults, by protecting the innocent, and puniſh- " ing the *perſecutors!* And ſo left every one to judge for himſelf, " in matters of *religion*; which concern, onely GOD, and a man's " own conſcience!]" However; the *jews* did not pay a proper regard to *Gallio*'s orders. They had, indeed, the power of ſcourging, in their *ſynagogues*, whom they thought proper, of their *own nation* and *religion*. But they [c] were, at preſent, ſo inraged and inſolent, as to ſeize upon *Soſthenes*: (who had been one of the chief rulers of their ſynagogue; but was now, I ſuppoſe, become a convert to *chriſtianity*;) and to beat him, even before the tribunal. However; *Gallio* minded none of theſe things. All their inſolence could not provoke him to inter-meddle, as long as they beat onely one of their own people. And, though it was not in the *ſynagogue*, but before the tribunal; he choſe rather to let it paſſe; as conſidering, very probably, the mutinous, ſeditious, temper of the *jews*; which rather increaſed, by oppoſition. The APOSTLE, thus ſcreened by *Gallio*, tarried, at *Corinth*, a good while longer. So that his ſtay, in that city, was, in all, about two years. And, conſidering his unwearied diligence: and that he did not uſe to ſtay long, in any place, unleſſe he had a proſpect of ſucceſſe; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he had gathered a large *church*, there. And, from St. LUKE's account, in the *Acts of the* APOSTLES; and eſpecially from St. PAUL's *two epiſtles* to *Corinth*; it appeareth, that moſt of that *church* conſiſted of *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

*Ver.* 17. [c] Many have thought, that the *greeks* beat *Soſthenes*, in complaiſance to *Gallio*; and to check the inſolence of the *jews*. It will therefore be proper to mention the reaſons, why I underſtand it otherwiſe. *The Alexandrian* MS. *Barb.* 1. the *Veleſian* various lections; as well as the *coptic* and *vulgar verſions*, have not [οἱ Ἕλληνες, the *greeks*.] And one MS. readeth [Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, the *jews*.] [See Dr. *Mill on this place, and prolegom.* 1351.] But, ſuppoſeing Ἕλληνες onely left out; the connection would incline one to underſtand, what followeth, of the *jews*. For, it is highly probable, that *Soſthenes* was now a favorer of the *chriſtians*; or, rather himſelf a *chriſtian*; and that he is mentioned as ſuch, 1 *Cor.* i. 1. For, though he was then, with St. PAUL, at *Epheſus*; it is evident that he muſt have been well known, at *Corinth*, from his joining with the APOSTLE, in that *epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*. Beſides; the ſenſe of the place doeth much better agree to that expreſſion; [*But Gallio cared for none of theſe things:*] *that is*, All the inſolence of the *jews* did not move him, ſo far as to interpoſe, or give an hearing to the diſpute between St. PAUL and them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V. SECT. XIII.

*St.* PAUL, *and his companions, go to* Cenchræa; *there he ſhaveth himſelf, as being under the vow of a* nazarite: *Goeth to* Epheſus; *and, from thence, to* Jeruſalem. *Acts* xviii. 18, — 22.

*Silas* and *Timothy* ſeem ſtill to have continued at *Corinth*. But the APOSTLE, haveing taken leave of the *chriſtian brethren*, there, ſet out for *Syria*. And, along with him, *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*. When they arrived at *Cenchræa*, the eaſtern port of the *Iſthmus*, St. PAUL ſhaved his head; becauſe he was under the *nazarite*'s vow. For to the *jews* he became as a *jew*, and made all lawful condeſcenſions, in compliance with their præjudices; as we ſhall ſee, in other inſtances, in the progreſſe of *this hiſtory*. He ſeems to have made this vow, upon ſome remarkable deliverance from his enemies; perhaps, upon the account of *Gallio*'s ſcreening him from the fury of the *unbelieveing jews*. And, poſſibly, ſome of the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, might alſo be in danger of throwing off *chriſtianity* itſelf, if St. PAUL had not condeſcended ſo far; in that, or ſome other, inſtance. It is evident, the *judaizers* did, afterwards, make a very great diſturbance, in *that church*. But, whatever was the particular reaſon; it appears that St PAUL ſubmitted to that *jewiſh cuſtom*. From *Cenchræa*, they went to *Epheſus*. And there he left *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*. For the ſhort time, that the APOSTLE now tarried, at *Epheſus*, which ſeemeth to have been but one ſabbath-day; he went into the ſynagogue, and diſcourſed with the *jews*; and with ſuch *gentiles*, as uſually attended the ſynagogue-ſervice; concerning the *chriſtian doctrine*. But, when they deſired him to ſtay longer, with them; he refuſed; and took his leave of them; telling them, that "he muſt, by all means, go up to *Jeruſalem*, upon the "account of his being under the *nazarite*'s vow.[a] And, that he choſe

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XIII. Acts xviii. 18, &c.



Ver. 21. [a] Si quis voviſſet nazireatum, extra terram [*ſcil.* Judeæ,] proficiſci debuit in terram; & illic votum implere. [*Eduioth* iv. 11. apud *Reland. de antiq. heb. de ſacris perſonis*, p. 277.] Concerning *the nazarite's vow*, ſee, alſo, Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory*, part i. b. i. c. 9. § 7.

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XIII. Acts xviii, 21, &c.

" to be there, time enough, to keep the *approaching feſtival*, in that " city. But I will promiſe, faith he, (if it pleaſe GOD to permit " me) that, after that, I will return to you, again." [Looſing from *Epheſus*, he ſailed to *Cæſarea*. From whence, he went up, to pay his reſpects to the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*[b]: Which, as it was the *mother-church*, or *the firſt*, of all the *chriſtian churches*; was, by way of eminence, called THE CHURCH. When he had ſeen the *chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*; affectionately ſaluted them; made his offering, as a *nazarite*, at the *temple*; and kept the feaſt, in that city; he left the place; and went down, to *Antioch*, in *Syria*. And there ended his *ſecond apoſtolic journey*.

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# CHAP. VI.

## *The continuation of the* jewiſh *and* roman hiſtory.

### SECT. I.

### *The* character *and* death *of* Claudius Cæſar, *the* roman emperor.

THE *emperor Claudius* had been, from his childhood, afflicted with ſome great and obſtinate diſeaſes; which not onely affected his body, but impaired his underſtanding. So that, when he grew up to years of maturity, he was not reckoned fit for any imployment, public or private.[a] But, beſides his bodily diſorders, he was very much addicted to gluttony, drunkenneſſe, and debauchery; and was of ſuch a timorous temper,[b] that, when he came to the *empire*, he generally acted according to the influence of his favorites, or of ſuch as adviſed him.[c] And, being under a good influence, in the former part of his reign; he, in many particulars, behaved like a wiſe and good prince.[d] He aboliſhed the wicked *acts* of *Caligula*, and hearkened to the advice of the *ſenate*; was afraid of oppreſſing the

Ver. 22. [b] See the reading of the *ſyriac verſion*, in *Tremellius*; and *Grotius*, upon the place.

[a] Sueton. in vit. Claud. c. 2. [b] Dio, l. 60. p. 665, *E.* [c] Sueton. *ubi ſupra*, c. 25. *fin.* Tacit. Annal. l. 11. *init.* Dio, *ubi ſupra.* [d] Dio, p. 667. Sueton. in Claud. c. 11, 12.

the people with taxes; and publiſhed *edicts* againſt luxury; which his own bad example muſt needs have rendered feeble and ineffectual. He did honor, even to the inferior magiſtrates; and would often adminiſter juſtice, himſelf; ſo as to ſoften the rigor of the law, where it was too ſevere; or to give it more weight and terror, where it was too mild. For ſuch is the imperfection of all *human laws*, that they cannot, without oppreſſing mankind, be equally extended to every caſe. It had been cuſtomary for maſters to expoſe their ſlaves, when any tedious illneſſe ſeized them. To prevent which cruelty, *Claudius* publiſhed *an edict*; whereby he gave to ſuch ſlaves their freedom, and made it death to kill any of them.[e] When there was a ſcarcity, at *Rome*, he not onely provided as much plenty, as he could, at that time; but, with incredible labor and expence, he made a convenient port, at *Oſtia*, and incouraged navigation; that corne might be imported, in winter; as well as at other times of the year. Which, 'till then, had rarely been done. By theſe, and other like actions, he excedeingly indeared himſelf to the people. However; amidſt all his beneficence, he could not forbear diſcovering the cruelty of his diſpoſition. For he took delight in the combates of the *gladiators*; and contracted an habit of cruelty, by ſeeing them daily cut one another to pieces. The longer he reigned, the more he came under the power of his wives, and freedmen. They could, by artful inſinuations, raiſe in him an averſion to any perſon, or number of perſons; and thereby prevail upon him, to try, baniſh, or put them to death.[f] And, ſometimes, when he had done ſo, in a drunken fit, or through fear and perplexity of mind, he would afterwards call for the very perſons; and, being informed that they were put to death, by his order, he would lament, and be troubled for what he had done. In the fourth year of his reign, he made an expedition into *Britain*. His general, *Aulus Plautius*, had been here, for ſome time. And, *Claudius* longing for ſuch a triumph, as might be obtained, without any great danger; and concludeing, from what he had heard of *Plautius* his repeted ſucceſſe, that the country might be eaſily ſubdued; he came accordingly; and brought part of this iſland (about *Malden*, in *Eſſex*,) into ſubjection. But *Suetonius* informs us, that he did it, without a battle; or ſo much as the loſſe of one drop of blood.[g] After he had been in *England*, ſixteen days, he

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14.

Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. I. Acts xviii. 22.

[e] Sueton. in Claud. c. 25. Dio, p. 685. [f] Sueton. *ubi ſupra*; c. 29; 37. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. *init.* & l. 12. c. 22; & 59. Dio, p. 670, &c. [g] In Claud. c. 17.

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14. Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XIII. Acts xviii. 22.

he returned; and left his general *Plautius*, to reduce the reſt of the *iſland*, as far as he was able. When the *ſenate* heard of his exploits, they decreed him a magnificent triumph; and inſtituted anniverſary games, in memory of the mighty tranſaction.[h] So low and abject were the minds of the *ſenators* now become; in compariſon to what they had been, before the pride and luxury of *Rome* made way for the tyranny, and uſurpation, of the *Cæſars*. The firſt wife of *Claudius Cæſar*, was *Valeria Meſſalina*; who was a lady of very bad fame, and ſo exceſſively leud, that ſhe inveigled ſome; and, by her great power, forced others, to her imbraces. But thoſe adulterous intrigues were not thought ſufficient. For ſhe began to phanſy that one huſband was not enough, for a lady of her high ſtation and quality. And, therefore, when *Claudius* was gone to *Oſtia*, ſhe married *Caius Silius*, in a public and magnificent manner.[i] She had forced him to divorce his own wife; and had admitted him to an infamous familiarity before. But, after ſhe had married him, ſhe gave him a palace to live in; declared him *conſul*, and ſeems to have had a deſign to make him *emperor*. Nay; it is ſaid, that ſhe had ſo far impoſed upon *Claudius*, as to get him, before-hand, to ſign the marriage-contract between her and *Caius Silius*. The *emperor*'s freedmen, who were next in power, by virtue of their influence over their maſter, reſented that flagrant conduct of hers. And, though they were almoſt afraid to acquaint *Claudius* with it, leſt he ſhould diſbelieve it, and *Meſſalina* prevail to their deſtruction; yet *Narciſſus* found means to acquaint the *emperor* with what had happened; and prevailed upon him, though not without ſome difficuly, to have *Caius Silius* and *Meſſalina*, with ſome others, apprehended, and put to death. After that, *Claudius* was deſireous to marry *Agrippina*, the daughter of his brother *Germanicus*. And, becauſe the *roman law* had prohibited ſuch marriages, as *inceſtuous*; he ſuborned ſome of the *ſenators* to procure a *decree* of the *ſenate*, "by which, he ſhould be "obliged, as a thing highly conducive to the good of the *empire*, to "take his niece, *Agrippina*, to wife; and that others might be "permitted to contract marriages, in the ſame degree of conſanguini-"ty." But there were onely two, who followed his example. And they did it, out of a ſlaveiſh complaiſance to the *emperor*.[k] *Cnæus Domitius Ænobarbus* was *Agrippina*'s former huſband; who left her with

[h] Dio, p. 680. Sueton. in Claud. c. 29. l. 12. c. 3, &c.

[i] Dio, p. 686. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 12; 26.

[k] Sueton. *ubi ſupra*; c. 26. Tacit. Annal.

with a ſon, called *Domitius Nero*. Though ſhe was not ſo infamouſly leud, as *Meſſalina*, ſhe had as much the aſcendent over *Claudius*. And, by that mean, arrived to great power. Of which, the two following, are remarkable inſtances. The firſt is, that, by means of *Vitellius*, ſhe prevailed upon the *emperor*, to take away his daughter *Octavia*, from *Silanus*, to whom ſhe had been contracted; and who was a man of noble deſcent and great merit; and to give her to her own ſon *Domitius Nero*. About a year after which, ſhe ſucceded in a much greater attempt; and prevailed upon *Claudius*, to adopt *Nero*, for his ſon and ſucceſſor in the *empire*. Though he had a ſon of his own, by *Meſſalina*, called *Britannicus*; who was not many years younger than *Nero*.[l] As *Agrippina* increaſed in power, ſhe grew very covetous and cruel. And, in many inſtances, behaved herſelf, altogether unbecomeing her dignity and character. So that it was not difficult to obſerve, that the *emperor* repented of his marrying her, and adopting her ſon. And, in one of his drunken fits, he had not ſcrupled to declare as much.[m] The diſcovery of *Claudius* his uneaſineſſe alarmed *Agrippina*; and put her upon the deſperate attempt, of plotting his death. She was grown ſo imperious, as to refuſe him a ſight of his ſon *Britannicus*, when he expreſſed his deſire to ſee him. And (in one word) ſeems to have taken the whole power into her own hands. Such treatment rouzed the *emperor*; though he was ſo excedeing indolent. And *Narciſſus*, one of his moſt faithful freedmen, ſtirred him up, to leſſen her power, and reſtore to *Britannicus* what was properly his right. But the more he attempted ſuch a revolution, the more he haſtened his own ruine. For, from that time, *Agrippina* determined upon takeing him off, by poiſon. Onely ſhe remained in doubt, for ſome time, about the manner of giveing it him; for fear it ſhould prove ineffectual, and ſhe periſh in the attempt. She apprehended, that ſo great a drinker could not be taken off, without a large quantity of poiſon; unleſſe ſhe could procure ſome of an uncommon ſtrength. At laſt, one *Locuſta*, a woman, who was famous in the art of poiſoning, furniſhed her with a ſtrong and quick poiſon; which *Agrippina* wrapt up, in the faireſt and largeſt muſhroom, that ſhe could find. And, putting it, upon a plate, with other muſhrooms, ſhe ſate down by him, in expectation of the grand event. Muſhrooms

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14.

Book III. Ch. V. Sect. XIII. Acts xviii. 22.

[l] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 3; 9. Sueton. in Claud. c. 27. Dio, p. 686. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2 c. 12. *fin.*

[m] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 64. Sueton. in Claud. c. 43. Dio, p. 687, 688.

An. Chriſti 54. Claud. 14. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. I. Acts xviii. 22.

rooms were a favorite diſh with *Claudius*. He, therefore, rejoiced at the ſight of thoſe, which *Agrippina* had provided for him. And ſoon fixed upon that, in which the poiſon was concealed, and greedily eat it up. *Agrippina* had made him drink very plentifully, before. And, upon his eating the poiſoned muſhroom, ſhe had him taken away, from the table, immediately; under the plauſible pretence, that he had drank too much. But, in reality, becauſe ſhe was afraid, that the effects of the poiſon would be diſcovered, by the attendents, if he continued to ſit at table. In a little time, *Claudius* felt the dire effects of that rank poiſon; which, that night, deprived him of his ſpeech and hearing; and, the next day, put an end to his life, in his 64th year; after he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.[n]

*Agrippina*, being ſenſible that ſhe could not have accompliſhed ſo deteſtable a murther, upon the *emperor*, if *Narciſſus* had been preſent; ſhe had perſuaded him to go into the country, out of a pretended concern for his health. And there ſhe got him, alſo, murthered, not long after his maſter. He was one of the moſt powerful and richeſt ſubjects, at that time, in the *roman empire*. Foreign kings and ſtates had courted his friendſhip and alliance. And, though he had not always uſed his intereſt, with his maſter, as he ought to have done; yet, at his death, he gave a noble proof of virtue, and greatneſſe of mind. For, as *Claudius* had intruſted him with all his ſecrets; and wrote to him ſeveral *letters*, about the moſt important perſons, and difficult affairs; he, juſt before he was put to death, burnt all his papers; leſt they ſhould be made uſe of, to the detriment of any perſon, after his deceaſe.

[n] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. § ult. & Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 1, 2. Sueton. in Claud. c. 45. Dio, p. 688.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI. SECT. II.

### *An account of the* acceſſion, *and part of the reign, of* Nero.

AGRIPPINA concealed the death of *Claudius*, 'till ſhe had ſecured the *empire* for her own ſon.[a] *Nero*, who was then onely ſeventeen years of age, went to the camp; conducted by *Burrus*, captain of the guards. There he made an oration to the ſoldiers, compoſed by his tutor, *Seneca*; wherein he promiſed the ſame largeſſes, which *Claudius* had given them, upon his acceſſion to the *empire*.[b] Some of them did, indeed, before that, call for *Britannicus*, the ſon of *Claudius*; to whom the right of ſucceſſion did properly belong. But the proſpect of *Nero*'s generoſity ſilenced them. And he was preſently ſaluted *emperor*. After that, he went to the *ſenate*; and read, to them, another diſcourſe; compoſed, likewiſe, by *Seneca*. Upon which, they confirmed his title to the *empire*; and were ſo much pleaſed with *his ſpeech*, that they decreed, it ſhould be ingraven upon a column of ſilver; and be annually rehearſed, on the day, that the *conſuls* entered upon their office. For they looked upon it, as the perfect model of a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration; and were willing that their ſuperior magiſtrates ſhould never forget it.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22.

*Nero* was onely three months old, when his own father died; and he left him no more than the third part of his eſtate. But *Nero* did not poſſeſſe even that. For *Caligula*, his co-heir, ſeized upon the whole. And his mother, *Agrippina*, being afterwards baniſhed, his aunt *Lepida* took him, and educated him, as well as her low circumſtances would admit; a barber and a danceing-maſter being his onely tutors, 'till the death of *Caligula*.[c] Which gave ſuch a wrong biaſſe to his mind, as he could never ſhake off. When *Claudius* came to the *empire*, he was reſtored to his father's inheritance; and had another eſtate given him. And then *Agrippina*, alſo, was recalled from her baniſhment. When he was about eleven years of age, he was adopted by *Claudius*; and the famous *Seneca* was appointed to be his



[a] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 68, 69. Sueton. in Claud. c. 45. [b] Dio, l. 61. p. 690, *D*. Sueton. in Nero. c. 8. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 2.
[c] Sueton. in Nero, c. 6.

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*præceptor*. But yet he either could not, or would not, thoroughly reform his taſte and manners.

Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22.

*Agrippina* would not ſuffer *Nero* to learn *philoſophy*; as thinking it below the dignity of an *emperor*. And *Seneca* is ſaid to have refrained from teaching him *eloquence*; that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himſelf.[a] But both he, and the *empire* in general, found reaſon to lament, that he had taken no more pains, to cultivate the mind, and ſoften the manners, of his pupil. Soon after his acceſſion, *Nero* gave to *Claudius* a moſt magnificent funeral; he himſelf ſpeaking the funeral oration. After which, he had him *deified*, or inrolled among *the gods*. At firſt, *Agrippina* chiefly ruled; though *Nero* had the title. For ſhe gave audience to ambaſſadors, wrote letters to foreign princes and ſtates, and managed the affairs of the diſtant kingdoms and provinces; as well as of the city *Rome*, and the adjacent countries. The young *emperor* very much procured the good will of the people, by declareing that he would form himſelf, upon the model of *Auguſtus*. And he actually behaved, in many inſtances, in a generous, benevolent, and wiſe, manner; aboliſhing, or moderateing, ſuch taxes, as were grievous to the people; beſtowing conſiderable donations upon them; and liberally maintaining ſuch of the *ſenators*, as were nobly deſcended, but fallen into decay. One day, when he was to ſign a dead warrant for the execution of a malefactor, he paſſionately wiſhed, "that he "had never learnt to read, or write; rather than ſet his hand to ſo "ungrateful an order." When the *ſenate* came, in a body, to thank him, for his excellent adminiſtration; he bid them "ſtay 'till he had deſerved thanks." He knew all the perſons in *Rome*, who were of any diſtinction; and could ſalute them readily and familiarly, by their own proper names. His two miniſters of great power, were *Seneca*, and *Afranius Burrus*. The former was the famous *court philoſopher*; whoſe eloquence and politeneſſe are too well known, to need a particular deſcription. And *Burrus* was diſtinguiſhed, by the ſeverity of his manners, and his ſkill in military affairs. But *Pallas*, the freedman of *Claudius*, was *Agrippina*'s favorite. He had adviſed *Claudius* to marry *Agrippina*, and to adopt *Nero*. And he had a very great and unhappy influence over *Agrippina*; who generally conſulted him, and was directed by him. And *Seneca* and *Burrus* had enough to do, to check the ſallies of *Nero*; and to reſtrain the irregular motions of that lady; and of her favorite, *Pallas*.

It

[a] Id. ibid. c. 52.

It will now be proper to ſay ſomething of the *jewiſh affairs*, dure- An. Chriſti
ing the former part of the reign of *Nero*. He gave *Armenia minor*, 54.
to *Ariſtobulus*, ſon to *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. And he added, to Nero. 1.
the dominions of the younger *Agrippa*, four Cities, with their to- Book III.
parchies; namely, *Taricheas*, and *Tiberias*, in *Galilee*; and *Abila* Ch. VI.
and *Julias* in *Peræa*; together with fourteen villages in the neigh- Sect. II.
borhood of *Peræa*. And he, likewiſe, added ſomewhat to the do- Acts xviii.
minions of *Felix*.[e] At that time, *Judæa* abounded with robbers. 22.
*Felix* did all, he could, to root them out; daily apprehending ſome of them, and putting them to death. Among the reſt, there was one *Eleazer*, the ſon of *Dineus*; who was at the head of a great band of robbers; and who had, for twenty years, ravaged the country. *Felix* promiſed him a ſafe conduct, if he would come out of his lurking place, and ſpeak with him. Upon which, *Eleazer* relying, came to him. But *Felix*, thinking himſelf under no obligation to keep faith with ſo great a villain, clapt him up in chains, and ſent him to *Rome*. And, haveing apprehended many of his followers; he ſent them alſo away, to the *emperor*, along with him. Great were the numbers of the robbers, whom he crucified; and cut off, by other ways; 'till, at laſt, he cleared the country of them. But, when the country was cleared of them, there ſoon ſprang up another ſort of *ruffians*; who were called *ſicarii*, from the daggers, or ſmall crooked ſwords, which they hid under their coats. For the latin word, *ſica*, ſignifies *a ſhort ſword*, or *ſmall dagger*. It was about as big as the *Perſian cymitar*. The *romans* called it *ſica*. And the men, that made uſe of that weapon, they called *ſicarii*. Thoſe *ſicarii* came up, to *Jeruſalem*, under a pretence of worſhiping GOD, at the temple. But they were ſo audacious, as to ſlay men, in the day-time, in the midle of the city. And, at the *feſtivals*, more eſpecially, when multitudes came thither, from all parts, they would mix with the croud; and, with their private daggers, ſtab their enemies. And then, to conceal their wickedneſſe, they would ſeem as full of indignation, againſt the authors of ſuch crimes, as any of the people. By which means, they continued, for ſome time, unſuſpected. Theſe were the perſons, who ſtabbed *Jonathan*, the *high-prieſt*. *Jonathan* had been a friend to *Felix*. And had petitioned *Claudius Cæſar* to make him *procurator* of *Judæa*. But, when *Felix*, by his male-adminiſtration, had, in many things, diſguſted the *jews*; *Jonathan* was afraid, leſt the crimes of



[e] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 2, &c. & Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. §. 4, &c.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22.

*Felix* might be, in ſome meaſure, imputed to him. Wherefore, he would often and freely admoniſh him to behave better. *Felix* would not bear with ſuch freedom of reproof. And, therefore, reſolved to take off the *high-prieſt*. Which he effected, by means of *Dora*, a native of *Jeruſalem*. *Dora* had been *Jonathan*'s friend. But, upon the proſpect of being rewarded, with a great ſum of money, he hired a company of the *ſicarii*, to deſtroy *Jonathan*. Which they did, by mingling with his ſervants and attendents. And ſo ſtabbed him, privately and unexpectedly. When the *ſicarii* had eſcaped, without being puniſhed, for ſo notorious a murther, they became more bold and inſolent. And ſlew great numbers, every feſtival; ſome, out of private revenge; but others, as hired to it, by money. And thoſe ſlaughters they committed, not onely in the city, but in the *temple* itſelf; makeing no ſcruple of violateing *that holy place*; which the *jews* did unjuſtly accuſe St. PAUL of polluteing. And, by ſuch means, they provoked GOD, to bring, upon the *temple*, city, and nation, the deſtruction, which he had threatened, becauſe of their ſin and impenitence. But, beſides the *robbers*, and the *ſicarii*, there was, alſo, another ſort of perſons appeared; who no leſſe threatened the deſtruction of the *city Jeruſalem*. Thoſe were *impoſtors* and *deceivers*; who, under a pretence of haveing *divine revelations*, and the *power of working miracles*, attempted to make changes, and revolutions, in the *ſtate*. By which, they deceived great numbers; drawing them out, into the wilderneſſe, as if GOD would, there, ſhow them, the manifeſt tokens of their approaching liberty. By them, were fulfilled OUR SAVIOR'S *prophecies*, concerning the *falſe Chriſts* and *falſe prophets*, who would appear, before the *deſtruction* of *Jeruſalem* and of the *jewiſh nation*. *Felix* was afraid, leſt they ſhould occaſion an inſurrection. And, therefore, he ſent out ſeveral ſoldiers, againſt them, both horſe and foot; who ſlew a great number of them.

About that time, there came a perſon, out of *Ægypt*, to *Jeruſalem*, who pretended to be *a prophet*; and he brought a yet heavier diſaſter upon the *jews*. For he went out, from *Jeruſalem*, attended by four thouſand men,[f] who were many of them of the number of the *ſicarii*.[g] And, going into the country; and haveing raiſed his reputation,

[f] See ſome curious obſervations, upon *this piece of hiſtory*, which Dr. *Ward*, *of Greſham College*, communicated to Dr. *Lardner*; and which he has inſerted, in his *Credibility*, &c. part 1. *p.* 551, 552. *ſecond edition*; *p.* 947, &c. *third edition*.

[g] *Acts* xxi. 38. his followers are ſaid to have been τὲς τετρακισχιλίας ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων.

reputation, among the people; he gathered together a great multitude; which amounted, at laſt, to thirty thouſand men. It is probable, that, before he left the city, he had ſo concerted matters with ſome friends, whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that, upon his return, his deſign would be favored, by great numbers of the *jews*, in *Jeruſalem*; and, that he ſhould have no oppoſition from any, but the *romans*. Haveing gathered a ſufficient number, he brought them round, out of the wilderneſſe, up to the *mount* of *Olives*. From whence, he intended to force his way, into *Jeruſalem*. For, when he came thither, he promiſed his deluded followers, "they ſhould ſee the walls of the city fall down, at his command." However; he hoped, by ſurprize, to have attacked, and beat, the *roman guards*. And then, he deſigned to bring the people into ſubjection, and govern them, by the help of his armed aſſociates. Upon his arriveal, at the *mount of Olives*, *Felix* came ſuddenly out, upon him, with a large body of the *roman ſoldiers*, both horſe and foot. And the citizens, in general, præpared, alſo, to defend themſelves againſt him. So ſpeedy and general an oppoſition ſurprized him. So that he dared not to venture an ingagement; but preſently fled, with a body of his moſt truſty friends; as is uſual in ſuch caſes. With thoſe, in particular, the *roman ſoldiers* were ordered to ingage; neglecting the reſt, who were onely a confuſed multitude, and immediately made off, as they could, by different ways. When, therefore, *Joſephus* ſaith, *the Ægyptian fled, accompanied by a few onely*[h]; he is to be underſtood, of that body; which at firſt fled away, with the *impoſtor*; and were *but a few*, with reſpect to the whole thirty thouſand. When he ſaith, that *moſt of them, who were with him, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners*; (which, in his *jewiſh antiquities*, are ſaid to be *four hundred killed, and two hundred taken alive*;[i]) he means the *greateſt part of thoſe few, who fled with him*. Nor need it be thought ſtrange, that the number of the ſlain, and the priſoners, is no greater; ſince it is likely, that *Joſephus* ſpeaks onely of *that body of men*, which fled with the *impoſtor*. This, therefore, is the ſum of the caſe. Four thouſand joined him, at firſt, at *Jeruſalem*. But he went out, into the country. And, at length, his followers increaſed to thirty thouſand. So St. LUKE's account,

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VI. Sect. II. Acts xviii. 22.

ρίων. [that is, *four thouſand of the ſicarii.*] Which ſeems to be confirmed, from the connection, in *Joſephus*; who mentions the *ſicarii*, as numerous, immmediately before.

[h] De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. §. 5. [i] Antiq. lib. 20. c. 8. § 6.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. I. Acts xviii. 23, &c.

account, *Acts* xxi. 38. is reconciled with that of *Joſephus*. And ſuch as were ſlain, or taken priſoners, might be the *greateſt part of thoſe, that fled, with the Ægyptian*, when *Felix* and his ſoldiers attacked him. So the account, given by *Joſephus*, in *the wars of the jews*, is reconciled with what he has ſaid, in *the antiquities*. And all the accounts agree, that the *Ægyptian* himſelf eſcaped; though his attempt came to nothing.

Notwithſtanding that defeat of the *Ægyptian* and his followers, the *impoſtors* and the *robbers* gathered together, again; and incited many to revolt, and to recover *their liberty*; threatening death to ſuch, as would continue to obey the *romans*: ſaying, "That they, who were willing to continue in *ſlavery*, ought to be forced to aſſert *their liberty*." Theſe being diſperſed, throughout the country, they plundered the houſes of the great men. And both killed ſuch as oppoſed them, and burned the villages. So that *all Judæa* was filled with the effects of their madneſſe; and they helped to bring on the *war* apace,

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## CHAP. VII.

### *St.* PAUL's third apoſtolic journey, *through* Aſia minor, Macedonia, Greece, *&c.* Acts xviii. 23,——xxi. 17.

### SECT. I.

*St.* PAUL *viſiteth the* churches, *in* Galatia *and* Phrygia. Apollos, *at* Epheſus; *who, being inſtructed in the* chriſtian doctrine, *goeth to* Corinth. Acts xviii. 23, *to the end of that chapter*,

WHEN St. PAUL was at liberty, he took the *church of Antioch*, in *Syria*, in his way; before he ſet out, upon any of *his apoſtolic journies*. And after he had, now, made ſome ſtay, in *that city*, he ſet out upon *his third apoſtolic journey*; and went, through *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, καθεξῆς *from church to church, in that order, in which he had founded them.* [Vid. *Mill. prolegom.* 538.] confirming ſuch, as had been converted, in thoſe places, in his *former journey*. For he ſeemeth to have been alone; and not to have had time to attempt new converſions. Since the APOSTLE left *Epheſus*, there was come thither, one *Apollos*, a *jew*, a native of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; where the *jews* were numerous. He was a learned, eloquent

eloquent man; and had made a very great progreſſe in ſtudying the *ſcriptures* of the old teſtament. But he knew no more of the *chriſtian religion*, than *John the baptiſt* had taught; who preached repentence, and baptized, onely as præparatory to the comeing of *the meſſiah's kingdom*. Though he, withall, intimated, that "*the kingdom of the meſſiah* was at hand; and that (though he himſelf baptized onely "with *water*) the *meſſiah* would *baptize* with the *holy ſpirit*, at- "tended with a glory, like a flame of fire." *Apollos* neither knew of *the meſſiah's* being come; nor who the perſon was; nor what progreſſe the *chriſtian religion* had ſince made. However: being inflamed with a zele to do good, he went to the ſynagogue; and taught, accurately, and with fortitude, what he knew, concerning *the meſſiah*, and *his kingdom*. When *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* heard him, and obſerved his fervency and eloquence; they were convinced of his good diſpoſition of mind; and very wiſely judged that he might be of great ſervice. They, therefore, took him, and inſtructed him, more fully, in the *chriſtian religion*; that is, concerning the nature of the *doctrine*, and the *grand facts*, which had happened, ſince the impriſonment and death of *John* the *baptiſt*. But *Apollos*, ſoon after, left *Epheſus*. For, it doeth not appear that he ever preached, in the ſynagogue there, after he had been more fully inſtructed in the knowlege of *chriſtianity*. When he expreſſed his inclination to go into *Achaia*, in which province ſtood the city of *Corinth*; the *chriſtians* of *Epheſus* forwarded his good intention. And, particularly, *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*; giveing him letters of recommendation, to the *chriſtians*, of their acquaintance, in *Achaia*; that he might meet with a ready and kind reception. When he came thither, he was of great ſervice; confirming ſuch as had already imbraced *chriſtianity*. For he, with great earneſtneſſe, confuted the *unbelieveing jews*; and that publicly: ſhowing, from the *prophecies* of the old teſtament, that JESUS was evidently the *meſſiah*; as all the *prædictions*, concerning the *meſſiah*, centered in him, and in him alone.— It is to his laboring to promote *chriſtianity*, at *Corinth*, that St. PAUL alludes, when he ſaith: [1 Cor. iii. 6.] "I have planted, and *Apollos* "watered; but the increaſe is from GOD." And he it was, whom the *Corinthians* did, after this, make the head of one of their parties, or factions; when they were divided, by the deluſions of a *judaizeing*, *falſe apoſtle*. [1 Cor. i. 12.]

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect I.

Acts xviii. 24, *ad fin.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. II.

*The* APOSTLE *returneth to* Epheſus; *imparteth the holy ſpirit to twelve of* John the baptiſt's *diſciples.* Acts xix. 1,——7.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. II. Acts xix. 1, &c.

APOLLOS ſtill remained at *Corinth.* And, when the APOSTLE had finiſhed his journey through the upper parts of *Aſia minor,*[a] (particularly *Galatia* and *Phrygia,*[b]) he, according to his promiſe, returned to *Epheſus.* There, he found twelve diſciples; who had been converted, or at leaſt come to *Epheſus,* ſince he had left that city. And, as it was his uſual cuſtom to impart the *holy ſpirit,* to all the *adult converts,* where-ever he came, if they had not already received that *divine gift*;—he aſked thoſe twelve, "Whether they had re-"ceived the *holy ſpirit,* ſince they believed?" To which, they anſwered; "We have not ſo much as heard that the *holy ſpirit* is "poured out; or that any perſon hath been favored with that ex-"traordinary *gift*;[c] which the *prophets* foretold, and *John the baptiſt* "frequently intimated, would be granted unto numbers." "No! "(ſaith the APOSTLE; not without wonder and ſurprize,) What, have "you

Ver. 1. [a] In oppoſition to which, *Herodotus* ſpeaks of τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω *the lower parts of Aſia.* And τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης *the upper Aſia.* See p. 29. & 41. & 225. of *Gale's* edition of *Herodotus* τῆς Ἁλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίης——*all Aſia above the river Halys.* p. 56. *the lower and upper Aſia,* p. 73. *ad finem.*

[b] Acts xviii. 23. Ver. 2. [c] *Ainſworth* [on Exod. xxviii. 30.] hath rightly obſerved, "that, by *the holy ghoſt,* is here meant the gifts of the ſpirit, in prophecie, "tongues, &c. as it followeth, ver. 6. *The holy ghoſt came on them, and they ſpake* "*with tongues, and propheſied.* Which gifts, being before ceaſed, were reſtored by "the goſpel. An evident proof that CHRIST was come. Joel ii. 28, &c. Acts ii. "4; 17, 18."

According to our engliſh traſlnation, theſe twelve diſciples of *John the baptiſt* are repreſented, as ſaying, *We have not ſo much as heard whether there be any holy ghoſt.* If, by this, he meant, that they had never heard of the holy ſpirit, it appears to be incredible. If hereby we are to underſtand, that they had not yet heard of the effuſion of the holy ſpirit; of which *John the baptiſt* had given intimations; *that,* indeed ſeems to be the true ſenſe; but very ill expreſſed. *The cambridge* MS. reads λαμβάνοσί τινες, that is, "We have not ſo much as heard, that *any perſons do receive the holy ſpirit.*" That is a juſt interpretation. But the authority for that reading is not ſufficient. In our engliſh verſion, John vii. 39. the ſame ſort of phraſe is more juſtly tranſlated, [*The holy ghoſt was not yet* given.] If our tranſlators had kept to that manner of rendering, they would have made this paſſage as intelligible and clear, [*We have not ſo much as heard whether the holy ghoſt be yet* given.]

" you not ſo much as heard of the *effuſion* of the *holy ſpirit?* Pray, " into what then were ye *baptized?*" They replied: " We have " been baptized onely into *John's baptiſm*; in hopes that the *meſſiah* " would ſhortly appear." Then PAUL ſaid: " *John* did, indeed, " præpare the way for the comeing of the *meſſiah*, by *baptizeing* with " the *baptiſm of repentance*, for the remiſſion of ſins. But he warn- " ed the people of the *jews* not to take him for the *meſſiah*, nor to " reſt in what he had done; but to look farther; and to believe on " him, who was then juſt ready to appear; *that is*, on JESUS of " *Nazareth*, who was actually the promiſed and long-expected *meſ-* " *ſiah.*" Then they, haveing heard him, were baptized in the name of the lord *Jeſus.*[d] And, when PAUL had laid his hands upon them, the holy ſpirit came upon them; as planely appeared by the effects. For, preſently, they ſpoke *languages*, which they had never underſtood before: and *propheſied*; that is, prædicted ſome future, contingent events; or rather uttered ſome truths, by a divine impulſe, that were for edification, or exhortation, or comfort.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. II. Acts xix. 3, &c.

" It is a wonder that any of *John the baptiſt*'s diſciples could have " lived ſo long, without hearing of JESUS his haveing imparted the " holy ſpirit unto his diſciples; when *chriſtianity* had ſpread ſo far " and wide, and made ſuch a noiſe in the world." Poſſibly, theſe twelve might have left *Judæa*, before the impriſonment of *John the baptiſt*;

Ver. 4, 5. [d] The fifth verſe has been generally underſtood, as containing the words of St. *Luke*, the ſacred hiſtorian. *Marnixius*, a perſon of diſtinction, in *Holland*, both for his learning and quality, conſidered verſe the fifth, as a continuation of the words of St. *Paul*. In which, he has been followed, by *Druſius*, *Beza*, and others, who contend that δὲ, ver. 5. is a reddition to μὲν, ver. 4. *Grotius*, on the other hand, without hæſitation, ſais, " That δὲ and μὲν have no connection; though ma- " ny have thought they have. And that verſe the fifth contains the words of St. " *Luke*; as the vulgate, the ſyriac, the arabic, and all the antients, before *Marnix-* " *ius*, underſtood them." To ſupport this, *Grotius* alleges, " that μὲν is a mere " expletive, here; as it is Acts iii. 21." But, as to that, I would obſerve, that Acts iii. 21. no δὲ follows, to be a redditive to μὲν. And, as far as I know, δὲ never follows μὲν, ſo ſoon, without being a redditive to it. Though ſome have thought Acts iii. 22, 23. to be ſuch an inſtance.—It would be a much better argument, in favor of *Grotius* his opinion, to allege, that μὲν, in the begining of verſe the 4th, is not found in the *Alexandrian*, nor in the *Cambridge*, MSS. nor in very many other copies. [*See Dr. Mill.*] I have left the ambiguity, in the text; becauſe I am not poſitive which is the true interpretation. However; I would obſerve, that, in all the new teſtament, there is not any other clear inſtance, or proof, of the *re-baptizeing* of ſuch as had been the *diſciples* of *John*. On the other hand; it doeth not appear, that OUR LORD himſelf, or any of the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*, were *baptized*, with *water*, by any other, than by the *baptiſm* of *John*. And, when they, who had followed *John*, became the diſciples of JESUS; we read nothing of their being *re-baptized*, by JESUS, or by his *diſciples*.

An. Chriſti 54. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. II. Acts xix. 6, &c.

*baptiſt*; and have lived, ever ſince, in ſome obſcure village, in *Aſia minor*; (as *Apollos* had done at *Alexandria.*) For, had they continued in *Judæa*; or lived, in any conſiderable town, in the neighboring countries; they muſt have heard of the *effuſion* of the *holy ſpirit*, and of the *miraculous gifts*, which were then ſo common among the *chriſtians*. But it ſeemeth much more probable to me, that theſe twelve had not been the immediate diſciples of *John*; but had been converted, by the eloquent *Apollos*, before he was more fully inſtructed by *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*. For, it doeth not appear that *Apollos* ever preached, in the ſynagogue, at *Epheſus*; after he had received thoſe farther inſtructions. But he went away preſently, to *Corinth*; where he readily communicated the knowlege, which he had received.—It may farther be inquired, "Whether theſe twelve had "been *jews*, or *devout gentiles?*" On the one hand, it would make one ſuſpect that they were *uncircumciſed gentiles*, to conſider, that St. PAUL was the APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; and gloried in his being ſo: [Rom. xi. 13.] that he was not onely acknowleged as ſuch, by JAMES, PETER, and JOHN, the three moſt renowned APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*; but that (when they gave him the right hand of fellowſhip) they agreed that he and BARNABAS ſhould go to the *gentiles*, as they did among the *jews*. [Gal. ii. 9.] And St. PAUL kept ſo cloſely to this agreement, that we have hardly an inſtance of his confering the *holy ſpirit* on any *jewiſh converts*; unleſſe we reckon this ſuch an inſtance. Which one would not readily do; as it is a dubious caſe. On the other hand; it may be alleged, that *John the baptiſt*'s miniſtry was among the *jews*: that, notwithſtanding all, which *he* and JESUS had ſaid, or done, the APOSTLES ſcrupled the reception of *uncircumciſed gentiles*, about eight years after OUR LORD'S aſcenſion: and that it is, therefore, very unlikely that the diſciples of *John the baptiſt*, who had heard nothing of the *effuſion* of the *ſpirit*, ſhould have heard of the converſion of *uncircumciſed gentiles*; much leſſe would they have attempted to convert ſuch. Theſe are the difficulties, which attend both ſuppoſitions. But, upon compareing them, I confeſſe I am rather inclined to the latter. For *Timothy* was a *jew*; and yet St. PAUL imparted unto him the holy ſpirit. And I cannot ſee why St. PAUL might not impart the *holy ſpirit* unto other *jewiſh converts*; as well as preach among the *jews*, and convert numbers of them to *chriſtianity*. And I think it much more probable, that the diſciples of *John the baptiſt* ſhould be *jews*, than that they ſhould be *uncircumciſed gentiles*. For it doeth not appear, with certainty, that any *uncircumciſed gentiles* became the diſciples

ciples of *John the baptiſt*. And, ſuppoſeing theſe twelve were *jewiſh converts*: as they were in a country ſo diſtant from *Judæa*, where they had little or no proſpect of meeting with any of the APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*; is it not moſt likely, that the *divine benevolence* and *wiſdom* would chooſe that the APOSTLE of the *gentiles* ſhould impart, to them the *gift* of the *holy ſpirit*; rather than they ſhould remain without that atteſtation, which was ſo plentifully confered on *gentile converts*? An. Chriſti 55. Nero. 1. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. III. Acts xix. 8, &c.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. III.

*St.* PAUL *taught, in the ſynagogue, at* Epheſus, *'till the* unbelieveing jews *oppoſed him. He then taught in the ſchool of* Tyrannus. *He fought with wild beaſts; worked great and extraordinary miracles: and was highly magnified, by what happened to ſome of the* exorciſt jews. *Acts* xix. 8,—20.

IT hath been obſerved, above, that, when the APOSTLE of the *gentiles* was, the firſt time, at *Epheſus*, he made no long ſtay; becauſe he haſtened to be at *Jeruſalem*, at the approaching feaſt. But now, he is willing to tarry, as long as they could, in reaſon, deſire. And, accordingly, for three months, he frequented the ſynagogue of the *jews*; ſpeaking boldly, and with fortitude, concerning the *chriſtian doctrine*; explaneing the nature of it; and indeavoring to convince both the *jews*, and *devout gentiles*, of the truth and evidence of it. And, when ſeveral of the leading men among the *jews* were hardened, beyond all conviction; and not onely refuſed to believe, themſelves; but even caſt wicked and injurious reflections upon the *chriſtian religion*, before the multitude; and did all they could, to deter others from believeing; the APOSTLE left the *ſynagogue*. And, takeing along with him the *converts*, whom he had made, he went, and taught daily, in the ſchool of one *Tyrannus*, or *Turnus*; whoſe ſchool was, perhaps, what the *jews* called *Beth-midraſh*, or a divinity-ſchool; in which they uſed to handle intricate queſtions, and difficult doctrines. There St. PAUL kept his aſſembly, for two years together. And, according to a different

An. Chriſti 56. Nero. 2. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. III. Acts xix. 9, &c.

reading, in two antient MSS.[a] he taught five hours a-day; *that is*, from eleven o'clock in the morning, to four in the afternoon. By his indefatigable diligence, for ſo long a time, *chriſtianity* ſpread very much. For all the inhabitants of the *proconſular Aſia*, whether *jews* or *gentiles*, had thereby an opportunity to learn the *true chriſtian doctrine*; and to ſee it confirmed by mighty and convincing atteſtations. Now, moſt probably, *Philemon* and *Epaphras* were converted to *chriſtianity*; by comeing to *Epheſus*; or rather, by receiveing the goſpel, from ſome, who had heard the APOSTLE, at *Epheſus*.[b] And, perhaps, they were greatly inſtrumental in makeing converts, at *Coloſſe*,[c] *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. For St. PAUL, in the *epiſtle*, which he wrote to the *Coloſſians*, long after this, declareth, that the body of the *chriſtian churches*, in two of thoſe cities, *had not then ſeen his face in the fleſh*:[d] And, that *he had onely heard of their faith in* CHRIST JESUS; *and of their love to the chriſtians*.[e] And, very probably, the *chriſtians* at *Hierapolis* had not then ſeen him neither.

St PAUL ſaith, of himſelf, [1 *Cor.* xv. 32.] that, "after the "manner of men, he had fought with wild beaſts, at *Epheſus*." That hath, indeed, been frequently interpreted of the riot, made there, by *Demetrius*; in which *Caius* and *Ariſtarchus*, two of the APOSTLE's companions, were hurried into the theatre; and St. PAUL himſelf would have ventured in, after them; had it not been for the *maſters of the theatre*, who were ſo much his friends, as to adviſe him to the contrary. But, that the *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians* was writen, before that riot happened, appears planely, from 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8. For there the APOSTLE intimateth his deſign "to tarry at *Epheſus*, for ſome time longer." Whereas; after the tumult, raiſed by *Demetrius*, he had no thoughts of ſtaying longer; but haſtened away, with all ſpeed. What, therefore, he ſaith, of his *fighting with wild beaſts*, [1 Cor. xv. 32.] muſt refer to ſomething elſe. Another, and a much more probable, interpretation of that text, is, "that the APOSTLE thereby refered to the oppoſition, "which he had already met with, from the *jews*, at *Epheſus*; be- "fore he left the ſynagogue: and that he calls them *wild beaſts*, in "the ſame ſenſe, that he himſelf calleth *Nero*, or his *præfect*, a "*lion*: and that OUR LORD called *Herod Antipas*, a *fox*." But the following

*Ver.* 9. [a] See *Beza* and Dr. *Mill*. Ver. 10. [b] See the hiſtory præfixed to the paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to *Philemon*, 2d. edition, p. 338.
[c] Col. i. 7, 8. *and* iv. 12, 13. Philem. *ver.* 5, 6. [d] Col. ii. 1.
[e] Col. i. 4.

following reaſons induce me to think, that St. PAUL actually fought with wild beaſts, in the theatre, at *Epheſus*. The *Aſiarchæ*, who were not onely the magiſtrates of *Aſia propria*, but alſo the *maſters of the theatre*, ſeem to have been well-acquainted with St. PAUL, in the riot, which *Demetrius* afterwards excited; and (like true friends) perſuaded him not to venture himſelf into the theatre; as remembering, very likely, to what dangers he had already been expoſed, in that place. Again, he ſaith, 2 *Cor.* i. 8, 9, 10. "For I "would not have you ignorant, brethren, of the calamity, which "befel us, in *Aſia propria*[f]: that we were preſſed, moſt excedeingly, "above our ſtrength; ſo that we deſpaired even of life. But we "had the ſentence of death, in our-ſelves; and had been taught, "not to truſt in our-ſelves, but in GOD, who is able to raiſe the "dead. Who delivered us from ſuch a remarkable [or, *ſo great*] *a* "*death*; and doeth ſtill deliver." In which expreſſions, he might, poſſibly, allude to *his fighting with the wild beaſts*. For, from a more remarkable death, he could not eaſily be delivered. But the argument of the greateſt weight, is, his uſeing that phraſe, [*after the manner of men*;] that is, *according to the barbarous cuſtom of the men of that age*; which ſome of the greateſt and beſt critics have ſhown to be the proper meaning of that phraſe.[g] To this conflict, he himſelf doeth, perhaps, allude, [2 *Cor.* xi. 23.] in ſaying, "that "he had been in deaths, *(or in danger of death,)* frequently." The ſilence of St. LUKE, in the *Acts of the* APOSTLES, ſeems, at the firſt view, to be an *objection* againſt this interpretation. But, it is evident, that his intended brevity led him to paſſe over, in ſilence, many of the remarkable actions and ſufferings, which the APOSTLE himſelf hath either mentioned, or glanced at, in his *epiſtles*.

Acts xix. 10.

*Being thrown to the wild beaſts*, and *fighting with them*, were different things. The manner of *fighting with wild beaſts* was thus: "The perſon, condemned to that dangerous combate, was allowed "armour to defend himſelf againſt the lion, bear, leopard, wolf, "or tyger, that was let looſe upon him. And the combate was, "in the theatre, as a public ſpectacle to the people, after they had "been entertained with ſeveral other diverſions. [And, to their "comeing laſt upon the ſtage, there is a fine alluſion, 1 *Cor.* iv. 9.] "If they were killed in the fight, there was an end of them. But, "if they vanquiſhed the wild beaſt, and came off victorious; the "*judge*

f Τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. He puts the *articles* down, to point out ſome particular calamity, *in the Aſia, properly ſo called.*

g See Dr *Lightfoot*'s works, vol. 1. p. 298. and Dr. *Whitby*, on 1 Cor. xv. 32.

An. Chriſti 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. III. Acts xix. 11, &c.

" *judge of the games* commonly granted the priſoners their pardon." If the APOSTLE thus fought; that GOD, who delivered *Daniel*, from the hungry lions; and who had imployed the APOSTLE, in ſo vaſt and beneficent an undertakeing, took care to *deliver him from ſo great and dreadful a death.*

St. PAUL, dureing his abode at *Epheſus*, did not onely preach the *chriſtian doctrine*, moſt faithfully and diligently; but rouzed the people to attention; and confirmed his miſſion and doctrine, by many great and uncommon miracles. For, beſides inſtantaneouſly and perfectly cureing many diſeaſed perſons, and ſuch as were poſſeſſed, or *lunatic*; the very manner of his working ſome of the miracles, was extraordinary and remarkable. For he never ſaw ſeveral of the perſons, whom he miraculouſly cured; but onely ſent handkerchiefs and aprons, [h] which he himſelf had touched. And, upon applying them to the bodies of the ſick perſons, their diſorders were removed intirely, and immediately.

Yet, the more to augment the APOSTLE's fame, and exalt the credit of *chriſtianity*, there happened the following remarkable occurrence. Certain *ſtrolling jews*, who pretended to *exorciſeing*, and *expelling dæmons*, obſerving that St. PAUL, *by invokeing the name of* JESUS, did, ſucceſsfully, what they onely pretended to; they reſolved to do ſo too. And, accordingly, they adjured the evil ſpirit, [or *the diſorder*, which was aſcribed to an evil ſpirit,] to depart from a *lunatic* perſon, in the name of that JESUS, whom PAUL preached. Particularly, ſeven ſons of one *Sceva*, a *jew*, who was a prieſt of the firſt of the twenty-four courſes, tried this project. To whom, the *lunatic perſon* replied, in the name of that *ſpirit*, that was thought to poſſeſſe him; " JESUS and PAUL I know very well, and greatly " revere them. But pray, who are you? Or whence have you your " authority; that I ſhould, in the leaſt, regard you, or your impo- " tent attempts?" And, haveing ſaid thus, he leaped upon them; and, in the ſtruggle, overcame and wounded them. Nay; he tore off their cloathes; and handled them in ſo rough and terrible a manner, that they were glad to get out of the houſe, and eſcape with their lives. The fame of ſo remarkable an occurrence, ſpread ſwiftly,

*Ver.* 12. [h] Σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια; that is, *ſudaria* and *ſemicinctia*. This is another inſtance of St. LUKE's *latinizeing*. For theſe words were, originally, *latin* words; though *Druſius* ſaith, that the former of them was uſed, both by the *hebrews* and *ſyrians*; who thereby underſtood *a veil, wherewith the women covered their heads.* Very probably, they took the word from the *romans*, who reſided among them. And their women might cover their heads with a large handkerchief. The word is uſ for *a napkin*, John xi. 44. and xx. 7.

ly, through all that large city of *Epheſus*; both among *jews* and *gentiles*. And it ſtruck a great and unuſual awe upon all that heard of it. And not onely put a ſtop to ſuch *impoſtors* abuſeing the ſacred and venerable name of JESUS, but made it to be highly magnified and revered. An. Chriſti 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. III. Acts xix. 17, &c.

*Epheſus* was a city, where *exorciſms* and *incantations* had been very much practiſed. And the *gentiles*, there, imagined that *Diana* præſided over their incantations. For, by *Diana*, was meant *the moon*. But, upon the diſaſter, which befel theſe *exorciſts*, many of them, who had lately imbraced the *chriſtian religion*, came to the APOSTLE; acknowlegeing that they alſo had formerly been guilty of pretenſions to *ſorcery* and *exorciſms*, and ſuch like fooliſh and wicked practices; and confeſſed, that they now looked upon ſuch things as highly criminal. Nay; ſeveral of them, even brought along with them their books; which contained [Ἐφέσια Γράμματα[i]] *the myſteries and inſtitutions of that pretended art:* ſuch as, the methods of incantation; the words to be made uſe of; and the proper ſeaſons and places for makeing uſe of them. And they threw thoſe books into the fire, and burned them, publicly, and in the face of the whole city. And the value of them was computed, and found to be fifty-thouſand pieces of ſilver. By *a piece of ſilver*, is meant *a ſhekel*.[k] Dr. *Arbuthnot* ſais, that *a ſhekel* was equal to two ſhillings, three pence, and three eighths of a penny, of our money. According to that valuation, fifty thouſand ſhekels would amount to five thouſand, ſeven hundred, and three pounds, two ſhillings, and ſix pence, of our *Engliſh* money. And yet, though their books were valued at that large ſum, they now chearfully burned them. So mighty was the evidence of the *chriſtian religion*; and ſo great and amazeing it's effects! As appeared, particularly, in their great virtue, and diſintereſted piety. For, they would not ſell thoſe books to others; becauſe *the art* was in itſelf unlawful, and ought not to have been practiſed by any one. And they, being inlightened with the knowlege of the *goſpel*, and animated with the proſpect of a better and more indureing ſubſtance, made no account of that great ſum of money; in compariſon of an honorable, and faithful, diſcharge of their duty.

CHAP.

Ver. 18. [i] Vid. Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 7. qu. 5. p. 706. D. edit. Franc. 1620.

Ver. 19. [k] By *a piece of ſilver*, Dr. *Doddridge* would here underſtand *an attic drachm*; becauſe it ſeems to have been more frequently uſed among the *greeks*, than any coin equal to the *jewiſh ſhekel*. But, by ἀργύριον, is meant *the jewiſh ſhekel*, Matt. xxvi. 15. and xxvii. 3; 5, 6; 9. And why not here? For St. *Luke* has, in other places, uſed the jewiſh computation and phraſeology. [*See Grotius in loc.*]

## CHAP. VII. SECT. IV.

*St.* PAUL *thought to have gone to* Jeruſalem, *aud afterwards to* Rome; *but found it improper, as yet, to leave* Epheſus. *In the mean time, meſſengers came from the* church *of* Corinth: *which occaſioned his writeing the* firſt epiſtle *to the* Corinthians. *The ſubject of that* epiſtle. *Acts* xix. 21, 22.

An. Chriſti 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 21.

HAVEING ſtayed ſo long at *Epheſus*, and labored with ſo much ſucceſſe; the APOSTLE now purpoſed, in his own mind, to leave *Aſia*; and to take *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, in his way to *Jeruſalem*.[a] *For*, (ſaid he) *after I have been at* Jeruſalem, *I muſt alſo ſee* Rome; that ſeat of empire, and miſtreſſe of the world![b]

["From hence, it appears, that he knew of the death of *Claudius* "*Cæſar*; (the news of which would ſoon run through the *roman* "*empire:*)—that the *edict*, for baniſhing the *jews*, from *Rome*, died "with him; and that the *chriſtians* were either returned, or might "return, to that imperial city." Nor can we have a more proper place to obſerve, that "he always went to thoſe cities, where he "hoped to make the moſt converts, and to do the greateſt good: and "that he did not lurk about, in villages and obſcure places; or a-"mong a ſtupid people, who could not examine into his preten-"ſions; but, like one, who knew the goodneſſe of the *doctrine*, "which he delivered; and the evidence, which attended it; and "that it would bear the ſevereſt examination; he appeared in the "moſt populous cities, and among the moſt acute people: (And "ſuch, all will acknowlege, were *Greece* and *Rome*.) For, he "knew that he had truth and evidence on his ſide; which always "recommend themſelves to the impartial inquirers."] But, notwithſtanding his deſign; he found it improper, as yet, to leave *Epheſus*, and to go to the places, which he had intended to viſit. For there were hopes of doing much more good, in that city; though there

*Ver.* 21. [a] See 2 Cor. i. 15, 16. [b] Rom. xv. 23, 24, 25.

there were many adverſaries.[c] He, therefore, ſent away two of thoſe, who attended upon him, to go to *Macedonia*, and to *Achaia*;[d] to rectifie any diſorders, which might have happened in thoſe *churches*; and to forward the collection, for the uſe of the *poor chriſtians* in *Judæa*: according to what PETER, JAMES and JOHN, had requeſted of him; and which St. PAUL himſelf had purpoſed to do, before they mentioned it.[e] One of the meſſengers, ſent by the APOSTLE, upon this occaſion, was *his beloved Timothy*. And the other was *Eraſtus*, who had been chamberlain of the city of *Corinth*;[f] whither he afterwards returned, and ſeems to have continued there for his life.[g] An. Chriſti 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22.

Whether the APOSTLE ſent for them, or they came of themſelves, doeth not now appear. But many of his aſſiſtents came up to him, dureing his long ſtay at *Epheſus*. *For inſtance*: *Timothy* and *Eraſtus*, from *Corinth*; who were now ſent back thither, through *Macedonia*. *Silas*, indeed, doeth not appear to have come to *Epheſus*. But, along with *Timothy*, or ſoon after him, there came, to the APOSTLE, from *Corinth*, *Soſthenes*,[h] and ſome of the family of *Chloe*;[i] as well as *Caius* and *Ariſtarchus*, from *Macedonia*; and *Titus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria*. And thoſe he ſent among the *churches*, as he thought might be of the greateſt ſervice. [2 Cor. xii. 18.]

While St. PAUL was ſtill at *Epheſus*, and (as I ſuppoſe) *Timothy* and *Eraſtus* gone to *Macedonia*;[k] there came, from the *church* of *Corinth*, three *meſſengers*, to the APOSTLE; *namely*, *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. [And, along with them, *Apollos*, the eloquent *Alexandrian*.] For, by their hands, *that church* had ſent *a letter* to St. PAUL; wherein they deſired to know his opinion, concerning ſeveral *doctrines* and *practices*.[l] That, which put the APOSTLE upon deſigning them another viſit, at that time, was, very probably, the account, which he had received, from ſome of the family of *Chloe*, of their diviſions, and unhappy contentions. And, poſſibly, what he ſaith, 1 Cor. v. 9. of "his haveing wrote ſomewhat to them before;" doeth onely refer to *a letter*, which he had begun to write, upon that information, But now, theſe *three meſſengers* comeing, and giveing him a more full and particular account; and, likewiſe, bringing *a letter*, from the *church*, at *Corinth*, with ſo many *queries* and



[c] 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9. Ver. 22. [d] 1 Cor. iv. 17. *and* xvi. 10.
[e] Gal. ii. 10. [f] So St. PAUL calleth him, *Rom.* xvi. 23. For it muſt be obſerved, that he wrote to the *Romans*, from *Corinth*, ſome time after this.
[g] 2 Tim. iv. 20. [h] 1 Cor. i. 1. [i] 1 Cor. i. 11.
[k] 1 Cor. iv. 17. and xvi. 10. [l] 1 Cor. xvi. 12; 17. and vii. 1.

An. Chriſti 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22.

and *difficulties* in it; he began, and wrote another *epiſtle*; without ſending what he had writen before. Or he might intend the epiſtle, which he was then writeing.[m] For there is no proof that St. PAUL wrote *an epiſtle to the Corinthians*, prior to the two, which are ſtill extant.

He, that carefully conſidereth the great diſorders, into which that *church* had fallen, will eaſily conclude, that St. PAUL had taught them onely the *fundamental doctrines* of *chriſtianity*; and that they had made but a ſmall proficiency therein. They, therefore, would be the more eaſily ſeduced, by *an artful impoſtor*; as we find they actually were. For, ſince the APOSTLE had left *Corinth*; and that conſiderable *church*, which he himſelf had planted there; a *falſe* APOSTLE, by nation a *jew*; and (very probably) a *ſcribe*, of the *ſect* of the *ſadduces*; had crept in among them, and made a great diſturbance in *that church*. For he was a violent and moſt zeleous *judaizer*; and was ſo intent upon introduceing *jewiſh* cuſtoms, and ritual obſervations, that he oppoſed St. PAUL, the *true* APOSTLE of the *gentiles*; vilified his perſon; and charged him with preaching *falſe doctrines*. And he had made ſuch a progreſſe, by his wicked arts, as to raiſe a conſiderable faction againſt St. PAUL. What unhappily promoted *his faction*, was, a great irregularity, in one of the *chriſtians*; who ſeemeth to have been a man of ſome weight and diſtinction, and who had married *his father's wife*. For he was patronized by the *falſe apoſtle*; and, conſequently, ſtrengthened and increaſed his party. Which is a too common caſe with *all parties*; but, eſpecially, with *bigots*, who are more zeleous againſt the *doctrines*, which they diſlike, than againſt the open vices and immoralities of ſuch as belong to *their own party*. To break the *faction*, and to draw them off from the *falſe apoſtle*, their new leader, is the ſubject of the former part of the *epiſtle*; that is, from *chap.* i. to *chap.* vi. And, from *chap.* vii. to the end of the *epiſtle*, he anſwereth the *queries*, and ſolveth the *difficulties*, propoſed, in *their letter* to him; as well as others, which, he knew, nearly concerned them. But he, all along, interſperſeth reflections upon his oppoſer, and reproofs of ſuch as fell in with him.—It is finely conjectured, [from 1 *Cor.* v. 7, 8. compared with xvi. 8.] that this *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians* was writen, about the time of the *jewiſh paſſover*.—The APOSTLE ſent it, by the hands of *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*,

[m] 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. is a ſtrong confirmation of this. See Mr. *Locke*'s note there. And Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory, part ii. vol. ii. p. 51, 52; 182.

*natus*, and *Achaicus*. But, though he preſſed *Apollos* to return, to *Corinth*, with them, he refuſed; as knowing too much already of the factions and contentions of the *chriſtians* in that city. [1 Cor. xvi. 12.]

" AS his *apoſtolic authority* had been called in queſtion, he begineth *Written*
" with aſſerting it: PAUL, an APOSTLE of JESUS CHRIST, *&c. from*
" And he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of *Soſthenes*; to ſhow, Epheſus,
" perhaps, that he, who had been a ruler of the ſynagogue, was not of An. Chri.
" the mind of *the falſe apoſtle*. After his uſual introduction, of wiſhing 57.
" them all manner of bleſſing, from GOD and the LORD JESUS CHRIST; Nero. 3.
" he procedes to put them in mind, what plenty of *ſpiritual gifts* he had *Chap.* I.
" imparted to them, in order to confirm them in the *true goſpel*, which he
" had preached; and reprehends them, that they had not complied with
" the grand deſign of *chriſtianity*, which is to promote love and unity.
" Whereas; they had fallen into factions and contentions; ranking them-
" ſelves under different leaders, as if CHRIST had not been the *onely head*
" of all *chriſtians*. As for his own part, St. PAUL lets them know, that
" he had never ſet himſelf up, for the head of *their church*, though he
" planted it; nor did he value himſelf, for his learning, or eloquence, like
" their *falſe apoſtle:* intimateing, that all his boaſted *jewiſh* learning and
" rhetoric, joined with all the wiſdom of the *philoſophers*, could not (with-
" out an extraordinary *revelation)* have diſcovered the whole ſcheme of the
" *chriſtian doctrine*. Whereas; wonderful diſcoveries had been made, to
" the world, by St. PAUL's *great illumination:* which he had expreſſed, in *Chap.* II.
" the moſt ſimple, unadorned ſtyle; that it might appear that his ſuc-
" ceſſe was not oweing to human eloquence, but to the force of truth
" and evidence. Not but that he had made the moſt glorious diſcoveries;
" ſuch as neither *jews* nor *gentiles* had ever heard of, before; nor could
" they be ſuppoſed to receive them, (now they were reveled,) unleſſe they
" attended with a teachable and well-diſpoſed mind. Another reaſon for
" his not preaching, to them, more *ſublime doctrines*, and in a *more exalted*
" *ſtyle*, was, the ignorance and incapacity of the *Corinthians*, when he went
" firſt among them. And, by their late diviſions, it appeared that their
" *chriſtianity* was ſtill in it's weak, and infant, ſtate; though the *falſe apoſtle*,
" who had attacked them in that imperfect ſtate, ſhould not eſcape with-
" out a proper reward. St. PAUL had laid a good foundation; but that
" *impoſtor* came, and built a wretched ſuperſtructure upon it; which
" would not indure the ſtrict trial of the *laſt day*. He, therefore, charged
" him to humble himſelf; in order to prevent ſo dreadful a puniſhment,
" as he might otherwiſe expect. And the *Corinthians* are exhorted not to
" glory in him, or in any other man. As to himſelf, St. PAUL ſaith, he
" could appeal to GOD, that he was a faithful ſteward; however he had
" been cenſured by the *falſe apoſtle:* and that the *laſt day* would diſcover

*Written from* Epheſus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3.

" his faithfulneſſe. He was ſo tender of the character, even of his ene-
" my, that he forbore nameing him; and, in a figurative way, repre-
" ſented it, as if he himſelf and *Apollos* had been unduely extolled; and
" had ſet themſelves up, as the heads of their factions. But (though St.
" PAUL ſhowed ſuch tenderneſſe, in that he would not mention his name)
" the *falſe apoſtle* had reaſon to be humble, and penitent. And, notwith-
" ſtanding his *boaſted knowlege*, and *wonderful eloquence*, his party had alſo
" reaſon to be aſhamed of him. The APOSTLE, in a fine manner, repre-
" ſenteth the many ſufferings, which he had undergone; and that partly
" upon the account of the *Corinthians*; though they now gloried, ſo much,
" in another, who had not given ſuch proofs of his ſincerity. But he lets
" them know, that, whatever *new inſtructor* they had got, he himſelf was
" their *father in the goſpel*, and the founder of their *church*; whoſe directions
" they ought to have regarded: that, ſince his leaveing them, he had ſent
" *Timothy* to ſee how things went among them; and that (though ſome
" were elevated, as though he would never return in perſon) he would
" come ſhortly, and make trial of the grounds of their pretenſions; where-
" by it would appear that they had no reaſon to glory, as they did.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22.

*Chap.* V. & VI.

" Among the *profeſſed chriſtians* at *Corinth*, (and, as it ſhould ſeem, a-
" mong the followers of the *falſe apoſtle*,) there was a man, who had been
" guilty of what the *heathens* would have abhorred; that is, *he had married*
" *his father's wife*, even while his father was alive. And he was defended,
" by his own party; who rather gloried in, than condemned, him, for it.
" Such a ſhocking crime, patronized by *profeſſed chriſtians*, juſtly raiſed
" St. PAUL's indignation. Upon which, he threatened to come, with
" his *apoſtolic rod*; and puniſh him, and all his abettors, as they deſerved.
" But, what he rather prefered, was, that they ſhould meet, and paſſe a
" *church-cenſure* upon him. And he threatened, along with their cenſure,
" that he would, by the power of OUR LORD, deliver the *inceſtuous perſon*,
" himſelf, over to *ſatan*; to bring him to repentence, and to prevent his
" periſhing. And the APOSTLE, though abſent in body, yet preſent in
" *ſpirit*, intimated that he had ſufficient power to do ſo. This was the
" proper way of treating ſo great an offender: and not their glorying in
" him; which was the ready way to lead them to an imitation of his exam-
" ple, and to univerſal corruption. Wicked men, out of the *church*, were
" not to be converſed with, too familiarly; when they could avoid their
" company: but wicked men, who pretended to belong to the *church*, were
" to be avoided, and not kept company with at all, nor treated with any
" familiarity; that ſuch guilty perſons might be aſhamed, and the world
" ſee that the *chriſtians* abhorred ſuch practices. The *ſynagogue* had power,
" by the *roman laws*, to judge, in many *civil affairs*, relateing to the *jews*:
" and the *chriſtians* had, then, the ſame power, in *their churches*. For
" they were ſo far looked upon, by the *romans*, as a ſect of the *jews*. But
" the *falſe apoſtle*, and the *faction* which oppoſed St. PAUL, would have had
" this affair, of the inceſtuous perſon, [or ſome other conteſt among them-
" ſelves,] carried before the *heathen tribunal*; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they
" knew,

" knew, they would be condemned, by the majority of the members of *Written from* Epheſus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22.
" *their own church.* This was very unbecomeing, and unreaſonable; as it
" would have expoſed the *chriſtians.* Nor could the *chriſtian church* be
" thought incapable, or unworthy, of decideing this affair. For *chriſtians*
" are to join in judgeing the world, of men, and even angels too. And,
" ſurely, ſuch temporal things could not be of equal weight and dignity.
" The meaneſt of the *chriſtians* could have determined, in ſuch an affair:
" and, ſurely, much more their *wiſe men*; of whom (according to their
" boaſting,) they muſt have had a conſiderable number. Inſtead of pa-
" tiently bearing with injuries, like true *chriſtians*, they had done great in-
" juries to others. But ſuch, or any other, vices, perſiſted in, will ex-
" clude men from the *kingdom of* GOD. They had, ſome of them, for-
" merly, been great offenders. But that was, while they were *idolatrous*
" *gentiles. Chriſtianity* had laid them under ſtrong obligations to the great-
" eſt purity; and to abſtain from what was not *expedient*, as well as what
" was *unlawful.*

" With *the ſeventh chapter*, begineth the *ſecond part* of *the epiſtle.* In *Ch.* VII.
" which, St. PAUL anſwereth the *queſtions*, that they had propoſed to him,
" in *their letter*; as well as ſolveth other difficulties. The *falſe apoſtle* be-
" ing a zeleous *judaizer*, there is a frequent reference to *jewiſh cuſtoms*;
" which he would have impoſed upon the *gentile chriſtians.* In the firſt
" place, the *jewiſh canons* bound marriage upon men, as a duty; and ſaid,
" that *he, who liveth to ſuch an age, and marrieth not, breaketh a preceptive*
" *law.* This the *falſe apoſtle* ſeemeth to have urged, as a neceſſary rule to
" *chriſtians.* St. PAUL, in his anſwer, ſaith, that marriage, or a ſingle
" life, have, neither of them, any thing culpable in them: and that, ac-
" cording to times and circumſtances, it is preferable, either to marry, or
" to live ſingle. Particularly, that, in times of perſecution, and from a
" due conſideration of the tranſient, uncertain, injoyments of this preſent
" ſtate, a ſingle life ſeemeth more eligible; as attended with fewer troubles
" and temptations: but, that marriage is much to be preferred, at all
" times, to incontinence. And, that *chriſtian* huſbands and wives con-
" tinue under obligations to the ſame mutual affection and regard, as they
" were, before they became *chriſtians:* though extraordinary devotion
" might, ſometimes, require extraordinary abſtinence. But they were
" not to do any thing that might break in upon their chaſtity. *Chriſtian*
" huſbands and wives were ſtill to live with their unconverted mates; un-
" leſſe they refuſed to continue with them. For *chriſtianity* altereth nothing
" in men's civil rights, or duties. And there might be ſome hopes of
" their bringing their unconverted mates, over to *chriſtianity*, by time and
" prudence. However; as the *jews* accounted the children of their *pro-*
" *ſelytes* clean, or members of the *covenant*, if one of their parents were
" come over to the *jewiſh religion*; ſo were *chriſtians*, to look upon *their*
" *children*, as *an holy ſeed*; even though one of the parents had not yet
" imbraced *chriſtianity.* As to ſingle perſons; he again intimateth, that,

" in

*Writen from* Epheſus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22. *Ch.* VIII, IX, X.

" in a time of perſecution, a ſingle life was preferable. However; he did
" not expreſly command a man to keep his virgin daughter ſingle, though
" ſhe had paſſed the flower of life. He onely propoſed it, as, in moſt in-
" ſtances, adviſeable; eſpceially in times of diſtreſſe.

" Another thing, about which they ſeem to have conſulted the APOSTLE,
" was, concerning the uſe of things indifferent; and, particularly, con-
" cerning *meats* and *drinks* offered to *idols.* In his anſwer, he begins with
" reflecting upon their boaſting pretenſions to knowlege; and intimateth,
" that they, ſome of them, thought they had no need to be inſtructed.
" However; he letteth them know, that *idols* were onely fictitious, ima-
" ginary *gods*; and that *chriſtians* had but *one* GOD, the *father*; and *one*
" LORD JESUS CHRIST, who was the *onely mediator* between GOD and *man:*
" and that (how *knowing* ſoever they pretended to be) ſome of their *chriſ-*
" *tian brethren* were apt ſtill to reverence the *idols*, which they had former-
" ly worſhiped; whenever they eat meats offered to them. And, there-
" fore, though ſuch, as underſtood *their chriſtian liberty*, might lawfully
" eat of ſuch meats, even in the *idol's temple*, provided they retained no re-
" verence for the *idol*; yet, if there was any danger of offending their weak
" *brother chriſtian*, and leading him to eat, in reverence of the *idol*; it was
*Ch.* IX. " their duty to abſtain. For *that abſtinence* (as they might remember) was
" according to St. PAUL's own practice; who, though he was an APOSTLE,
" and free to uſe his liberty, if he had pleaſed; *that is*, he could have de-
" manded a maintenance of them, to whom he preached; yet, as it was not
" *expedient*, as well as *lawful*, he would not do it. The *falſe apoſtle* had,
" indeed, done it. But he had not ſo ſincere a regard for their good, and
" for the promoteing of *true chriſtianity*, as St. PAUL had. He, though
" free from all men, yet voluntarily became a ſervant to all; that he might
" win as many as he could, both of the *jews* and *gentiles*. He gave up his
" own right, and eaſe, and liberty, in this world; as expecting his reward,
*Chap.* X. " in a better. And, the *chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, notwithſtanding their *baptiſm*,
" and partakeing of the *lord's ſupper*, were not at liberty to do any thing,
" which might countenance *idolatry* or *impurity:* leſt, in the end, it ſhould
" happen, to them, as it did to the *Iſraelites* of old; who (though they
" were *the peculiar people of* GOD, and initiated into the *Moſaic covenant)*
" periſhed, for their *idolatry*, and other vices. Nor was the perſecution,
" which had yet fallen, upon the *chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, ſo great, as to lead
" them into ſuch guilty compliances: nor ought any perſecution to have
" done it. For there was an utter inconſiſtency between their countenance-
" ing *idolatry*, and eating the *lord's ſupper*. And though, in ſuch caſes,
" as where there was no danger of offending ſcrupulous conſciences, or of
" hardening *idolators*, it might be lawful to eat *meats* offered to *idols*, and
" even in the *idol's temple*; yet, all things, that were *lawful*, were not *ex-*
" *pedient*. And theſe were caſes, which could hardly ever happen; name-
" ly, *that they ſhould eat ſuch things, without all danger of doing harm.* They,
" therefore, were not to go to the uttermoſt bounds of their own liberty;
" but to conſult the good of others. They had no occaſion, when they

" bought

" bought meat, in the market; or were at the table of a neighbor, that *Writen from* Epheſus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect IV. Acts xix. 22. Ch. XI.
" was an *idolatrous gentile*; to aſk, whether it had, or had not, been de-
" voted to an *idol?* But, in ſuch caſes, they might buy, or eat, it, with-
" out ſcruple. But, if any body ſhould voluntarily inform them, that it
" had been devoted to an *idol*; they had better not meddle with it; leſt
" they hardened *idolators*, or offended *jews*, or *chriſtians*. This was the
" APOSTLE's own temper and practice; which he propoſed to their imita-
" tion. For, in ſo doing, he imitated the LORD JESUS CHRIST.

" It was the cuſtom of that age, for the *women* to wear veils; as a to-
" ken of their modeſty, and of their ſubjection to the men. And they
" were not onely to appear, in the *church*, with their veils on; but (when
" any of them *prayed*, or *propheſied*, in the public aſſembly; as they might
" do, when they were under an immediate *impulſe of the ſpirit*) they were
" not then to throw off their veils, any more than at any other time. The
" *falſe apoſtle* ſeemeth to have attempted to introduce the contrary cuſtom.
" But St. PAUL commendeth them, that they had not complied with him;
" but kept to the orders, which he himſelf had given them. However;
" they had deviated ſo far from his order, concerning the celebration of
" the *lord's ſupper*; that he commendeth them not, in that particular. For,
" contrary to the uniteing nature of that ordinance, they fell into ſchiſms
" and diviſions. And, when they came together to eat the *lord's ſupper*,
" they brought their common ſuppers into the *church*; which they eat,
" every one apart, and by himſelf. Nay, farther; the rich eat and drank
" to exceſſe; and denied the poor a ſhare with them. This eating their
" own ſuppers, in the church, in ſeparate companies; drinking to exceſſe,
" and denying the poor a ſhare in their proviſions, was, not *diſcerning the*
" LORD's *body*; or not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing the *lord's ſupper*, from a
" common meal. Poſſibly, the *falſe apoſtle*, who was ſo fond of *jewiſh cuſ-*
" *toms*, had introduced this enormity; under a pretence of imitateing
" OUR LORD; who, in his inſtitution of *this ordinance*, firſt eat the *paſſo-*
" *ver-ſupper*; and then concluded with the *lord's ſupper*. But, whatever
" was the occaſion of this irregularity, the APOSTLE orders them to eat
" their own *common ſupper*, at home. And then he repeteth the method of
" obſerving the LORD's *ſupper*, in that right manner, which he had received,
" immediately from the LORD JESUS himſelf; and had taught them, for-
" merly, when he was at *Corinth*. The ſum of which, was; that they
" ſhould all meet, in a body, and take *bread* and *wine*, in a reverent man-
" ner; *in rememberance of the death of* CHRIST, and to preſerve a ſenſe of
" *his love*, in the *church*. According to this account, they were to exa-
" mine themſelves; and, in this manner, attend at the *table of the* LORD.
" But, if they were guilty of irreverence, in that ſacred place, they would
" eat and drink unworthily; and might juſtly expect ſome divine judg-
" ments would befall them; ſuch as ſickneſſe, or temporal death. Nay; he
" intimateth, that ſuch judgments had already befallen ſome of them; as
" chaſtiſements from GOD, to prevent their being condemned, at laſt, with a
" wicked world. And there was danger of ſuch judgments befalling others

" of

*Writen from* Epheſus, An. Chr. 57. Nero. 3. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22. *Ch.* XII. XIII. XIV.

" of them; if they did not examine their ways, and repent. If they recti-
" fied theſe great abuſes, St. PAUL told them, he would come in perſon,
" and regulate the leſſer abuſes among them.

" The following *ſection* of *this epiſtle*, was occaſioned, by contentions,
" among the *chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, about the exerciſeing of their *ſpiritual*
" *gifts*. And, perhaps, the *Corinthians* had, *in their letter*, inquired, *in*
" *what order they ſhould exerciſe them?* It muſt be remembered, that the bo-
" dy of *this church* had been collected, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*.
" But there were alſo ſome *jewiſh chriſtians*, among them. And the *falſe*
" *apoſtle*, in particular, was a *jew* by nation. St. PAUL, therefore, ad-
" dreſſeth both; putting the *gentile converts*, or the body of the *church*, in
" mind, that they had been formerly *idolators*; and led away, by ſuch
" *dumb idols*, as could not *ſpeak*, and *propheſie*, themſelves; much leſſe in-
" due their votaries with the *gift* of *tongues and prophecie*. Notwithſtanding
" which, GOD had, out of his free grace, given them his *ſpirit*, ſince they
" had imbraced *the goſpel*. The *jews*, who gloried in being the *antient*
" *people of* GOD; pretending to have the *ſpirit* of GOD, and looking upon
" it, as peculiar to their nation; [ſee *Acts* x. 45.] had, now, no præfer-
" ence, upon that account, under the *goſpel*. For, upon the *believeing gen-*
" *tiles*, the *holy ſpirit* was conferred: while the *unbelieveing jews*, who called
" JESUS accurſed, did not partake of the *gifts* of the *ſpirit*; whatever pre-
" tenſions they made thereto. As both *jews* and *gentiles*, therefore, had
" received the *holy ſpirit*, from mere, undeſerved favor; there was reaſon
" for all of them to be modeſt and humble; and not to aſſume any undue
" ſuperiority over the other *chriſtians*; who had the *ſpirit* as well as they.
" Whatever *gifts* they, any of them, had, they were all communicated,
" by one and the ſame *ſpirit*; through one and the ſame LORD, and from
" one and the ſame GOD. And (though they were various) they were all
" fitted, and deſigned, either for founding, or building up, *the church*.
" APOSTLES, for inſtance, had *the word of wiſdom*. *Superior prophets* had
" *the word of knowlege*. *Doctors*, or inſpired teachers, had *the gift of faith*.
" Other *chriſtians* had the *power* of working *extraordinary miracles*. And
" others, again, could miraculouſly *heal diſeaſes*. Some had the *inferior*
" *gift* of *prophecie*; whereby they could *help* the *chriſtians*, in carrying on
" their *religious worſhip*, by *praying*, *ſinging*, or *making diſcourſes*, by *imme-*
" *diate revelation*. Others, again, had the *gift* of *diſcerning the ſpirits*, or
" ſecret thoughts, of men: by which, they could direct *the church*; how
" to *ſteer* their courſe, or act with the greateſt diſcretion. Some could
" ſpeak *various languages*. And others could, readily and intelligibly, in-
" terpret ſuch languages.—But all theſe *extraordinary gifts* proceded, from
" one and the ſame *ſpirit*; who diſtributed them, as he ſaw moſt proper.
" And, like the ſeveral members of the human body, they were all uſeful,
" in their place. The moſt excellent could not do, without the leaſt and
" meaneſt. And, therefore, none of them were to be deſpiſed, or neg-
" lected. Though the higheſt (or beſt) gifts were moſt *zeleouſly* to be ex-
" erciſed; becauſe they were fitted for the greateſt uſefulneſſe. The *Co-*

" *rinthians*,

" *rinthians*, under the influence of the *falſe apoſtle*, appears to have mag- *Written from*
" nified *the gift of tongues*, eſpecially; and to have ſet it above all the Epheſus,
" *gifts*. For it ſtruck mankind excedeingly, and made the greateſt ſhow. An. Chri.
" And, at the ſame time, he did not manifeſt ſo much *charity* [or *love*] to 57.
" St. PAUL; and to the *chriſtians*, who had other *ſpiritual gifts*; as he Nero. 3.
" ought to have done. With a view to theſe things, St. PAUL hath in- Book III.
" timated, that haveing the *tongues of men* and *angels*, was not equal to *ch.* Ch. VII.
" *rity*, [or *love*.] Nay; that haveing the *ſuperior gifts*, of the *word of* Sect. IV.
" *wiſdom*, and of *knowlege*; or the *power* of working the greateſt *miracles*; Acts xix.
" or martyrdom, or the largeſt and moſt oſtentatious charities, would not, 22.
" any of them, be of any moment, to the perſon himſelf, who had them, *Ch.* XIII.
" without *charity*, [or *love*.] That excellent *chriſtian virtue* deſtroyeth im-
' patience, envy, pride, covetouſneſſe, malice, and jealouſie; and in
' ſpireth men, with patience, and benignity. It will, likewiſe, indure
' for ever. Whereas; the *gifts* of the *ſpirit* were ſoon to vaniſh. And,
' finally, he aſſured them, that *charity*, [or *love*,] was more excellent
' than *faith* and *hope*. Above all things, therefore, they were to perſue
' *charity*, [or *love*,] though they were not to neglect their *ſpiritual gifts*.
' The order, in which their *gifts* were to be exerciſed, was, that *prophe-* *Ch.* XIV.
' *cie* [as being the moſt uſeful *gift*,] was to be preferred; eſpecially, to
' ſpeaking *unknown languages*; that is, ſuch *languages*, as *the body of the*
' *church* did not underſtand. If any of them ſpoke with *tongues*; he was
' either to *interpret* what he had ſaid, or another was to *interpret* it. But,
' if he could not *interpret* it, himſelf; and there was none preſent, that
' could *interpret*; then he, that had the *gift of tongues*, was to be ſilent.
' For the end of their haveing *ſpiritual gifts*, was, to convey *knowlege*;
" either to ſtrangers, or to the *church*. If a ſtranger had happened to
" go into one of their aſſemblies; and they had all ſpoken languages,
" which he underſtood not; he would have been tempted to think they
" raved. But, if they *propheſied*; and, particularly, told him the ſecret
" thoughts of his own heart; he would eaſily be convinced, that *their gifts*
" were *divine*. When they aſſembled, for *religious worſhip*; each was earn-
" eſt to ſpeak firſt, or longeſt. Whereas; they were to ſuffer one ano-
" ther, patiently, to ſpeak, in their turns. And, when ſome had ſpoken,
" others (who had the *gift* of *diſcerning ſpirits*) were to judge; and in-
" form the *church*, whether they had ſpoken, by *inſpiration*; or by pri-
" vate ſuggeſtion. Such, as were ſpeaking, were to make an end, as ſoon
" as they decently and properly could; if another declared, that he had
" received a farther *revelation*, concerning what had been ſaid, or concern-
" ing any thing of greater importance. Thus, all were to take their turns,
" in exerciſeing their *ſpiritual gifts*. For the motions of the *ſpirit* might
" be regulated; and it was their duty to ſubmit to all wiſe and poſſi-
" ble regulations. The *women* might ſpeak, when *inſpired*. But they
" were not to ſay any thing, in the *church*, at other times. Though the
" *falſe apoſtle* ſeemeth to have incouraged their ſpeaking, when under no
" *divine inſpiration*.—Theſe are the *rules*, which St. PAUL delivered, con-

*Written from* Epheſus, An. Chri. 57. Nero. 3.

" cerning their *ſpiritual gifts*. And the *falſe apoſtle*, if he was influenced " by the *ſpirit*, ſo much as he pretended, would eaſily know that they " were *the orders of* CHRIST; who deſired that all things in the *church* might " be done with order and decency.

" The great quarrel, which the *falſe apoſtle* had, with St. PAUL, ſeems
Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22. " to have been, that he was, at the bottom, a *ſadducee*; and *diſbelieved a* " *reſurrection from the dead, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.*
" Which was a *doctrine*, on which St. PAUL laid the greateſt ſtreſſe. As
" the *falſe apoſtle* had propagated *that falſe doctrine*, among the *chriſtians*,
Ch. XV. " at *Corinth*; St. PAUL here ſhoweth, that *a reſurrection from the dead*, is
" not impoſſible to the *power* of GOD: that JESUS CHRIST was actually
" riſen; and had been ſeen, after *his reſurrection*, by many perſons, who
" were then alive: that, ſeeing the poſſibility of *a reſurrection* is, from
" hence, evident, and undeniable; he infereth, that the promiſe, to raiſe
" all mankind, may be depended upon: that the *reſurrection* of CHRIST is a
" pledge of the *general reſurrection*: that *chriſtianity* was an inſignificant
" inſtitution, if this *doctrine* was falſe. Whereas; he aſſureth them, that
" he knew (upon ſufficient evidence) that CHRIST was riſen, as the firſt
" fruits; and that all the dead would, in their order, ariſe alſo. That
" this was the grand motive, which animated him to preach the *goſpel*, a-
" midſt ſo many dangers and ſufferings. And, that the cutting off the ex-
" pectations of the future recompence of the righteous, was the way to cor-
" rupt the morals of *profeſſed chriſtians*. And, by this, he obliquely re-
" proveth the *falſe apoſtle*; who (as he foreſaw) would be ready to object,
" *How can this be effected? and with what ſort of bodies ſhall they riſe?* To
" which he anſwereth: That he, who can raiſe corne, from a ſmall grain,
" can raiſe the human body out of the grave, and alter it into what form
" he pleaſeth: that different creatures have, at preſent, different ſorts of
" bodies: and, in like manner, that the bodies of good men will differ
" much from the preſent body. For they will then riſe incorruptible, glo-
" rious, and in perfect vigor; and will be ſuted, as much, to *a ſpiritual*,
" as our preſent bodies are to an *animal*, *ſtate*. This is the change, which
" will happen, to all the pious dead, in the laſt day. And then, alſo, the
" generation, which are liveing upon this earth, ſhall be ſuddenly changed,
" into the ſame meetneſſe for the *ſpiritual ſtate*, which is to ſuccede. And he
" concludeth, from this glorious diſcovery, that the proſpect of ſuch a
" complete victory over *death* and the *grave*, ought to animate us, ſted-
" faſtly, and all our days, to adhere to truth, and abound in every good
" work.

Ch. XVI. " In the next place, he preſſeth them, every one of them, to lay by,
" ſomething, on the *firſt day of the week*, for the uſe of the poor *chriſtians*,
" in *Judæa*; (as he had ordered other *churches* to do;) that the collection
" might be ready, when he came; which he intended to do, before next
" winter: that then he would ſend their collection, by ſuch meſſengers, as
" they ſhould approve of; and that he would either write along with them,
" or go himſelf. But, in the mean time, he thought to continue at *E-*

" *pheſus*,

" *pheſus*, 'till *pentecoſt*; as haveing a proſpect of great uſefulneſſe, though *Writen from* Epheſus, An. Chr. 57. Nero. 3.
" there were ſeveral who oppoſed him. He begeth of them to take care of
" his *beloved Timothy*; whom he had lately ſent into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*.
" For he honeſtly preached the ſame *true goſpel* with St. PAUL himſelf.
" He expected *Timothy*, from *Corinth*, with other of the *chriſtians*. But
" he could not perſuade *Apollos* to return thither; though he had intreated
" him to return. After ſome exhortations to *love* and *unity*; and ſending
" *ſalutations*, as uſual; he concludeth, *If any man love not the* LORD JESUS
" CHRIST, *let him be accurſed, when the* LORD *cometh to judgment*. By which
" unuſual *anathema*, he is thought to have pointed out the danger, to which,
" the *falſe* APOSTLE, by his wickedneſſe, expoſed himſelf. Whereas; he
" wiſhed the *favor of* OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST to the other *chriſtians*, who
" conformed to the *true goſpel-doctrine*. Amen!"

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IV. Acts xix. 22.

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## CHAP. VII. SECT. V.

### *The riot, raiſed by* Demetrius, *and his company of* ſilverſmiths, *drove St.* PAUL, *from* Epheſus, *ſooner than he deſigned.* Acts xix. 23, *to the end of that chapter.*

THE meſſengers, from the *church* of *Corinth*, being ſent back again, with the APOSTLE's *letter* to that church, he proceded, in his great work, at *Epheſus*. But, whileſt he was imploying his diligence there, and had his head and hands full of the care of *all the churches*; there was no ſmall ſtir and tumult about that way; *that is*, about the chriſtian religion. And the APOSTLE is moleſted, and driven from thence, in a violent manner.—*Epheſus* was a very conſiderable city; the *metropolis*, and noble *mart*, not onely of *Ionia*, but even of all the *proconſular Aſia*. It was ſituated upon the river *Layſter*, and was famous for the magnificent temple of *Diana*[a]; which was two hundred and twenty years in building, and was reared at the common charge of all *Aſia propria*. It was four hundred and twenty five feet long, and two hundred and twenty broad; ſupported by an hundred and twenty ſeven ſtately pillars, each of them ſixty



Ver. 23. [a] The occaſion of the *Epheſians* dedicateing their city to *Diana*, may be ſeen, in *Herodotus, Clio*. c. 26. *edit. Gale*, p. 10.

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V. Acts xix. 23.

feet high; the work of a king, who erected them, as a token of his piety and magnificence. And, indeed, ſo admirable and grand was the ſtructure, that it was commonly eſteemed *one of the ſeven wonders of the world.* It had been twice burnt down, before this. The firſt time, was, on that very day, in which *Socrates* was poiſoned. And the ſecond, was, on the night, in which *Alexander the great* was borne[b]. The laſt of which times, it was ſet on fire, on purpoſe, by *Eroſtratus*; who, being condemned to die for it, confeſſed, that "he had deſtroyed ſo exquiſite a ſtructure, purely that he "might be remembered in future ages." Upon which, they not onely put him to death; but the common-council of *Aſia* made *a decree*, "that his name ſhould never be mentioned more." It would have been a pity to have robbed him of that fame, for which he had ſo ſtrong and ardent a deſire; if he had ſought it, by a more virtuous, and laudable, action. And, indeed, it was out of their power to do it. For moſt of the *hiſtorians*, who have wrote of that time, have (among other things) recorded this his extravagant love of fame. It was again rebuilt; the famous *Denocrates* (whom *Alexander the great* did afterwards imploy, in planning and building the magnificent city of *Alexandria*) being architect; and it was wonderfully adorned; eſpecially by the *Epheſians.* After this, *Nero* plundered it of it's riches. And, in the days of *Gallienus*, the *emperor*, the *Goths* intirely ruined it. Though, according to ſome travellers, there are ſtill ſome venerable heaps of rubiſh, and ſome few ſtately ruines, ſuppoſed to be the remains of that once *magnificent temple.* [*See Chiſhull's travels, folio, p.* 27.] However; when St. PAUL was there, *the temple* was in it's glory. And, in that idolatrous city, was the *great* APOSTLE perſecuted, by ſome of the retainers to that *temple* of *Diana.* For one *Demetrius*, a *ſilverſmith*, made ſilver ſhrines for *Diana*; that is, little models of the temple, with folding-doors; which, being opened, the image of the *godeſſe* was ſeen placed therein. Thoſe ſhrines he ſold, unto ſuch as uſed to come and worſhip her, at *Epheſus.* And it is not unlikely, but they might carry them home, and ſet them up, and conſecrate them, in their private, or domeſtic, chapels.—*Demetrius*, being a leading man, if not the onely maſter, in that buſineſſe, imployed a great many artificers under him; to whom he gave conſiderable wages. Thoſe craftſmen did he

[b] Plutarchus, in Alexandro. Cicero de natura deorum, lib. 2. & de divinatione, lib. 1.

[c] Valerius maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, c. 40. Prideaux his connection, vol. 1. p. 468. 4th edition, 8vo. 1718.

he call together; and thus addreſſed himſelf to them: "*Brethren*, An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4.
"you know very well, that, by this trade, we get our bread, and
"all our riches. And, therefore, it greatly concerneth us, how we
"let the makeing of *images* be repreſented, as a fooliſh, or wicked, Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V.
"thing. Whereas; here is one PAUL; who hath been in this city, Acts xix.
"for ſome time; and who is become famous, by his works and doc- 25, &c.
"trine. And he (as you hear from others, and may ſee with your
"own eyes) hath perſuaded a great many people, not onely of *Ephe-*
"*ſus*, but almoſt of all *Aſia*, that they are *no gods*, which are made
"by the hands of men. By which means, he hath hindered their
"frequenting the *temple* of *Diana*; and hath turned them aſide *from*
"*our antient and eſtabliſhed religion*, and from buying up of our
"ſhrines. If things go on thus; and all ſhould run after this PAUL,
"as ſeveral have done; our buſineſſe is not onely in great danger of
"being brought into contempt, and of being laid aſide, as uſeleſſe;
"but *the public religion* will ſuffer. For *the temple of Diana* will
"be ſlighted, and her *deity* contemned. Though we have both *an-*
"*tiquity* and *univerſality* on our ſide. For the *godeſſe* fell down
"from *Jupiter*, many ages ago. And all *Aſia*; nay, even *the*
"*world itſelf*; doeth reverence and worſhip her." The company of *ſilverſmiths* underſtood him. And, betakeing themſelves to the common method, of concealing private reſentment and ſiniſter deſigns, under the maſk of a public ſpirit, and a *zele* for *religion*; — they ran about the city, in a moſt wild, tumultuous, manner; crying out, "*The church* is in danger. The magnificent *temple of*
"*Diana!* the *temple*, the *temple!* Great is *Diana* of the *Epheſians!*"
By this mean, they, in a little time, filled the whole city with confuſion and uproar. And, though they could not meet with the APOSTLE himſelf, they ſeized upon two of his companions; namely, *Caius*[d] and *Ariſtarchus*, who were both *Macedonians*. And theſe two they hurried into the *theatre*; very probably, with a deſign to have them tried, before the court there: and, if they could obtain their condemnation, to throw them to the *wild beaſts*. St. PAUL had ſo much *fortitude*, as that he would have ventured in, after them, to have made his defence, before the people; or to have ſuffered with them, or in their ſtead. But the *chriſtians* would not conſent to his attempting any ſuch thing. And ſome, even of the *Aſiarchs* (who were

Ver. 29.[d] I had once conjectured that *Caius*, mentioned 1 Cor. i. 14. Rom. xvi. 23. Acts xx. 4. 3 John, ver. 1. and in this text, had been one and the ſame perſon. But, ſince that, I am dubious; and ſuſpect they might be different perſons. [*See the hiſtory præfixed to the 2d. and 3d. epiſtles of St. John*, § 5.]

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V. Acts xix. 31, &c.

were both *magiſtrates* of *Aſia*, and *maſters* of the *theatre*; præſideing over their *ſolemn rites*, and the *games*, which uſed to be celebrated in honor of *Diana*:—Even ſome of the *Aſiarchs*, I ſay,) were ſo much his friends, as to ſend privately to him, to give him notice of the preſent temper of the people; and to beg of him not to venture himſelf into the *theatre*. Probably, they remembered what a narrow eſcape he had already had there. And, if he had now gone among them; it would ſcarce have been in the power of thoſe *magiſtrates* to have ſaved him, among ſuch an incenſed rabble. The *tumult* ſtill continued. And they ſeemed mightily inraged. Though the greateſt part of them knew not for what. However; *Demetrius*, and his companions, ſtill continued to blow up their zele. By which mean, the confuſion continued; and the multitude kept together, and perſiſted in their clamor: ſome crying out one thing, and ſome another. At laſt, they, by force, ſingled out *Alexander*. And the *jews*, alſo, puſhed him forwards. For they would gladly have had him ſpeak to the people: probably, as hopeing that he would throw off the *odium* from them; and fix it all upon St. PAUL, and ſuch as adhered to him. I take this to have been *Alexander the copperſmith*; who was one of the moſt violent *judaizeing chriſtians*. And, conſequently, one of the greateſt enemies to St. PAUL; and moſt in favor with the *unbelieveing jews*, of any that profeſſed *chriſtianity*. And, if ſo; no wonder that the *jews* ſhould be deſireous of his makeing an *oration* to the people. But, when he himſelf would have ſpoken, and beckoned with his hand for ſilence; the *people* would not hear him. For they knew that he was of the race of the *jews*. And, conſequently, an enemy to *Diana*, and to their *idolatry*. They, therefore, began to bellow out again, all at once; and they held it for two hours; crying out, "Our *antient religion!* the *godeſſe Diana!* Down "with the *jews* and the *chriſtians*, with their *unknown* GOD! Great "is *Diana* of the *Epheſians!*" But, though *Alexander* was thereby prevented from ſpeaking in public; he afterwards did the APOSTLE, and the *chriſtian intereſt*, a great deal of harm, by his private treachery, and oppoſeing *the liberty* of the *gentile converts*; that is, their freedom from the *Moſaic law*. When that inraged multitude had ſpent their zele and their breath, and could be ſpoke with; the *recorder* of the city quaſhed the tumult, by the following ſpeech: "O ye *Epheſians*, what hath moved you to make ſuch a riot? As if *the church*, or "the *temple*, or our *antient religion*, was in danger? Doeth not *all* "*the world* know, that the city of *Epheſus* has devoted itſelf to "take care of, and adorn, the *temple* of the great *godeſſe*, *Diana*;

"and

" and worſhipeth that image of hers, which (according to *tradition*) fell " down from *Jupiter*?[e] As no man hath contradicted theſe things, " ſo as thereupon to make any tumult, or innovation; you ought to " have been quiet, and not to have acted ſo raſhly and irregularly. " Why have you apprehended theſe two men? They have neither " robbed your *temple*, nor blaſphemed your *godeſſe*;[f] nor ſaid any thing " in particular about her, that I know of. For, ſuppoſeing they " have ſpoken againſt *images*, made by the hands of men; it is well " known, that *this image* of *Diana* fell down from *Jupiter* him- " ſelf, and was not made by the hands of any man. *Demetrius*, and " his companions, have impoſed upon you; and ingaged you in their " private quarrel. But they ought to have taken another method. " For, if they have juſt and legal accuſations againſt any man; " there are court-days kept frequently, and proper judges:[g] before " whom

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V.

Acts xix. 35, &c.

Ver. 35.[e] τῆς Διοπετοῦς [*of the image, which fell down from Jupiter.*] There is an account of *Cybele*, the mother of *the gods*, which is ſo like this, that it may not be amiſſe to relate it; that, by compareing them, we may ſee, whether it was not, originally, one and the ſame ſtory.

*Herodian.* l. 1. *Oxon.* p. 26. *Boecler.* p. 34. αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διοπετὲς, ὡς λέγουσιν, κτλ. " The image fell down from Jupiter, as they ſay; it not being known of " what materials, nor by what artificer, it was made; neither was it formed by the " hands of men. The report is, that it fell down from heaven, long ago, into that " part of *Phrygia*, called *Peſſinuns*; which place had that name given it, from the " image's falling down, and firſt appearing, there. But others account differently " for the name of that place, *&c.*"

The image of *Diana*, in the temple of Taurus, in Scythia, is alſo ſaid *to have fallen down from heaven.* [*Euripid. Iphigen. Act.* 4. *Weſt*, p. 194. *Act.* 5. p. 220.] *Vid. Poli ſinopſ. in loc.*

Ver. 37. [f] The APOSTLES, and their *aſſiſtents*, were very careful to give as little offence, as poſſible, to perſons of different ſentiments and religions; and obſerved an extraordinary *decorum*, in their words and behavior; conſidering their zele and fervor, and the averſion which they had to *idolatry* and *wickedneſſe.*

Ver. 38. [g] ἀγορὰ, originally, ſignifies *a congregation, or aſſembly, of people.* And, from thence it comes to ſignifie, likewiſe, *the place of aſſembling*, the *forum*, whether underſtood of a market, or a court of judicature. ἀγόραιος, or ἀγορᾶιος, (about which difference of accent, writers are not agreed) denotes *a thing belonging to the* ἀγορὰ, in either ſenſe. Hence ἀγοραῖος ἄνθρωπος is one of the rabble, a man beating the ſtreets, or ſauntering in the market-places; in which ſenſe it is frequently uſed, by *Ariſtophanes*, and other writers; and Acts xvii. 5.—It likewiſe ſignifies a perſon converſant in law and court pleadings. Thus *Plutarch* ſpeaks of *Thucydides*, in the life of *Pericles*, p. 287 *edit Hen Steph.* ὃς ἥττου μὲν ἦν πολεμικὸς τῶν Κίμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μάλλον, ὀικεῖον ἐν ἄσει καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ περιπλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον καθέσησεν. *Herodian.* l. 6 c. 1. § 7. *edit Boecl.* mentions πράξεις καὶ διοικήσεις πολίτικας καὶ ἀγοραίας *res & adminiſtrationes civiles & forenſes.* And l. 7. c. 9. § 5. ἐκ τινος ἀγοραίας διαφορᾶς *ex forenſi quadam lite.* ἡ ἀγοραῖος is interpreted, by *Suidas*, to be ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ἀγορὰ τελεῖται *in qua forum agitur:* but it ſeems rather to be ἀγοραῖος σύναξις *conventus, a court of juſtice, or ſeſſions.* For ſo *Strabo* uſes it, l. 13. p. 629.

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. V. Acts xix. 38, &c.

" whom they ought to bring their differences. And, there, they " may have juſtice done them. But, if you inquire, concerning " other matters; (as, whether the *temple* is in danger, or no; or " what perſons, or *religions*, ſhall be tolerated in the city;) you " ought to inquire in a regular and lawful aſſembly. For, I can " aſſure you, we are in danger of being called in queſtion, by the " *proconſul, (Publius Suilius)* for this day's concourſe and uproar. " And, I am greatly afraid, we ſhall not be able to give any good " account of the matter." And, when he had made an end of his *ſpeech*, he diſmiſſed the people; commanding them to diſperſe, and to go each of them to their own houſes.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. VI.

*The* APOSTLE PAUL *leaveth* Epheſus; *goeth to* Troas; *delivereth* Hymenæus *and* Alexander *over to* ſatan. *The time, place, and occaſion, of St.* PAUL'S *writeing the* firſt epiſtle *to* Timothy. *The ſubject of* that epiſtle *conſidered.* Acts xx. 1.

ST. PAUL finding it unſafe to tarry, any longer, at *Epheſus*; and his favorite, *Timothy*, being now returned from *Corinth*, as he expected; [1 Cor. xvi. 11.] he reſolved to depart, with all ſpeed; for

p. 629. *edit. Caſaubon.* where he ſais, that the parts of *Phrygia, Lydia, Caria*, &c. were intermixed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from each other; and he aſſigns this reaſon for it. εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκυσιν τάυ[την ὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει, τὸ τὰς Ρωμαίυς μὴ κα[ὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διαί[άξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοράυς ποιῦνται κ) τὰς δικαιοδοσίας. Upon which, *Caſaubon*, in his notes, " *ſcripti quidam habent* τὰς ἀγο-ρὰς. " *Non recte. Præſes in provincia, quando jus dicit*, forum agere, vel conven-" tus, *latine dicitur*; *græce* ἀγοράυς ποιεῖσθαι. Conventus *enim Græci vertunt* ἀγο-" ράυς. *Sic accipiendum apud Lucam*, Acts xix. 38." If the article had been præ-fixed, viz. οἱ ἀγορᾶιοι ἄγονται [ſcil. συνάξεις] the expreſſion had been plane and clear: but the want of the article ſeems to be compenſated, by the word ἄγονται, and by the addi-tion of ἀνθύπατοι εἰσιν, i. e. *there are courts, or ſeſſions, held; and there are judges.* For the proconſuls, or prætors, were judges, in theſe provincial courts. And *Aſia*, being one of the provinces belonging to the ſenate, was governed by a *proconſul*, and not by a *prætor*; as the word ἀνθύπατοι implies.

N. B. This note was communicated to the author, by a learned friend.

for fear of occaſioning another tumult, or of drawing any farther *odium* upon the *chriſtians*. Before the riot, raiſed by *Demetrius*, and his company of *ſilverſmiths*, the APOSTLE had ſent *Titus*, to *Corinth*; and another *chriſtian brother*, along with him; to ſee what reception his *firſt epiſtle* had met with, in *that church*. [2 Cor. xii. 18.] And he himſelf deſigned to have tarried at *Epheſus*, 'till *Titus* returned; and then to have gone directly to *Corinth*; from thence, to *Macedonia*; then back again to *Corinth*. [2 Cor. i. 15, 16.] But the riot forced him to alter his ſcheme. As, therefore, the APOSTLE was forced away, from *Epheſus*, ſooner than he had deſigned; and the *unbelieveing jews* and *gentiles*, as well as the *judaizeing chriſtians*, were excedeingly averſe to the *true chriſtian doctrine*; he deſired *Timothy* to ſtay behind him, in that idolatrous city; that he might, in his abſence, take care of the *chriſtian church*, which had been ſo lately planted there: — at leaſt, 'till *true chriſtianity* was a little more rooted, and eſtabliſhed, among them. And St. PAUL himſelf, haveing called together the *chriſtians*, at *Epheſus*; and, in a ſolemn and affectionate manner, taken his leave of them; he ſet out, by ſea, for *Macedonia*; haveing already diſpatched orders to *Titus*, to meet him, at *Troas*. [2 Cor. ii. 12.] As he went along the road, it is highly probable, that he ruminated, very much, upon the ſtate, in which he had left the *church* of *Epheſus*: and that, in his journey, or as ſoon as he arrived at *Troas*, he delivered *Alexander* and *Hymenæus* over to *ſatan*; that they might be tormented with ſome bodily pains and diſeaſes, to teach them not to blaſpheme, nor rail at, the *true chriſtian doctrine*; of which they had been notoriouſly guilty. [1 Tim. i. 20.] They had, both of them, in profeſſion, imbraced the *chriſtian religion*; but they were zeleous *judaizers*, and men of immoral characters. For they underſtood the *true chriſtian doctrine*, and had ſufficient evidences of it's excellence; but, to pleaſe *the unbelieveing jews*, and to compaſſe their other low deſigns, they had proſtituted their own conſciences, and made ſhipwreck of the *true chriſtian faith*. However; bad as they were now, they afterwards grew worſe. For *Hymenæus* came, at length, to aſſert, that *the reſurrection was already paſſed*; and thereby cauſed ſome *profeſſed chriſtians* to deſpair, and apoſtatize. [2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.] And *Alexander* oppoſed St. PAUL, and did him a great deal of harm; [2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.] either by venting erroneous and wicked doctrines, and fathering them upon that APOSTLE; or rather, perhaps, by zeleouſly and furiouſly contending, that the *doctrine* of the *judaizeing chriſtians* was the *true goſpel-doctrine*; and that not

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onely the *jewiſh*, but the *gentile*, *chriſtians*, alſo, ought to be ſubject to the *whole law of Moſes*, as neceſſary to their ſalvation. The riot, which the *ſilverſmiths* raiſed, againſt the APOSTLE, ſeems, in part, to have affected him. But the furious oppoſition of the *unbelieveing jews*, at *Epheſus*, appeareth to me to have affected him much more. The *judaizeing chriſtians* would have compelled the *gentile converts*, in the *churches* of *Galatia*, to have been *circumciſed*; that they themſelves might avoid the perſecution, raiſed by the *unbelieveing jews*. [Gal. vi. 12.] And it is evident, [from 1 Tim. i. 4; 7.] that the *judaizers* had a ſtrong party, in the *chriſtian church*, at *Epheſus*; "who gave heed to fables, and endleſſe genealogies; "and pretended to be *doctors* of the *law*, though they underſtood it "not, nor the deſign of it." One ſo deeply ingaged, as St. PAUL was, in ſpreading *true chriſtianity*; and that had ſo lately left a *church*, of his own planting, which was yet in it's tender ſtate of infancy, and in the midſt of ſuch enemies; muſt needs be very anxious for *Timothy*, and that *church* at *Epheſus*. And, therefore, it is no wonder that he ſhould write to them.—*To them*, I ſay. For it is evident, from many paſſages in the *firſt epiſtle* to *Timothy*, that he wrote *that letter*, not for *Timothy*'s ſake alone; but for the ſake, alſo, of the *chriſtian church* at *Epheſus*; and with a deſign, moſt probably, that *Timothy* ſhould read it to them. This, therefore, may be looked upon, as the *true epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*. Whereas; what we commonly call ſo, appears to be St. PAUL's *epiſtle* to the *Laodiceans*.—That the *firſt epiſtle* to *Timothy* was writen, from *Troas*, and at this time, is what I incline to believe, for the following reaſons. (1.) What is ſaid, 1 *Tim.* iv. 12. *Let no man deſpiſe thy youth*. For, ſuppoſeing *Timothy* to have been ſixteen years old, in the year of OUR LORD 46. when he was converted to *chriſtianity*; he would onely be twenty, in the year 50. when St. PAUL took him, along with him, as an *evangeliſt*. And younger than that, we cannot well ſuppoſe him to have been. He was now, therefore, [*that is*, in the begining of the year 58.] about twenty-ſeven. And, ſurely, this age was much more likely to occaſion ſuch an injunction, from St. PAUL; [namely, *that no man ſhould deſpiſe his youth*;] than thirty-four, or thirty-five: which he muſt have been, in the year 65; the time, which hath been pitched upon, by many, for the writeing of *this epiſtle*. A man of thirty years of age, or above, is in no great danger of being *deſpiſed for his youth*. Thirty is reckoned a mature age. It was the year, in which the *levites*, under the *law*, entered upon their office. [Numb. iv. 3; 23; 30; 35; 39; 43; 47.]

47.] About that age, OUR BLESSED LORD (as well as *John the baptiſt*, his foreruner) began his miniſtry. And, about that age, I reckon St. PAUL to have been, when he was made APOSTLE of the *gentiles*. If *Timothy*, therefore, was above thirty, in the year 65; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe *this epiſtle* to have been writen before that time.—Again; it is ſaid, [1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11.] "If *Timothy* come; "(that is, to *Corinth*) *let no man deſpiſe him.*" Moſt probably, St. PAUL was afraid of his being deſpiſed there, alſo, upon the account of his youth. That, therefore, is a confirmation of what hath been ſaid. For the *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians* was confeſſedly writen, a little before this time. And theſe two cautions ſeem to have riſen, from the ſame anxious concern of the APOSTLE, for his young friend, who was ſo deeply ingaged in ſo arduous a work. (2.) "The *firſt epiſtle* to *Timothy* doeth very well ſute the ſtate of the "*church* at *Epheſus*, and agreeth with the hiſtory of St. PAUL's "travels and labors; if we ſuppoſe it to have been writen, at this "time; but will not ſute the ſtate of things, in the year 65." By the ſtrain of *the epiſtle*, it appeareth, that corruptions were juſt creeping into the *church* at *Epheſus*: that "they were begining to ſwerve "from the charity, which they owed to the *gentile chriſtians*; and "were turning aſide to vane janglings; deſireing to teach the *law*, "in order to pleaſe the *jews*, and *judaizeing chriſtians*." Accordingly; *Timothy* was deſired "to tarry there, and warn them to teach "no other doctrine, than what the APOSTLE had taught. This ad-"vice, St. PAUL gave him, in hopes of returning ſhortly to *Ephe-"ſus*, and backing it with his own authority. Or, if he was pre-"vented, that *Timothy* might not want directions, how to behave in "ſuch a ſituation." When the APOSTLE came, afterwards, to *Miletus*, and had ſent for the *biſhops* of the church of *Epheſus*; he intimateth, that "the corruptions among them would yet grow worſe." [Acts xx. 29, *&c.*] And, when he wrote his *ſecond epiſtle* to *Timothy*, they were actually grown worſe. [See 2 Tim. i. 15. and ii. 17,—26. and iii. 6,—9.] But it is probable [from Rev. ii. 1, *&c.*] that they were, in a great meaſure, recovered from this corruption, in the year 96. when I ſuppoſe St. *John* wrote *the revelation*.

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Another ſtrong circumſtance, to the preſent purpoſe, is this:—It was common with the APOSTLES, not to ordain *biſhops* and *deacons*, upon the firſt planting of *a church*. But, after they had made ſome progreſſe in knowlege, and were eſtabliſhed in the faith; then the APOSTLES, or ſome of their attendents, went, and ordained the moſt knowing, prudent, and diſtinguiſhed, of the *firſt converts*, to be

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*biſhops* and *deacons*, to manage the affairs of *that church*. [See on 1 Theſſ. v. 12. and *the eſſay, annexed to* 2 *Tim.* chap. ii. iii.] Now, it doeth not appear that there were any *biſhops*, or *deacons*, at *Epheſus*, when St. PAUL left that city. For *Timothy* is told what qualifications he was to look for, in the perſons, to be ſet apart for thoſe offices; [1 Tim. iii. 1, *&c* ] and is charged to *lay hands ſuddenly on no man*. [1 Tim. v. 22.] Whereas; it is evident that there were *biſhops*, at *Epheſus*, not long after; whom St. PAUL ſent for, to *Miletus*: [Acts xx. 17; 28.] the very perſons, I ſuppoſe, whom *Timothy* had ordained. Now, that was in the concluſion of this year, 58. In the begining of which year, I ſuppoſe, the *firſt epiſtle* to *Timothy* was writen. A long time before the year 65! (3.) The dateing of *this epiſtle*, in the year 65. appeareth to have been grounded upon a mere miſtake: *that is*, becauſe St. PAUL had ſent *Timothy*, with *Eraſtus*, to *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, a little before he wrote the *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*. [Acts xix. 21, 22. 1 Cor. iv. 17.] Therefore, it is objected, "that *Timothy* could not be with the APOSTLE, "when he was leaveing *Epheſus*, nor be then deſired to tarry behind "him." To which I anſwer. It is plane, [from 1 Cor. xvi. 8; 10, 11.] that St. PAUL expected *Timothy* to return to him, at *Epheſus*. And St. LUKE's ſilence, about his return, is no ſufficient objection againſt it: becauſe, for the ſake of brevity, he hath paſſed over many things of the like nature. Nor doeth it appear that *Timothy*'s return was impoſſible. On the contrary: the ſtate of things render it highly probable that he did return. For, it is generally agreed, that St. PAUL wrote the *firſt epiſtle* to *Timothy*, as he went, from *Epheſus*, to *Macedonia*. And, indeed; what is ſaid, 1 Tim. i. 3. ſeemeth to be a ſufficient confirmation of that. Now, two ſuch journeys, are all that are contended for. The firſt is undeniable; [from Acts xx. 1, *&c.* 1 Cor. xvi. 5. 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] *that is*, in the begining of this year, 58. For the latter, there are onely conjectures; namely, becauſe he had told the *Philippians*, and ſome of the *Coloſſians*, that he deſigned them a viſit, after he was ſet at liberty, from that, his firſt, confinement, at *Rome*; [Phil. i. 23,—26. and ii. 24. Philemon, *ver.* 22.] "therefore it is ſuppoſed that he took "ſuch a journey; and took *Epheſus* in his way, between *Coloſſe* and "*Philippi*." That he did take this rout, after he had got his liberty, is a mere conjecture. But, that he took *Epheſus* in his way, is utterly improbable. For he had never promiſed to return again to *Epheſus*. On the contrary; he planely and expreſly *propheſied*, and declared, that "he knew the *biſhops* of *Epheſus* would ſee his face no "more."

" more." [Acts xx. 25.] And, if the firſt be the onely journey; and *this epiſtle* was writen in, or ſoon after, that journey; the date is fixed, at the time, for which we are now contending. *Eſtius*, *Baronius*, and Dr. *Lightfoot*, do all date it about this time. And Dr. *Hammond*, not onely dates it at this time; but intimates, that *Troas* was, moſt probably, the place, where the APOSTLE wrote it. But the noble author of *Miſcellanea Sacra*, has carried the thought farther, in his poſtſcript to the præface. Which is well worth the peruſeal. —What arguments are here added, to confirm that account, may be eaſily ſeen, by compareing this hiſtory with that poſtſcript.

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The *Coptic verſion*, indeed, has theſe words, at the concluſion of this epiſtle, Διὰ Τίτου, μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, intimateing, that " St. PAUL " ſent *this epiſtle*, *by Titus*, *his own convert*." [*Vid. Mill. in* 1 *Tim. vi. ad fin.*] If that be an authentic tradition, *this epiſtle* was writen, not from *Troas*, but from *Macedonia*. Or, if the APOSTLE wrote it, at *Troas*; he muſt have carried it into *Macedonia*, and have ſent it, from thence, to *Epheſus*. For *Titus* did not come to *Troas*, as St. PAUL expected; but met him in *Macedonia*. [2 Cor. ii. 12, &c. and vii. 5, 6.] But, if that reading of the *Coptic verſion* be onely an ingenious conjecture, (and that is all, which it appeareth to be,) no argument can be drawn from it. However; I am more concerned about fixing *the time*, than *the place*. And the *Coptic verſion* rather confirms what has been ſaid upon that head. I reckon that this was writen the fifth of St. PAUL's *epiſtles*. But, by whom it was ſent, doeth not now appear; unleſſe we may depend upon the reading, that has juſt been produced, from the *Coptic verſion*. Which, I apprehend, one cannot rationally do.

" ST. PAUL begins with aſſerting his *apoſtolic character*; which the *judaizers* had, very probably, called in queſtion; and directs the *epiſtle* " to *Timothy*, his own convert; wiſhing him all happineſſe. And then, he " enters upon the grand deſign of the *epiſtle*; acquainting *Timothy*, that, " when he ſet out for *Macedonia*, he left him at *Epheſus*, to oppoſe the " *judaizeing chriſtians*; to warn them to keep cloſe to the *true*, *apoſtolic*, " *doctrine*; and to lay no ſtreſſe upon fables and endleſſe genealogies; but, " to exerciſe *love*, eſpecially towards the *gentile converts*. For ſuch, as " turned aſide from the ſincerity and love, required by the *goſpel*, that " they might impoſe the *law of Moſes* upon the *gentile chriſtians*, did not " duely conſider what they did, nor what was the grand deſign of *the law*. " *A law* is made to reſtrain, and condemn, (not the good, but) the wicked. And the *goſpel* condemneth all manner of wickedneſſe. Of this

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" moſt excellent *diſpenſation*, St. PAUL had been made an APOSTLE " even after he had been an enemy, and a perſecutor. Which he could " not think of, without tranſport, and the warmeſt gratitude! And " from GOD's ſuperabundant mercy to himſelf, he inviteth all ſiners to re- " pent; as haveing now no reaſon to doubt of mercy, and acceptance. " And then he breaketh out again, in praiſe, to the great GOD, the king of " the ſeveral diſpenſations; as aſtoniſhed at the wiſdom and goodneſſe, " which ſhone through them all. In this rapturous ſtrain, he letteth *Ti-* " *mothy* know, that he committed this work to him; remembering, " that he had been pointed out, by *prophecie*, as one, who would be fit for " ſuch ſervice. And he doubted not, but *Timothy* would preſerve the pu- " rity of the *chriſtian faith*, and a good conſcience; though ſome of the " *judaizeing chriſtians* had preſerved neither. And two of them, in parti- " cular; namely, *Alexander* and *Hymenæus*, had acted ſo wickedly and ma- " liciouſly, as to occaſion the delivering them over to *ſatan*; to torment " their bodies, that they might be reduced to repentence, for their wilful " miſrepreſentations of the *true*, *chriſtian doctrine*.

*Ch.* II.

" The *jews*, and *judaizeing chriſtians*, confined their charity very much " to their own ſect, or nation; and would not pray for the *uncircumciſed* " *gentiles*. They were, likewiſe, apt to deſpiſe the *princes* of other nati- " ons, and did not pay a proper deference to them. In oppoſition to their " ſeditious, and uncharitable temper, the APOSTLE ordered that *chriſtians* " ſhould pray for all men; for governors, or ſubjects; *jews*, or *gentiles*. " For GOD himſelf would have all men to be ſaved; and (as the moſt ex- " cellent mean to that end) to imbrace *true chriſtianity*. Why, then, " ſhould men confine their charity to a few? There is one and the ſame " GOD, and one and the ſame mediator, for all mankind: which *mediator* " died, as a ranſom for all. From him, St. PAUL had his commiſſion, as " APOSTLE of the *gentiles*. And, therefore, his injunctions came with au- " thority. By *that authority*, he farther ordered, that the *men* ſhould of- " fer up their public prayers; and that in any place, as well as in the *jew-* " *iſh ſynagogue*, or *temple*: intimateing, that, in every place, they would " be accepted, if they prayed with holineſſe and charity. That the *women* " ſhould wear decent and modeſt apparel, and not delight too much in a " rich, or gay, dreſſe: but, that their glory, and chief ornament, ought " to be their good works. That the *women* ſhould learn, and never teach, " in the *church*: (that is, unleſſe when they were under *immediate inſpira-* " *tion*.) And, that they ſhould always be in ſubjection; as the *woman* " was created for the *man*, and helped to ſeduce him. Notwithſtanding " which, the ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's head. And the " ſex, which introduced death, ſhall introduce life. For, by procreation " of children, and eſpecially of that remarkable child, the *meſſiah*, they " themſelves, as well as the other ſex, ſhall be ſaved: provided they con- " tinue in the true faith, in chriſtian love, and in holineſſe; and behave in " a prudent, diſcreet, manner.

" It

" It doeth not appear that the APOSTLE himſelf, dureing his long ſtay at *Epheſus*, had appointed any to be *biſhops*, or *deacons*. But he left *Timothy* to do this, as well as other things. And he now ordered, that ſuch, as were admitted to be *biſhops*, ſhould be men of prudence and piety: capable of teaching, and governing, *the church*; and that would behave ſo, as to recommend *chriſtianity*: not *novices*, but perſons of ſome ſtanding in the *chriſtian church*; leſt they ſhould grow proud and inſolent. As to the *deacons*; they, alſo, were to be men of virtue, prudence, and integrity. And, that he might chooſe ſuch; the APOSTLE ordered, that they ſhould firſt be approved, as *private chriſtians*. The *deaconneſſes* were, likewiſe, to behave well; leſt their wickedneſſe, or folly, ſhould be a reflection upon the *chriſtian religion*. If the deacons behaved well, in private life, as well as in their public ſtations; he aſſureth them, the *office* was not contemptible. Theſe directions the APOSTLE gave; that, if he ſhould not return to *Epheſus*, ſhortly, as he then expected, *Timothy* might know how to behave. For (the ſcheme of the *goſpel-doctrine*) the myſtery of godlineſſe was great; and the myſtery of iniquity was begining to work. And he ſeemeth to point out the *judaizers*, as the perſons, who made way for the grand *apoſtaſie*; though that *apoſtaſie* would not come to it's height, 'till the latter times. Such pretences to *angelical purity*, and ſuch diſtinctions of meats, are of no account; in compariſon of true godlineſſe, and that ſubſtantial virtue, to which GOD hath annexed a bleſſing, both in this, and a future, life: that GOD, who is the ſavior of all men; whether *jews*, or *gentiles*; if they believe, and obey, the *goſpel*. Theſe things *Timothy* was to teach; and to behave ſo, as that no man might deſpiſe his youth. On the contrary; he was to be an example, to the *chriſtians*, of every virtue. And, by private ſtudy, and public inſtructions, he was to improve his *ſpiritual gifts*; and recommend the *doctrine*, which he had imbraced. His prudence was, particularly, to appear, in his intreating aged perſons, in a filial and modeſt manner, to comply with what was their duty: and, in his dealing with younger perſons, with familiarity and affection; but, without levity, or any indecency. Such *poor widows*, as had children, or grand-children, were to be maintained by them. For ſuch, as were able, were not to burthen the *church* with their indigent relations. But ſuch *widows*, as were intirely deſolate, and pious, were to be maintained, by the *chriſtian church*; and to miniſter to it, as *deaconneſſes*, in any offices, where they could be of ſervice. To prevent ſcandal, they were not to be taken into that office, under ſixty years of age; and then they were not to be admitted, unleſſe they had lived piouſly, and behaved prudently, in the former part of their life, and in a more private character. The *younger widows* would be more able to maintain themſelves; and, if taken into the number of ſuch, as were reſtrained from marrying among the *chriſtians*, they would be under a temptation of marrying to ſuch as were not *chriſtians*, and of throwing off *chriſtianity* itſelf. They were, therefore, to marry; that they might

*Written from Troas, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.*

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VI.

Acts xx. 1.

*Chap.* III.

*Chap.* V.

" bear,

*Writen from* Troas, An. Chr. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VI. Acts xx. 1.

" bear, and piouſly educate, children; and ſo behave, as that *chriſtianity*
" might not ſuffer. For ſome had (probably, by ſuch reſtraints) been
" made to forſake the *chriſtians*. The elders, who præſided well, and alſo
" taught *chriſtianity*, were (*like the firſt borne*) to have a double portion.
" For it is a moſt reaſonable thing, that the laborer ſhould have his re-
" ward. The character of the *elders* was of great importance. And,
" therefore, *Timothy* was not to incourage idle reports againſt them; nor
" to hear any accuſation of them, unleſſe it could be atteſted by two or
" three credible witneſſes. But ſuch, as were convicted, were to be re-
" proved publicly; to deter others from offending. In ordaining *biſhops*
" and *deacons*, *Timothy* was warned not to procede raſhly; and told, that
" ſome caſes are plane, and others more involved. And, therefore, men's
" characters were to be carefully conſidered; before he laid his hands
" upon, and ordained, the good; or reproved, and rejected, the bad.

*Ch.* VI.

" The *ſlaves*, who were converted to *chriſtianity*, were to continue faithful-
" ly to ſerve their infidel-maſters. Or, if their maſters were *chriſtian bre-*
" *thren*, they were not to deſpiſe them; as if *chriſtianity* made any altera-
" tion in temporal affairs, or raiſed ſlaves to an equality with their maſ-
" ters. If the *judaizers*, or any other perſons, taught otherwiſe; they
" did not regard the *true chriſtian doctrine*; but loved contention: and,
" from a covetous temper, fell in with the præjudices of their hearers.
" Whereas; a good conſcience, and a contented mind, are preferable to
" all the injoyments of this world. But, covetouſneſſe will, in the end,
" ruine falſe teachers. Do you, therefore, O *Timothy*, (ſais he) avoid
" ſuch arts; and act with the ſincerity, candor, and faithfulneſſe, which
" you have hitherto manifeſted. So will you approve yourſelf to your
" judge, at his comeing. Such *chriſtians*, as were poſſeſſed of riches, were
" to be put in mind of their obligations to be generous and beneficent;
" that their riches might turn to the beſt account, and they themſelves at
" laſt obtain the inheritance of eternal life. And, finally, as full of the
" grand ſubject of *the epiſtle*, the APOSTLE leaveth *Timothy*, with a caution
" againſt the *judaizeing chriſtians*; chargeing him to mind his directions,
" and to avoid their idle dreams. And then he concludeth, as uſual;
" THE FAVOR OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU. *Amen!*"

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. VII.

*St.* PAUL *goeth from* Troas, *to* Macedonia, *to meet with* Titus. *From thence he and* Titus *go to* Greece. *He now wrote his* ſecond epiſtle *to the* Corinthians. *Acts* XX. 2.

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.

WHILE St. PAUL was at *Troas*, a door was opened unto him of the LORD; *that is*, he had a proſpect of ſucceſſe, in preaching the *goſpel*, and of makeing ſeveral converts to *chriſtianity* there. But, becauſe *Titus* came not, as he expected, to give him an account of the ſtate of the *churches* in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; and, particularly, how the *church* of *Corinth* ſtood affected; and what reception his *former letter* had met with, among them: Miſſing, I ſay, of *Titus*, he had no reſt in his ſpirit. And, therefore, he did not ſtay long, to preach the *goſpel*, in that city; but took his leave of the few converts, whom he had already brought over to *chriſtianity*. And then he ſet out, for *Macedonia*; as thinking that *Titus* might, probably, be gone thither, in queſt of him. [2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] For, before he left *Epheſus*, he had talked of going to *Macedonia*. [1 Cor. xvi. 5,—8. Acts xx. 1.] But, when he came to *Macedonia*, and could hear nothing of *Titus*, he was ſtill more uneaſie; being afflicted on every ſide; his enemies tormenting him without, and his fears within. But that gracious GOD, who comforteth the dejected, did at laſt comfort him, by the arriveal of *Titus*. For he was not onely revived, at the ſight of his friend, and fellow-laborer in the *goſpel*; but much more, with the account, which he brought him. For he could tell him of the floriſhing ſtate of *chriſtianity* in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; and what good effects *his letter* had had, among the *Corinthians*; who had (moſt of them) repented of their patronizeing the inceſtuous perſon, and of their other irregularities: and, particularly, that they remembered him, [their APOSTLE, and *father in the goſpel*,] with affection, and would again be ſubject to his orders, and no longer hearken to the deluſions of the *falſe apoſtle*. This made him excedeing glad. For the ſucceſſe of the *true chriſtian doctrine* was all his glory, and his joy. [2 Cor. vii. 5, *&c.*] Haveing received liberal contributions, from the *gentile chriſtians*, in *Macedonia*, for

An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.

the uſe of the *poor chriſtians*, in *Judæa*; [2 Cor. viii. 1,—5.] and, haveing comforted the *Macedonians*, under all their dark proſpects, and exhorted them to virtue, patience, and perſeverance;—St. PAUL, and his company, departed into *Greece*. This is the ſecond time that this induſtrious APOSTLE might ſay, "he had, by a miracu- "lous and divine power, preached the *goſpel* of CHRIST; even "from *Jeruſalem*, round about unto *Illyricum*:" [Rom. xv. 19.] For *Macedonia* bordered upon *Illyricum*; the *Scardican mountains*, and the river *Drilo*, being the boundaries between them.

In *Macedonia*, St. PAUL wrote *the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians*. [2 Cor. viii. 1,—14. and ix. 2.] Before the APOSTLE himſelf would go, in perſon, to *Corinth*, he ſent *Titus* back, and ſeveral perſons along with him. One of whom, I ſuppoſe, to have been St. LUKE; who was greatly eſteemed and praiſed, through all the *chriſtian churches*, for his zele and diligence in *ſpreading the goſpel*; and who was choſen, by the *churches*, to go along with the APOSTLE, as one of their meſſengers, to carry that great charity to *Jeruſalem*. [2 Cor. viii. 6; 16; 18, 19.] There was, alſo, another perſon, whoſe fidelity and diligence, the APOSTLE ſaith, he had experienced, in many things; and that he was peculiarly active about this affair, from the good opinion, which he had conceived of the *Corinthians*, ſince the APOSTLE had wrote his *firſt letter* to them. [2 Cor. viii. 22.] I ſhould have thought that this was *Timothy*, had he not joined, with the APOSTLE, in writeing the *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*. For it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he ſhould join in writeing a *letter*, of which he himſelf was appointed one of the *meſſengers*, to deliver it to the *Corinthians*. I, therefore, conjecture that it might be *Silas*. The deſign of ſending theſe meſſengers, was, partly that they might carry along with them the *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*; but, chiefly, to haſten and finiſh the collection, among the *chriſtians* at *Corinth*, for the uſe of the poor *chriſtians* in *Judæa*. For St. PAUL had often boaſted, in *Macedonia*, of the generous propoſeals of the *chriſtians* in *Achaia*; and, thereby, incited the *Macedonians* to greater liberality: And, if the *churches* of *Achaia*, (among which, that of *Corinth* was the chief) had not been ready, when the *Macedonians* came thither, along with the APOSTLE; both the *Corinthians* and he would have had reaſon to have been aſhamed; *they*, for their former generous propoſeals; and *he*, for commending them, ſo much; and animateing others, by their example. [2 Cor. viii. 6. and ix. 1,—5.] When St. PAUL ſent theſe meſſengers; and, by them, his *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*; he

he intended to follow them, to *Corinth*, in a little time. And, as we ſhall hereafter find, he actually did ſo.

" ST. PAUL had wrote his *firſt epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, to try what au- *Written from*
" thority he had, in *that church*. [2 Cor. ii. 9.] There was, then, a Macedo-
" great *faction* againſt him; which he was attempting to break. And he nia,
" was in pain, 'till he found what ſucceſſe he had. But, *Titus* haveing al- An. Chri.
" ready brought him an account of the good effects of his *former letter*, 58.
" and that many had forſaken the *judaizer*, who had made the diſturbance; Nero. 4.
" the APOSTLE, in *this letter*, ſpeaketh of himſelf more freely; and dealeth Book III.
" more ſharply and roundly with his oppoſers, than he had done, in his *for-* Ch. VII.
" *mer epiſtle*. And it will be obvious, as we go through *the epiſtle*, that Sect. VII.
" the main buſineſſe of it, was, to take the people intirely off from the Acts xx.
" *falſe apoſtle*; and wholly to put an end to the *faction*, and diſorders, 2.
" which he had cauſed, in the *chriſtian church*, at *Corinth*. As his autho- *Ch.* I.
" rity was ſtill partly oppoſed; he begins again, PAUL, *an* APOSTLE *of*
" JESUS CHRIST, *by the will of* GOD, &c. And he wrote, in his own name,
" and in the name of his beloved *Timothy*; who, haveing ſettled affairs at
" *Epheſus*, came from thence, and met the APOSTLE in *Macedonia*, in or-
" der to go along with him to *Jeruſalem*. For the APOSTLE had deſigned
" to have gone directly from *Corinth* to *Jeruſalem*. [2 Cor. i. 16.] And,
" after his uſual *introduction*, in which he wiſhes them all manner of bleſſing,
" from GOD, and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he begins, with vindicate-
" ing his own ſincerity;—allegeing the many, and great ſufferings, which
" he had undergone; and takeing notice of the anxiety he was under, for
" them, when he heard of their being ſeduced; and the joy of his mind,
" to find them penitent; as proofs of his ſincerity, and of his great affec-
" tion for them. And aſſureth them, that his not going, in perſon, a-
" mong them, a ſecond time, was not out of fear, or levity of mind, as
" his enemies might perhaps ſuggeſt; but that he, and his companions,
" were ſteddy and uniform, in their doctrine and practice. And, that the
" reaſon, why he had hitherto refrained comeing among them, was out of
" tenderneſſe and compaſſion for them; to give them an opportunity to re-
" pent; and to take away all occaſion of ſeverity towards them. That,
" for the very ſame reaſon, he had wrote, to them, with a troubled heart; *Ch.* II.
" as takeing no pleaſure in grieveing them, but as deſireing to reclaim them;
" that he might have comfort from them. He was now ſatisfied of the
" ſincerity of the inceſtuous perſon's repentence. And, therefore, he re-
" commendeth it to them, to take off the *church-cenſure*, and to comfort
" the penitent; leſt his ſorrow ſhould overwhelm him. And he letteth
" them know, that, along with their forgiveing him, he alſo, in the per-
" ſon of CHRIST, would forgive him. He points out his affection for
" them, in the anxiety, which he had, when he did not meet with *Titus*,
" at *Troas*, nor at his firſt comeing into *Macedonia*. But he thanketh GOD,

*Writen from* Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.

" for the good news, which he received at laſt; and (that, as he was the ſa-
" vor of life, or death, where-ever he came) he rejoiceth that he was to
" them the ſavor of life. In the next place, he proceedeth to cenſure the
" *falſe apoſtle*; by compareing his own conduct with that wicked perſon's.
" He did not make a gain of the *goſpel*; nor ſophiſticate it, to pleaſe men;
" nor commend himſelf; nor procure *commendatory epiſtles* to the *Corinthi-*
" *ans*, or from them. Though the *falſe apoſtle* had done all theſe things.
" The *chriſtian doctrine*, writen in the hearts, and manifeſted in the holy
" lives, of the *chriſtians*, at *Corinth*, was St. PAUL's *commendatory epiſtle*;
" which all their neighbors could read: an *epiſtle*, ſuperior to that brought,
" to them, by the *falſe apoſtle*; and even ſuperior to the *two tables of ſtone*,
" on which GOD wrote the *ten commandments*; and which he delivered to
" *Moſes*, as a teſtimony unto *Iſrael*. Not that St. PAUL could, of himſelf,
" have either diſcovered the *goſpel-doctrine*, or ſpread it ſo ſucceſsfully in
" the world. But he had *extraordinary illumination*, and *miraculous powers*.
" And they were given him, not to ſpread the *law of Moſes*, (which con-
" demned offenders, without mercy;) but the *goſpel* of CHRIST, (which
" offereth life to the penitent.) The *law of Moſes*, though it carried ſuch
" terror in it, was glorious. But the *goſpel* is much more glorious; as ex-
" hibiting ſo much mercy; and as atteſted by greater *ſpiritual gifts*, and
" *miraculous powers*. The *law* was aboliſhed; the *goſpel* is to indure 'till the
" final conſummation of all things. The *law* was obſcure, and ſhadowy;
" ſo that the *jews*, who rejected *chriſtianity*, underſtood it not. The *goſpel*
" is plane truth. And, therefore, ſhould not have been veiled, and ob-
" ſcured; as it was, by the *falſe apoſtle*. However; St. PAUL preached
*Ch.* IV. " it, in a clear manner, and without any veil. And (as he was extraordi-
" narily aſſiſted) he proceeded, without flagging in his work; renounceing
" all tricks, and diſhoneſt craft, in preaching the *goſpel*; and laying it be-
" fore the world, with ſuch clearneſſe and evidence, that it could not be
" hid to any, but ſuch as were reſolved to continue in wickedneſſe. For
" he did not preach it, with a view to ſet up himſelf, but to advance *true*
" *chriſtianity*. And, though his perſon was mean, and infirm; yet it was
" the more evident, that a *divine power* reſided upon him. A *power*, which
" ſupported him under the greateſt diſtreſſe and perſecution; and made him
" willing, either to live, or die, ſo as might beſt promote the ſpreading of
" the *goſpel!* A *power*, ſo mighty, as to raiſe CHRIST from the dead; and,
" therefore, fully able to ſupport him here, and make him happy for ever.
" And, to that eternal ſtate of happineſſe, he had the principal regard;
" or elſe he could never have done, and ſuffered, as he did. But he knew,
*Ch.* V. " that, after the droping of his terreſtrial body, he ſhould have a cœleſtial
" one ſuperinduced. For which he moſt earneſtly longed; as ſatisfied that
" that would, finally, be his portion. With that proſpect, therefore, he
" made it his conſtant care to approve himſelf to CHRIST; as remember-
" ing, that he ſhould ſtand before his tribunal, and receive according to
" what he had done in this life. And, knowing the terrible puniſhments,
" which then will fall upon the wicked; he perſuaded others alſo to præ-

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" pare for that day. However; as that day was at a diſtance; he inti- *Written from Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2. Ch. VI.*
" mateth, that he could appeal, at preſent, to the conſciences of the *Co*
" *rinthians*; who could not but approve of his ſincere behavior. Though
" he did not mention it, out of vane-glory; but to put ſomething in their
" mouths, whereby to vindicate him, againſt the aſperſions of his enemies.
" The extenſive love, which CHRIST had manifeſted, conſtrained him to
" ſtand up, as he did, for the *gentile converts*. For CHRIST died for all;
" as the world, in general, was immerſed in ignorance and wicked-
" neſſe. And he died (as he alſo lived) that men might forſake their
" ſins, and live piouſly and virtuouſly. As, therefore, CHRIST died for all;
" *gentiles*, as well as *jews*; St. PAUL no longer diſtinguiſhed a JEW from a
" GENTILE, with reſpect to the privileges of *chriſtianity*. What, though
" CHRIST had been *circumciſed*, and was of *jewiſh extraction*; that diſtinc-
" on, of *circumciſed* and *uncircumciſed*, *jews* or *gentiles*, had no place in the
" *chriſtian church*. But, if a *jew* had imbraced *chriſtianity*; he was (like a
" *proſelyte* from the *heathens*, to the *jewiſh religion*) *created*, and *borne again*.
" This was the appointment of GOD; who had alſo reconciled the *gentiles*
" to himſelf, or taken them into the *chriſtian church*; and had committed
" this miniſtry of reconciliation to St. PAUL; who earneſtly intreated the
" *chriſtians* at *Corinth*, in the name, and as the ambaſſador, of CHRIST,
" to be reconciled unto GOD, and retain the *pure chriſtian doctrine*. For that
" was the way to final acceptance with GOD, through JESUS CHRIST. As
" he was the *ambaſſador* of CHRIST, he begged of them to regard him;
" and not to receive *his goſpel* in vane. For, though he manifeſted ſo much
" zele, he took care, as much as he could, not to offend any body; but
" to approve himſelf faithful to CHRIST. Which he had indeavored to
" do, at all times, and in all places, and circumſtances; in proſperity, and
" adverſity; in thought, word, and deed; by his own natural powers,
" and by his *extraordinary gifts*; in good report, and bad report; by life,
" or by death. In the midſt of this warm and pathetic ſpeech, he ex-
" preſſeth his affection for the *Corinthians*, in a lively and ardent manner.
" And procedeth to adviſe them againſt marrying with *idolators*; leſt they *Ch.* VII.
" ſhould inſnare them; and lead them back to their *idolatry*, and other
" vices.

" The *falſe apoſtle* ſeemeth to have charged St. PAUL with *falſe doctrine*,
" and *covetous deſigns*. But there was too much ground to retort the charge
" upon the author of it. And the APOSTLE hoped that the *Corinthians*
" would acquit him, and fix it where it was proper. As for himſelf, he
" had been very uneaſie; 'till he had received, from *Titus*, an account of
" their repentence. And he was glad that his *firſt epiſtle* had affected them
" ſo much. Not that he took any pleaſure in grieveing them; but he re-
" joiced, as it had made the guilty to repent; and to throw off their re-
" gard for the *impoſtor*, who had deluded them. He could now repete his
" former glorying, in his *converts* at *Corinth*; when he conſidered what ſa-
" tisfaction *Titus* had given him; and that they were again reduced to
" obedience.

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*Writen from* Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2. *Ch.* VIII. *Ch.* IX.

" The next *paragraph*, in *this epiſtle*, is about an affair, in which St. " PAUL was deeply concerned, at this time; *that is*, the makeing a col- " lection, among the *gentile churches*, for the uſe of the *poor chriſtians*, in *Ju-* " *dæa*. And he exciteth the *Corinthians* to be liberal, upon this occaſion, " from the generous example of the *Macedonians*; who, in a time of perſe- " cution, and in narrow circumſtances, had contributed conſiderably to " that charitable deſign. And he letteth them know, that he had ſent *Ti-* " *tus* before-hand, on purpoſe that they might be ready. And he hoped that " they would abound in their liberality, upon this occaſion; as they al- " ready abounded in the *gifts* of the *ſpirit*. Not that he commanded them " to be liberal; but ſhowed them, that it was agreeable to the example of " CHRIST, who denied himſelf for the public good. And, as the *Corinthi-* " *ans* had promiſed great things, a year ago; and he had ſpoken of that, " in *Macedonia*; he hoped, they would, every way, anſwer his good opi- " nion of them. Not that he deſired them to do all, and other *churches* no- " thing; but that they ſhould give, in proportion to their ability. He " choſe to ſend *Titus*, to finiſh this affair; becauſe he had a moſt tender " concern for them. And, along with *Titus*, he ſent two more; who " were men of integrity, and had been of great ſervice in ſpreading the *goſ-* " *pel*. One of them had been nominated, by the *churches*, to take care of " that charity. And he doubted not, but they would all be acceptable per- " ſons; and that the *Corinthians* would be ſo generous, as, at the ſame " time, to ſhow their love to him; and, that he had not boaſted of them, " in other *churches*, without reaſon.—For ſome of the *Macedonians* were to " come along with him to *Corinth*. And, if they ſhould find the *Corinthians* " had not done, as they had propoſed, both the APOSTLE, and the *Corinthians*, " would be put to ſhame. It was, therefore, highly proper to ſend thoſe " meſſengers, to *Corinth*, before-hand; to finiſh that collection: and to " put them in mind, that, as they ſowed here, ſo they might expect to " reap hereafter; and, that the generoſity of the *chriſtians* at *Corinth*, would " turn to the honor of GOD, and the credit of *chriſtianity* in the world.

*Ch.* X.

" Among other things, to diſparage St. PAUL, the *falſe apoſtle* had in- " ſinuated, that, though *his letters* were well writen, and had great force " and eloquence in them; yet his bodily preſence was mean, and his ſpeech " contemptible: and that he dared not to act, or ſpeak, ſo boldly, when " he was among them; as he did, when he writ to them. To which, the " APOSTLE anſwereth, that he had *miraculous powers*; with which, if he " was preſent, he could make ſuch *profeſſed chriſtians*, as were the enemies " of *true chriſtianity*, tremble. And he intimateth, that, if the *falſe apoſtle* " did not repent, he ſhould experience this; when the *Corinthians* were re- " duced to obedience to the *true goſpel-doctrine*. And that (notwithſtanding " his mean outward appearence) he was an APOSTLE of CHRIST; what- " ever his adverſary was; and had *apoſtolic power*, to puniſh the diſobedi- " ent; which he was unwilling to make uſe of, unleſſe he was obliged to " do ſo, by the wickedneſſe of the *falſe apoſtle*. That he was the ſame man, " preſent or abſent; and propagated the ſame doctrine; whether he preach-

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" ed in perſon, or wrote *epiſtles*. For, though he did not commend him- *Writen from Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.*
" ſelf, ('till the aſperſions caſt upon him obliged him to it) as his enemy
" had done, without any juſt occaſion; nor boaſted of the fruits of other
" men's labors; but had generally choſe to plant the *goſpel*, where it had
" never been heard of; yet he was more truely praiſe-worthy, as haveing
" the divine approbation. And as the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt proof of his
" haveing the divine approbation; (after he had made an *apology* for the *Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.*
" mentioning ſuch things; as what was neceſſary to his own vindication,
" and to preſerve *them* from being deluded) he intimateth, that he had
" communicated the *ſpirit* to them; and manifeſted himſelf, by *miraculous*
" *powers*, to come behind none of the APOSTLES. That he had planely
" ſhown how extenſive *his knowlege* was; though *his ſpeech* was not ſo elo- *Ch. XI.*
" *quent*, as that of their new inſtructor. He had, indeed, preached the *goſ-*
" *pel*, *gratis*, among them. But he inſinuateth to them, if that was a fault,
" it was a fault which they might eaſily forgive. He had taken preſents,
" from other *churches*, whileſt he labored among them; and had avoided
" being burthenſome to them. But that was the ſtrongeſt evidence of his
" affection, and tender concern, for them. And he would perſiſt in this,
" that the *falſe apoſtle* might have no pretenſions to burthen them, from his
" example. That *judaizer* might pretend to what ſanctity he pleaſed, he
" was no *true* APOSTLE; any more than *ſatan* (under all his appearence of
" ſanctity) can be accounted an *angel of light*. Again; he might pretend
" to *great wiſdom*, and charge St. PAUL with *folly*. But it was eaſie to ob-
" ſerve, how unjuſt the charge was; and how much it belonged to the au-
" thor of it, who had fleeced the *Corinthians*; and had been guilty, not
" onely of folly, but of great wickedneſſe. For all the mighty pretenſions
" of the *falſe apoſtle*, St. PAUL was as much a *jew*, by birth and education,
" as he; and more the APOSTLE *of* CHRIST; as he had manifeſted, by going
" through the moſt amazeing trials and ſufferings; both by ſea and by
" land; by day and by night; from within and from without; in cities
" and deſerts; from profeſſed friends, as well as open enemies: and all
" this, becauſe of his induſtry to ſpread the *goſpel*. Nay, more; theſe
" outward afflictions were accompanied with a daily anxiety for the wel-
" fare of *all the chriſtian churches*; and a tender ſympathy and concern for
" every particular *chriſtian* in diſtreſſe.

" As his ſuffering ſo much, and for ſuch a length of time and patience, *Ch. XII.*
" was a proof of his ſincerity; the following things were moſt manifeſt evi-
" dences of his haveing that extraordinary aſſiſtence, to which he pretend-
" ed. For, fourteen years before he wrote *this epiſtle*, he had been rapt
" up into heaven; had ſeen CHRIST in perſon; and had, by him, been
" inſtructed in the ſcheme of the *chriſtian doctrine*. And (as they reproach-
" ed him with his mean bodily preſence) he ſhoweth them, that his bodily
" diſorder happened, in ſuch a way, as that he had reaſon to glory in it.
" For, leſt he ſhould be unduely elevated, through the abundance of *re-*
" *velations*, then communicated to him; that *thorn in the fleſh* was given
" him: — that malady, which afforded the *falſe apoſtle*, the meſſenger of

" *ſatan*,

*Writen from* Macedonia, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VII. Acts xx. 2.

"*ſatan*, an opportunity to buffet, or inſult, him. He had, indeed, pray-
"ed earneſtly, at firſt, that CHRIST would remove it, But he received
"this anſwer from CHRIST, that his *ſupernatural gifts*, and *miraculous pow-*
"*ers*, ſhould be ſufficient to overcome this, and all other difficulties. He,
"therefore, gloried in that his *bodily diſorder*; in as much as it made it
"more evident, that the power of CHRIST reſted upon him. His ene-
"mies had compelled him to ſay all this of himſelf, againſt his own incli-
"nation. For they had deſpiſed him, though he had given ſufficient
"proof of his being *a true* APOSTLE. He had not, indeed, claimed a
"maintenance; as, by his *apoſtolic power*, he could have done. But that
"was a proof of his *apoſtleſhip*, which he would never make uſe of, among
"them. He left that to the *falſe apoſtle*. However; he would take as
"much care of their ſouls, as if they had obliged him with the greateſt
"preſents. And, as he himſelf had taken nothing of them; he farther
"adds, that *Titus*, and ſuch as he ſent along with him, had avoided take-
"ing any thing of them: not out of want of affection for them; but out
"of kindneſſe and good will, and for the advancement of the *goſpel* a-
"mong them. He was deſigning to make them another viſit at *Corinth*;
"but he was afraid, their factions and parties were not quite over; and that
"ſome of them would ſtill grieve him, by retaining the vices, in which
"they had formerly lived. However; he giveth them fair warning, that,
*Ch.* XIII. "if he found any of them incorrigible, he would not ſpare them. As they
"wanted a proof of his haveing *a divine power*; the obſtinate and impeni-
"tent would find him able to give ſuch a proof, as they would have cauſe
"to repent. Though he begeth of GOD, that they might repent. For he
"had much rather be thought to want ſuch *a power*, than to have occa-
"ſion to exert it in ſo terrible a manner. For, if they retained the *true*
"*chriſtian doctrine*, and lived accordingly, he had no power to inflict any
"*bodily diſorders* upon them. And, therefore, he deſired, much rather,
"that they ſhould hold the truth, and live virtuouſly; than that he ſhould
"be indued with *that extraordinary power*, which the LORD JESUS had com-
"mitted to him; not for deſtruction, but for edification. For this purpoſe,
"he wrote, to give them warning, whileſt he was abſent; that, when he came,
"they might all be reformed, and prevent his makeing uſe of ſuch a ſevere
"method of correction. He concludeth, with recommending to them love
"and unity; wiſhing them all, while they followed ſuch right methods,
"the favor of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the love of GOD, and a participa-
"tion of the *holy ſpirit*. *Amen!*"

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. VIII.

*St.* PAUL *goeth, the ſecond time, to* Corinth. *There writes his* epiſtle *to the* Romans. *The occaſion, and ſubject, of that* epiſtle. *Acts* xx. 3.

FROM the other parts of *Greece*, St. PAUL, in a little time, followed *his ſecond letter*, and the *meſſengers*, to *Corinth*. This was the ſecond time, of his being, in perſon, at that city. His ſtay at *Corinth*, and in other parts of *Greece*, was now about three months. It hath been obſerved above, that he knew of the planting of a *chriſtian church* at *Rome*. Poſſibly, ſome of the *jews*, and *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*, mentioned *Acts* ii. 10. had imbraced *chriſtianity*; and, upon their return, firſt planted a *chriſtian church*, at *Rome*. But, it is not likely that they preached the *goſpel* to any *gentiles*. For St. PETER had not then received the *firſt-fruits* of the *devout gentiles* into the *chriſtian church*. However; ſome of the *chriſtians* had gone to *Rome*, and converted *gentiles* to *chriſtianity*. And St. PAUL ſeemeth to have received an account of this, when he was firſt at *Corinth*, from *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*; who were then baniſhed from *Rome*, by a *decree* of *Claudius Cæſar*. Whether *that decree* affected the *gentile chriſtians*, is not eaſie to determine. Though, if the *chriſtians*, in general, were looked upon, as a ſect of the *jews*; it muſt have affected them all. However; as *that decree* died with the *emperor*, who made it; the *chriſtians*, as well as the *jews*, could then return to *Rome*. And, accordingly, we find that ſome of St. PAUL's relations were there; who had been converted to *chriſtianity* before him: [Rom. xvi. 7.] that *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* were returned thither: [Rom. xvi. 3.] and, that a great number of St. PAUL's acquaintance were gone to that *imperial city*. [Rom. xvi. 8, *&c.*] Very probably, they had converted ſome of the *gentiles*; or increaſed the number of *gentile converts*, very conſiderably. But, by the ſtrain of the *epiſtle*, it appeareth that they were not altogether free from *judaizeing oppoſers*; though they do not ſeem to have been, as yet, ſo violent, as in ſome other *churches*.

An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3.

That St. PAUL wrote his *epiſtle* to the *Romans*, at this time, will appear, very planely, from his own words. For he ſaith, he had been makeing a collection, for the *poor chriſtians*, in *Jeruſalem*, a-

mong the *churches* of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*; and was deſigning to go to *Jeruſalem*, with it, himſelf. [Rom. xv. 25, 26.] And, that he wrote from *Corinth*, will appear, from *Rom.* xvi. 23. where he ſendeth ſalutations, from *Eraſtus*, the *chamberlain* of *Corinth*. For that was the city where *Eraſtus* lived. [2 Tim. iv. 20.] And from *Caius*, who lived at *Corinth*; [1 Cor. i. 14.] and whom St. PAUL hath called "his hoſt, and the hoſt of all the *chriſtian church* there." [Rom. xvi. 23.] And from his recommending *Phœbe* to the *chriſtian church* at *Rome*. For ſhe was *deaconneſſe* of the *church* at *Cenchræa*, the eaſtern port, or haven, of *Corinth*. [Rom. xvi. 1.]

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.

AS the *gentile chriſtians*, at *Rome*, were in ſome danger of being ſubverted, by the *judaizeing chriſtians*, he was anxious for them; and wrote *this epiſtle*, very much with a view to prevent their being led aſtray by ſuch *judaizers*. Nor were his fears groundleſſe; as the event plainly teſtified. For he found ſome violent *judaizers*, when he himſelf came, afterwards, in perſon, to *Rome*[a]. However; as he had not yet been at *Rome*: and, conſequently, no oppoſition had been made to him there; he pitched upon *a medium*, in his *introduction* to *this epiſtle*; neither aſſerting his *apoſtolic power* and *authority*, in ſo high a tone, as in ſome other *epiſtles*; nor yet wholly omitting the mention of it: "PAUL, the ſervant of JESUS "CHRIST, called to be an APOSTLE, ſeparated unto the *goſpel* of GOD." And, through the whole *epiſtle*, it may eaſily be obſerved, that he ſpeaks in a more mild and condeſcending manner, than he generally doeth, in *thoſe epiſtles*, which were writen to the *churches* of his own planting; eſpecially, if there had been any *apoſtaſie* from him, and his *doctrine*. Then he puts on the air and tone of *a maſter*; reproveing, rebukeing, and exhorting, with all authority. Here, he was onely under ſome apprehenſions, that the *gentile chriſtians*, at *Rome*, might, poſſibly, be led aſtray, by the *doctrine* of the *judaizers*. And, therefore, he cautions, and exhorts, them, rather in a friendly, than in an authoritative, manner; allegeing a variety of reaſons, why the *jewiſh chriſtians* ought not to impoſe ſuch things upon them; and why the *gentile converts* ought not to ſubmit to ſuch impoſitions. In the *epiſtles* to the *churches*, where he himſelf had been in perſon, he rather ſuppoſeth, than repeteth, the *general ſcheme* of the *chriſtian doctrine*. But, as he had never been at *Rome*; and, therefore, knew not what had been taught them, nor what progreſſe they had made, in *chriſtian knowlege*; he ſaith much more, about the *chriſtian doctrine* in general, that they might not continue without ſufficient inſtructions.

"After intimateing that he was commiſſioned to be an APOSTLE of the "*gentiles*, and wiſhing the *chriſtians*, at *Rome*, all manner of bleſſing, from "GOD, and the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he mentions it, to their honor, that "their *chriſtianity* was talked of throughout the *roman empire*. He then "intimateth,

[a] Phil. i. 13, &c. Writen from *Philippians* was writen from *Rome*.

" intimateth, that he had long deſired to ſee them ; and often prayed to GOD, to grant him a proſperous journey to *Rome*. For, as he was APOSTLE *of the gentiles*, he thought himſelf obliged to go to them alſo ; in order, more particularly, to eſtabliſh their faith, by communicateing to them the *gifts* of the *ſpirit*. For, none but APOSTLES could do that ; and it doeth not appear that any APOSTLE had, as yet, been at *Rome*. However ; though he had been hitherto hindered from comeing to them ; he letteth them know, that he was neither afraid, nor aſhamed, to preach the *goſpel*, even at *Rome* ; that polite and magnificent city. No ! The *goſpel* was a wiſe inſtitution, and pointed out the method of ſalvation, both to *jews* and *gentiles* ; which was by faith : ſuch a faith, as produced virtue, or holineſſe. For the *chriſtian revelation* doeth openly declare the wrath of GOD, againſt *idolatry*, and all manner of *vice* and wickedneſſe. The *heathens* might, indeed, from the viſible creation, have diſcovered the *true* GOD. But they (notwithſtanding all their boaſted knowlege) fell into the moſt groſſe and abſurd *idolatry*. Whereby they, in a great meaſure, obliterated the notions of good and evil. And, in conſequence, relapſed into the moſt enormous and vile practices. GOD juſtly turning their ſin into their puniſhment ; leaveing them to the effects of their own blind and injudicious minds. For, though they had *the light of nature*, to diſcover to them the divine rectitude ; yet they did not ſufficiently attend to the evil of ſin, nor know that death was the wages of it. However ; they were more candid than the wicked *jews*. For they did not *cenſure* ſuch as lived in the ſame vicious courſes, which they themſelves perſued. Nay ; what aggravated this fault, in the *jews*, was, their greater light, and ſuperior privileges ; which would, at the laſt, highly aggravate their condemnation. For GOD will be an impartial judge ; and will, finally, reward ſuch as perſevere in a courſe of virtue. But ſuch, as reject the truth, when propoſed with ſufficient evidence, and practiſe unrighteouſneſſe, he will puniſh ; whether they have been *jews*, or *gentiles*. The wicked *gentile* ſhall be condemned by him ; and the wicked *jew* (who, though he hath had the *law of Moſes*, hath not taken care to live according to it) ſhall not eſcape. On the contrary ; the *virtuous gentile*, who hath attended to the *law of nature*, writen upon his heart, may expect to find favor with the righteous judge ; when he, who hath valued himſelf, for being of the race of the *jews* ; and piqued himſelf mightily, for his knowlege in the *law of Moſes*, ſhall (becauſe of his wickedneſſe) find that *circumciſion* did, of itſelf, ſignifie nothing ; without an obſervation of the moral rectitude of the *law :* and, that the *uncircumciſed gentile* ; who, by his reaſon diſcovered, and in his practice obſerved, the moral rectitude of the *law*, will be regarded, of GOD, as the *true*, *ſpiritual jew* ; and rewarded, in the future ſtate, when the others ſhall be puniſhed. Upon this, the *jews* would be very ready to ask, *What advantage they had, then, above the gentiles ?* To which, the APOSTLE anſwers ; They had many, and great, advantages. The chief of which, was, that they had the *old teſtament revelation*, to præpare

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

*Chap.* I.

*Chap.* II.

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

" them for the reception of the *goſpel*; and that ſeveral had, thereupon, " been induced to imbrace *chriſtianity*; though others, through wicked " præjudices, had refuſed. However; he aſſures them, the *faithful* GOD " would fulfil his promiſe to the *ſpiritual ſeed* of *Abraham*; conſiſting of " the obedient, both among *jews* and *gentiles*; and would juſtifie them, " by his *free grace*, through faith in CHRIST JESUS. But, though it was " undoubtedly great mercy, which GOD manifeſted, by the *goſpel*, in his " readineſſe to ſave the worſt of ſiners, upon their repentence; yet it would " have been the vileſt abuſe of the divine mercy, to have ſined the more, " with a pretence of thereby magnifying the grace of GOD the more. And " they, who ſlanderouſly charged the APOSTLE, and his friends, with hold- " ing ſuch *doctrines*, would finally fall under the juſt diſpleaſure of GOD.

*Chap.* III. " The *jews* would, again, be ready to ask; *What then! are not we,* " jews, *in a better condition than the gentiles? Not at all*; the APOSTLE repli- " eth. For they had been, in proportion, as bad; conſidering that they " had ſined againſt greater light and privileges. There was a general cor- " ruption and depravation of manners among them. And the *law of Mo-* " *ſes*, which they had broken, condemned them without mercy. But he " withall telleth them, that there was a way, by which they might be juſ- " tified, reveled, in the *goſpel*. Which (though it was not by a conformi- " ty to the *law of Moſes*) was atteſted to, both by the *law* and the *prophets*; " and was to be attained, onely by a conformity to the *chriſtian revelation*. " By this method, both *jews* and *gentiles* might be juſtified, without dif- " ference or diſtinction. And there was the higheſt reaſon for all to attend " to it; becauſe of the univerſal ſpread of wickedneſſe; and of the guilt, " which they had incurred; by which they were liable to fall under the di- " vine condemation. But, if they imbraced the *goſpel*, and conformed to " it, they had the ſtrongeſt aſſureance of pardon, from GOD, through JE- " SUS CHRIST. A favor, which they had not merited; but which would " be freely beſtowed, both upon *jews* and *gentiles!* This excluded all the " boaſting of the *jews*; in the *law of Moſes*, and in their conformity to it. " For GOD was now manifeſted to be the GOD of the *gentile*, as well as of " the *jewiſh*, *chriſtians*; and to juſtifie both of them, in the ſame way; " that is, by a conformity to the *goſpel*. This was the method, whereby " the *law of Moſes* was eſtabliſhed. For the deſign of *that law*, was, to " præpare the *jews* for the *goſpel*; and the moral part of it is adopted in- " to the *chriſtian law*.

*Ch.* IV. " In the next place, he goeth back farther, even to the *patriarchal ſtate*; " and ſhoweth, that *Abraham*, in whom, as their father, the nation of the " *jews* ſo much gloried; even *he*, was not juſtified by *circumciſion*; but be- " fore he was *circumciſed*, and that, by ſuch a *faith*, as produced obedi- " ence. And, if *Abraham* was juſtified, without *circumciſion*, and the " works of the *law of Moſes*; the *gentile chriſtians* might reaſonably expect " the like merciful treatment. For they were the *true ſpiritual ſeed of A-* " *braham*, as well as the *jewiſh converts*; as long as they imitated *Abra-* " *ham*'s faith and obedience. The promiſe of the everlaſting inheritance

" was

" was made, to *Abraham* himſelf, not upon the account of his obſerving *Written from* " the *law of Moſes*; but upon the account of his faith and obedience, long Corinth, " before *the law* was given. And, by *his ſeed*, who were to inherit the bleſſ- An. Chri. " ing with him, was not meant his natural deſcendents; or they, who 58. " were under the *law of Moſes*; but they, who had like faith and holineſſe, Nero. 4. " whether *jews*, or *gentiles*. For he was to be the *great father of the faith-* " *ful:* and, *in him, all nations were to be bleſſed.* His faith appeared, in a Book III. " very particular manner, when GOD promiſed him *Iſaac*. And in that, Ch. VII. " (as well as in many other inſtances) he ſhowed it to be *a rational truſt* in Sect. VIII " the power, wiſdom, and goodneſſe, of that GOD; of whoſe being and Acts xx. " perfections he was fully convinced; and whoſe miraculous, and extraor- 3. " dinary, care and concern, he himſelf had already experienced abundant- " ly. Such was the temper of mind, which *Abraham* manifeſted. And " GOD was ſo highly pleaſed with it, as that he accounted it to him for " righteouſneſſe. And GOD's accounting ſuch *a faith* unto him, for right- " eouſneſſe, was left upon record; not onely out of reſpect to the memory " of *Abraham*, but to promote ſuch *a temper* in *chriſtians*; and to incourage " them to hope, that *their faith* will be, likewiſe, accounted to them for " righteouſneſſe, upon their believeing the *chriſtian revelation*, and conform- " ing to it.

" The *jews* had boaſted in *circumciſion*, and in haveing the *law of Moſes*. *Chap.* V. " For GOD was their GOD, and they gloried in being *his peculiar people*. " But, as the *gentile converts* were juſtified by the *goſpel* method, they had " more reaſon to boaſt and triumph. For they had hopes of the glory of " GOD. They had the honor to ſuffer for *their religion*. And were ſup- " ported, under thoſe ſufferings, by the *miraculous gifts* of the *ſpirit*; which " were the grand pledge of their being adopted, and in the divine favor. " CHRIST had died, to open the *kingdom of heaven* to them; when they " were wandering after *idolatry*, and many great vices. And, if GOD had " given his ſon, to die for them, when they were ſuch a profligate race, " that they might be admitted into *his church* and *kingdom*, here upon earth; " how much more might it be expected, that he would deliver them from " *wrath*, and make them perfectly happy, at the laſt day; now, that they " had imbraced the *true religion*, and were ready to conform thereto? An- " other ground, which the *gentile* (as well as *jewiſh*) *chriſtians* had for glo- " rying, was, that now the *true* GOD was their GOD; and they were *recon-* " *ciled* to the *true religion*. But the *unbelieveing jews* had no juſt claim to " that honor; as they refuſed to ſubmit to JESUS, whom GOD hath appoint- " ed LORD *over all*.

" The APOSTLE had already refered them, firſt to the *law of Moſes*; and " then to the *Abrahamic covenant*. But now, he goeth farther back; even " to the *fall* of *our firſt parents*; and preſenteth them with a ſhort view of " GOD's dealing with mankind, through all ages, with reference to life and " death. By one man; that is, *Adam*, ſin entered into the world; and " death by ſin. For that was the penalty annexed to the offence, of eating

" *the*

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chri 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

" *the forbiden fruit* [b]. Thereby *Adam* himſelf was reduced to his natural " ſtate of mortality. And, in conſequence, the deſcendents of that mor- " tal man became likewiſe mortal: though they had not ſined after the ſi- " militude of *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion; *that is*, though they had not eaten the " forbiden fruit; or tranſgreſſed any particular *law*, to which *death* was an- " nexed as a penalty. In the *fall*, *Adam* was the public head of mankind; " as CHRIST, the *ſecond Adam*, is, in their redemption. And the benefits " of CHRIST's *death* will be as readily extended to all, as was the conſequence " of *Adam*'s *fall*. For, as, in *Adam*, all died; ſo, in CHRIST, ſhall all " be made alive. Nay; herein the favor, received through the *ſecond A-* " *dam*, excedes the dimenſions of the damage, occaſioned by the *laſſe* of " the *firſt Adam*. For, though that one offence, of *Adam*'s eating the " forbiden fruit, reduced all mankind to a ſtate of *mortality*: the favor of " GOD, manifeſted by CHRIST, extendeth, notwithſtanding many and re- " peted offences, to juſtification of life. Again; herein the great good- " neſſe of GOD, in CHRIST, is remarkably manifeſted. For, though it was " by that one offence, of *Adam*'s gratifying his appetite, in eating the for- " biden fruit, that all came under the ſentence of death; yet it was not " without that one act of righteouſneſſe, the painful death of CHRIST, that " they were again reſtored to life. And, the *gentile chriſtians* had no oc- " caſion to ſubmit to the *law of Moſes*, in order to partake of the benefit of " the *goſpel*; as he farther ſhows, by intimateing, that the *law of Moſes* " did not deliver the *jews* from a ſtate of *death*. But, on the other hand, " by it's takeing place over that *one nation*, the offences, to which *death* was " annexed as a penalty, were increaſed among them. There was, there- " fore, much more favor manifeſted to the *jews*, by the *goſpel*, than there " had been, by the *law*; becauſe the *goſpel* made them offers of *life*, upon " their repentence; notwithſtanding the many ſins, which they had com- " mitted [c]; each of which, by the *law of Moſes*, rendered them liable to " *death*. As St. PAUL had ſaid ſo much, about the mercy of GOD abound- " ing

[b] Gen. ii. 17.

[c] I have been obliged here to inlarge, (as well as elſewhere;) becauſe an *abridge-ment* would have given no light to ſuch obſcure places. The *jews*, if they had obeyed the *law of Moſes* perfectly, would have attained to *life* thereby. [*Lev.* xviii. 5. *Matt.* xix. 17. *Rom.* vii. 10.] But, if they diſobeyed, in any inſtance, they were liable to *death*. [*Deut.* xxvii. 26. *and* xxx. 19.] They were, indeed, *mortal*, as well as other men; as they deſcended from *mortal Adam*. But, by the *law of Moſes*, (though it eventually increaſed the *ſins*, to which *death* was annexed, as a penalty) they had three advantages. (1.) It reſtrained them from *idolatry*, and ſome other *great vices*, into which their *heathen neighbors* fell. (2.) They had a trial for *life*; that is, if they had kept the *law*, (which was not *naturally*; though, perhaps, it was *morally*, impoſſible) they would have eſcaped *death*. Which, without that covenant, was unavoidable to them, as well as to the reſt of mankind. (3.) When they found themſelves under a moral incapacity of attaining to *life*, by the *law*, they were led to regard it, as a *ſevere tutor*. Which might make them long for the comeing of the *meſſiah*; by whom they were to attain to *life*, in a more eaſie and merciful manner. *Gal.* iii. 23, 24. [See Mr. *Locke*, on *Rom.* v. 20.]

" ing moſt, where *ſin* and *death* had moſt abounded; the *gentile converts* might have been in danger of makeing the ſame wrong inference; (which he had already obviated, in addreſſing himſelf to the *jews*;) namely, *Let us then continue in ſin, that grace may abound!* To which, the APOSTLE replieth, with indignation at the thought, GOD *forbid!* And then he procedes to ſhow, that their initiation into the *chriſtian church*, by *baptiſm*, obliged them to the contrary. For, as by *baptiſm* they were figuratively buried with CHRIST, they ought to die unto ſin; and, in conformity to his reſurrection, to riſe again unto holineſſe of life. And, if they thus lived up to their profeſſion, as *chriſtians*; they might expect to be actually raiſed again from the dead; and to live with CHRIST, in glory and perfect happineſſe, for ever. The ſame thought he perſueth farther, by compareing *ſin* and *righteouſneſſe* to two maſters. To ſerve the *firſt*, is to live at preſent in conſtant bondage and ſlavery: and it's wages will, in the end, be nothing but *death*. But, to ſerve the *latter*, is *peace* and *liberty*, in the preſent world; and an eternal life of perfection and happineſſe, in a future world. Which, though it is not the proper wages of our imperfect righteouſneſſe; yet it is what GOD, out of his bounty, will beſtow, upon all ſuch as believe in CHRIST, and ſincerely indeavor after righteouſneſſe.

*Written from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.*

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

Ch. VI.

He, in the next place, addreſſeth himſelf to the *jewiſh chriſtians*; and aſſureth them, that, by imbraceing *chriſtianity*, they were as intirely freed from all obligation to the *law of Moſes*, as a woman is freed from her huſband, when he is dead. But they were ſtill under obligations to live according to the *chriſtian law*. And, to ſhow the *jews* the neceſſity of leaveing the imperfect diſpenſation of the *law*, imbraceing the *goſpel*, and adhereing to it alone; St. PAUL perſonateth an unbelieveing *jew*; and pointeth out the unhappineſſe of his ſtate, under the *law of Moſes*. He, by ſining againſt *that law*, was in a ſtate of *death*. From which, he could not be delivered, but by the *grace of* GOD, manifeſted in *the goſpel*. Not that *the law* allowed of any ſin; but condemned the very deſires and inclinations, as well as the outward acts, of ſin. Nor was it the *law*, which brought *death*, upon thoſe, who were under it; but it was *ſin*, that firſt prevailed upon them to tranſgreſſe the *law*; (which, in itſelf, was holy, juſt, and good.) And then, by the *power*, which it received, from the *law*, it brought *death* upon them. Such was the very malignant nature, and pernicious influence, of *ſin!* And ſuch the wickedneſſe of the *unbelieveing jew*, (whom the APOSTLE here perſonates) that he was in a carnal ſtate, and the willing ſlave of ſin; doing what his conſcience condemned, and neglecting to do what he knew to be his duty; highly approveing, in his own mind, of the moral part of the *law of Moſes*; but, in his practice, breaking *that law*, by complying with his fleſhly appetites, and liveing in ſin and wickedneſſe. But (as he knew that the *law of Moſes* condemned every offender to *death*, without mercy,) he had reaſon to cry out, *Oh wretched man that I am! Who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* To which inquiry, the APOSTLE anſwers:

Ch. VII.

" *That*

*Written from* Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

Ch. VIII.

Ch. IX.

" *That the grace of* GOD[a], *through* JESUS CHRIST, (or imbraceing the *goſ-*
" *pel*, and liveing according to it) *would deliver him.* Though, 'till the *un-*
" *believeing jew* took that method, he would continue to obey the *luſts of*
" *the fleſh*; in contradiction to the better dictates of his own mind, which
" conſented to, and approved of, the *law of* GOD.

" Haveing already ſhown that the *gentile chriſtians*, who were not ſub-
" ject to the *law of Moſes*, were ſaved, merely by the gracious method pro-
" poſed in the *goſpel*; which required that they ſhould not indulge them-
" ſelves in ſin, but ſteddily and ſincerely indeavor after perfect obedience;
" and haveing likewiſe ſhown that the *jewiſh converts*, who had been under
" the *law of Moſes*, were ſaved, ſolely by the ſame gracious method; be-
" cauſe the *law* condemned them, for every, the leaſt, tranſgreſſion, to
" *death*, without mercy;—he now cometh to ſhow, both *jewiſh* and *gen-*
" *tile chriſtians*, that they would be free from *death* and *condemnation*, if
" they performed what *chriſtianity* required of them; *that is*, not to live
" after the *fleſh*, but after the *ſpirit*; mortifying the deeds of the body, and
" following the dictates of the ſpiritual part of their make, as guided and il-
" luminated by the *goſpel*. Otherwiſe, their profeſſion of *chriſtianity* would
" anſwer no end; but onely aggravate their condemnation. Whereas, if
" they lived pious and virtuous lives, he aſſureth them that they were the
" *ſons of* GOD; and repreſenteth their haveing the *ſpirit*, as a proof, which
" might ſatisfie them of *their adoption*; notwithſtanding their paſt *idolatry*
" and wickedneſſe. From which conſideration, he indeavoreth to arm
" them with patience under afflictions; as they had ſuch well-grounded
" hopes of a glorious reſurrection, and eternal happineſſe. The new crea-
" ture, *that is*, the chriſtian, has been made ſubject to vanity, (liable to
" frailty, and mortality,) as well as other men. But, the chriſtian hopes
" to be delivered from the bondage of corruption; and, by a reſurrection
" to complete and endleſſe happineſſe, to be brought into the glorious
" liberty of the ſons of GOD. And, not onely chriſtians, in general, ear-
" neſtly wiſh, and look, for this happy change. But, even we, [APOSTLES
" and *prophets*,] who have the firſt-fruits of the ſpirit, groan within our-
" ſelves, expecting the fruit of our adoption; *namely*, the redemption of
" our bodies. For, as many as had imbraced the call of the *goſpel*, of what
" nation, or family, ſoever; if they perſevered in obeying the truth, he
" intimateth, that GOD would never leave them, 'till he had put them in
" the full poſſeſſion of the inheritance of *eternal life*, with CHRIST, in glo-
" ry: from which nothing ſhould be able to exclude them; and to which,
" all the ſufferings of this life bear no manner of proportion.

" From what St. PAUL had obſcurely intimated already, and was farther
" going to ſay, concerning GOD's caſting off the *unbelieveing jews*, from be-
" longing to his *church* and *people*; and joining the *gentile converts* with
" the *believeing jews*, to partake equally of the privileges of the *meſſiah's*
" *kingdom*;—he foreſaw that the *jews* would be ready to ſay, that he was

" præ-

[a] This is the reading of ſome of the beſt *manuſcripts* and *verſions*. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

" præjudiced againſt *his own nation*; ſince he pretended to be the APOSTLE *Writen*
" *of the gentiles*. He, therefore, begineth this *ſection*, with a very ſolemn *from*
" declaration of his concern and affection for the nation of the *jews*; and Corinth,
" of his willingneſſe to ſuffer thoſe temporal judgements, which were An. Chri.
" comeing upon *his brethren*; if he could have thereby prevented their de- 58.
" ſtruction. But he, likewiſe, procedeth to ſhow, that whatever privile- Nero. 4.
" ges the *jews* had injoyed, above other nations; and whatever expectations Book III.
" the promiſes, made to their fore-fathers, might raiſe in them; their un- Ch. VII.
" belief, and diſobedience to the *goſpel*, would cauſe them to be rejected. Sect. VIII
" Not that the *promiſe*, concerning the *ſpiritual ſeed* of *Abraham* being nu- Acts xx.
" merous, was thereby fruſtrated. For it was never deſigned, that the 3.
" natural deſcendents of *Iſrael* ſhould be the onely perſons, who were to
" make up this choſen race. Much leſſe all the natural deſcendents of
" *Abraham* himſelf. But the *children* of the *promiſe*, as *Iſaac* was, are to
" be accounted *Abraham's ſeed*; that is, all ſuch as imitate his faith and
" obedience; whether they be, or be not, his natural deſcendents. That
" GOD's caſting off the nation of the *jews*, from being his peculiar people,
" under the *goſpel*, was according to his uſual conduct, may farther appear,
" in that all the deſcendents of *Iſaac* were not equally favored with tempo-
" ral bleſſings, or ſpiritual privileges. For, before *Eſau* and *Jacob* were
" borne, GOD had determined to beſtow the land of *Canaan*, and many ſpi-
" ritual advantages, upon the deſcendents of *Jacob*; and to put *Eſau* ſo
" much behind him, as that, though he was the *elder brother*, his poſterity
" were to ſerve thoſe of his younger brother, *Jacob*; and that his mountain
" and heritage ſhould be laid waſte; while *Jacob*'s poſterity floriſhed. His
" granting more temporal privileges to one nation, than another, is, ac-
" cording to GOD's declaration, by *Moſes*, that *he would ſhow mercy, and*
" *grant ſuch favors, as he himſelf judged moſt wiſe and proper*. For he, being
" infinite in wiſdom, is, in all caſes, the moſt competent judge. He had,
" formerly, ſuffered *Pharaoh* to go on, a long time, triumphantly, in his
" wickedneſſe. But, when that proud king *hardened* his heart, after the
" various means, which GOD had uſed to *ſoften* and ſubdue it; GOD raiſed
" him up, and puniſhed him with exemplary deſtruction; as a terror to
" mankind, to warn them againſt like wickedneſſe, and hardneſſe of heart.
" And thus might GOD juſtly caſt off the *unbelieveing jews*, from being his
" people; as they hardened their hearts, after ſo many means had been, in
" vane, tried upon them, to reduce them to ſubjection to the *goſpel* of
" CHRIST. And he might (on the other hand) take in the *believeing gen-*
" *tiles*, who had not been his people, for many ages; and grant them pe-
" culiar privileges; as he had done, formerly, to the nation of the *jews*,
" when he depreſſed the *ægyptians*. Nor doeth GOD's makeing ſuch a diſ-
" tinction, in the temporal bleſſings, which he diſtributeth among man-
" kind, afford any more ground for finding fault, or makeing objections to
" his procedeings, than the clay could have againſt the potter's moulding it
" into this, or that, veſſel. Becauſe, none are to anſwer, in judgement, for
" any privileges, but what they have injoyed, in this ſtate of trial. And

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſti 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3. *Ch.* X.

" they will receive exactly, according to their improvement, or miſim-
" provement, of them. Another thing, which might reconcile the minds
" of the *jewiſh converts* to the reception of the *gentiles*, under the *goſpel*,
" was, that it was foretold, in their *antient prophets*. As was, alſo, the
" rejection of the body of the *jewiſh nation*, for their unbelief and diſobe-
" dience. For the reaſon, why they were rejected, was, becauſe they
" would adhere to the *law of Moſes*, after the comeing of the *goſpel*. Where-
" as; ſeveral of the *gentiles* had imbraced the *goſpel*; and, by that mean,
" had entered into the right method of attaining to righteouſneſſe, and ac-
" ceptance with GOD. But St. PAUL again intimateth, that, whenever he
" ſpoke of the rejection of the body of the *jewiſh nation*, he did it with great
" anxiety of heart; and earneſtly prayed to GOD, that they might imbrace
" the *goſpel*, and be ſaved. For, they had a great zele; but it was not ac-
" cording to knowlege; as long as they ſought juſtification by the *law of*
" *Moſes*, and refuſed the method, propoſed in the *goſpel*; to which, even
" the *law* itſelf directed. For *Moſes* declared, that none could attain to
" *life*, by the *law*; unleſſe they performed exact obedience to all things
" contained in it. Whereas; the *goſpel* is clear, and explicite, in this;
" that, whoſoever believeth it with his heart, profeſſing it publicly, and
" makeing conſcience of practiſeing accordingly; (though he attain not to
" the temporal deliverance, which the *jews* expect, under the *meſſiah*;—
" yet he) ſhall attain to *life* and happineſſe; whether he be *jew*, or *gentile*.
" For the *goſpel* maketh no difference between them. And, if the *gentiles*
" were to be received into the number of the people of GOD, under the *meſ-*
" *ſiah*; it was neceſſary that St. PAUL, and others, ſhould preach to them.
" For they could not believe a *doctrine*, of which they never heard. And,
" that they ſhould be preached to, had been prædicted; as well as that all
" would not ſubmit to the clear evidences propoſed. In the next place, the
" APOSTLE intimateth, that the reception of the *gentiles*, was to provoke
*Ch.* XI. " the *jews* to jealouſie. Not that all the *jews* were rejected. For he him-
" ſelf was of that nation. And, in the days of *Elijah*, when *that prophet*
" complained, that he alone was left of the worſhipers of the *true* GOD, it
" appeared, that there were ſeven thouſand more. So, likewiſe, there
" were more *jews*, who had imbraced the *goſpel*, when St. PAUL wrote
" *this epiſtle*, than one would have thought, upon a curſory obſervation.
" And all theſe (if they perſevered) might expect juſtification, upon the
" merciful terms of the *goſpel*. Inſtead of the *jews*, who refuſed to im-
" brace the *goſpel*, and who had wilfully ſhut their eyes againſt the light,
" GOD choſe, out of the *gentiles*, ſuch as complied with the divine call;
" and they were put into the way of obtaining juſtification, and happineſſe.
" Not that the race of the *jews* will be utterly, and finally, rejected. No!
" in the mean while, upon their rejection, many of the *gentiles* are (ſais he)
" taken in. And there will come a time, when the *jews* will, again, be
" taken into the *church* of GOD; and that, as an accompliſhment of the
" *promiſes*, made unto their *fathers*: when GOD will alſo mercifully add, to
" them, the fulneſſe of the *gentiles*. The APOSTLE, then, procedeth to

" caution

" caution the *gentile converts* againſt deſpiſeing the *jewiſh chriſtians*; or a- *Written*
" buſeing the privileges, which GOD had, under the *goſpel*, granted them. *from*
" For, if they deſpiſed others, and abuſed their own privileges, they Corinth,
" muſt expect to be treated with juſtice and ſeverity. And, finally, upon An. Chri.
" ſumming up thoſe various dealings of GOD with the *jews* and *gentiles*, for 58.
" a ſucceſſion of ages; and his allowing them different bleſſings, and op- Nero. 4.
" portunities; he breaketh out, into a ſtrain of praiſe and admiration, at Book III.
" the unſearchable wiſdom and goodneſſe of GOD, who is the ſovereign diſ- Ch. VII.
" poſer of all; and whoſe methods of providence cannot all be traced, by Sect. VIII
" any finite underſtanding whatever, Acts xx. 3.

" Haveing finiſhed the *doctrinal*, or *argumentative*, *part* of the *epiſtle*, he *Ch.* XII.
" procedeth to give them ſeveral *practical directions*; particularly ſuted to
" the city of *Rome*, and to the *chriſtian church* there. In the firſt place,
" he diſſuades them from indulging bodily luſts; and exhorts them, in-
" ſtead of falling into the vices of a wicked world, to live in purity, and
" obedience to GOD. In the next place, he cautions them againſt pride, and
" inſolence; and exhorteth them, to look upon one another as members of
" the ſame body, who ought mutually to aſſiſt and ſerve one another:
" and, particularly, that ſuch of them, as had *ſpiritual gifts*, ſhould make
" uſe of them, ſo as might conduce to the general good. [For, though
" the late *converts* at *Rome* might, many of them, be deſtitute of ſuch *gifts*;
" yet the *chriſtians*, who had been baniſhed from *Rome*, by *Claudius Cæ-*
" *ſar*, and had ſeen any of the APOSTLES, in their diſperſions, were, moſt
" probably, partakers of the *ſpirit*. And ſo, likewiſe, *Aquila* and *Priſcil-*
" *la*; and ſuch of the *chriſtians*, as had gone from *Judæa*, or the neigh-
" boring countries, to *Rome*, ſince the death of *Claudius Cæſar*. And it
" ought farther to be obſerved, that, as no APOSTLE had then been at
" *Rome*; nor, perhaps, any *ſuperior prophet*; none but the *inferior gifts* of
" the *ſpirit* are here enumerated.] St. PAUL, in the next place, recom-
" mendeth mutual love to the *chriſtians*; diligence in their lawful buſineſſe;
" hope in GOD; liberality to the poor, and to ſuch as travelled about
" preaching the *goſpel*; meekneſſe and benignity toward ſuch as perſecuted
" them: to rejoice with the happy, and to mourn with the afflicted; to be
" humble and lowly; free from malice, and a ſpirit of revenge; to return
" good for evil; and to win an enemy, by kindneſſe, as moſt agreeable
" to the amiable *ſpirit* of *chriſtianity*.

" The APOSTLE acquainted the *chriſtians* at *Rome*, that *chriſtianity* alter- *Ch.* XIII.
" eth nothing in men's civil rights, or duties. Whatever they might law-
" fully injoy, or were obliged to do, before they imbraced *chriſtianity*;
" that they might ſtill injoy, or ought to do. And, therefore, they were
" to continue good ſubjects to their *governors*; not onely out of fear of
" puniſhment, but from a principle of conſcience, and out of a ſenſe of
" their duty. For the power, which *magiſtrates* have from GOD, is merely
" to do good to the community; and to puniſh none but the wicked. The
" *chriſtians*, therefore, were not onely to pay taxes chearfully; but even
" to pay reverence, fear, and love, where-ever they were due: to abſtain

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3. *Ch.* XIV.

" from *idolatry*, murther, theft, falſe witneſſe, and covetouſneſſe; and to
" do to every man, as, in like caſes, they could reaſonably deſire others to
" do to them. And this virtuous, excellent behavior, he recommend-
" ed, from the following conſiderations; *namely*, that the night of this
" imperfect, afflicted, ſtate of temptation and trial, was far ſpent; and
" the glorious day of ſalvation was at hand. They were, therefore, with-
" out delay, to put off the works of their former *heatheniſh darkneſſe*; that
" is, drunkenneſſe, laſciviouſneſſe, and ſtrife; and to do ſuch actions one-
" ly, as would bear the *light*.

" The *jewiſh chriſtians* ſtill retained a great regard to the *law of Moſes*,
" even in it's rituals; and continued to diſtinguiſh between meats clean and
" unclean, and between holy days, and common days. Nay; and this,
" their opinion, they would have impoſed upon the *gentile converts*; and
" reduced them to a ſubjection to the *ſame laws*. On the other hand; the
" *gentile converts* laughed at the *jewiſh chriſtians*; and deſpiſed them, for
" makeing ſuch diſtinctions. The APOSTLE condemneth them both: the
" *jewiſh chriſtians*, for indeavoring to impoſe ſuch things on the *gentile con-*
" *verts*, or for cenſureing thoſe who would not comply; and the *gentile chriſ-*
" *tians*, for thinking the worſe of ſuch *jewiſh converts*, as had not got over
" their ſcruples. For, if they acted from a principle of conſcience, they
" were (both of them) accepted of GOD. But mutual cenſureing and con-
" temning one another, was undoubtedly a great crime, and takeing the
" work out of CHRIST's hands; who will be *judge*, and determine right-
" eouſly, concerning every caſe. The great thing required, on both ſides,
" was not to offend, nor caſt ſtumbling-blocks in each other's way. Not
" but that the *ceremonial law* was aboliſhed; and it was lawful for the *jew-*
" *iſh chriſtians*, to eat of all ſorts of wholeſome meats, without diſtinction;
" provided they could get over their ſcruples. But, 'till then, it was more
" becomeing the *goſpel*, for the *gentile chriſtians* to abſtain from what was
" lawful, in the preſence of their *jewiſh* brethren; leſt they ſhould give oc-
" caſion, to them, to entertain hard thoughts of them; and ſo cauſe ſhy-
" neſſe and diſtance among them. Though all diſtinction of meats was ta-
" ken away, by the *goſpel*; yet peace and charity were more ſtrictly injoin-
" ed than ever. The APOSTLE acknowleged, that the *gentile chriſtian* had
" *faith*, or a right perſuaſion concerning his chriſtian liberty: and he ad-
" viſed him, by no means, to part with, or diſſemble, it; but, with re-
" ſpect to himſelf, or his own conſcience, to hold it faſt, as in the ſight of
" GOD. But he was, alſo, to conſider that ſuch, as had not that faith,
" would be condemned, if they eat of all ſorts of meats, indifferently;
*Ch.* XV. " and acted contrary to the perſuaſion of their own minds. He, farther,
" exhorts the wiſer, and more knowing, to bear with the infirmities of the
" weak and ſcrupulous; and (in imitation of the example of CHRIST) not
" to ſtudy how to pleaſe themſelves, but to promote the common good.
" Which he earneſtly prays to GOD they might all do. He acknowleges,
" to the *jewiſh chriſtians*, that CHRIST himſelf preached only to their na-
" tion. But then he, all along, deſigned that (agreeably to the *antient*

" *pro-*

" *prophecies)* the *gentiles* ſhould, in due time, be called into the *church*; and " he hoped that the *gentile* (as well as *jewiſh*) *chriſtians*, at *Rome*, would " have the pleaſure and ſatisfaction, which would naturally flow from the " conſideration of ſuch a favor; and that they would behave agreeably to " the rules of the *chriſtian inſtitution*. And, then, he maketh a ſort of an " apologie for the liberty, which he had taken, in ſaying ſo much to them. " But intimateth, withall, that CHRIST had made him APOSTLE *of the gen-* " *tiles*; which gave weight and authority to what he ſaid. Not that " he boaſted of what he had never done. For he had planted *chriſtian* " *churches*, by a *miraculous* and *ſupernatural aſſiſtence*, from *Jeruſalem*, round " about, unto *Illyricum*; and that, in places, where no *chriſtians* had been " before him, to lay any foundation. And, haveing done ſo much, in " other *churches*, he was now deſigning to go to *Rome*, in his way to *Spain*. " For it was what he had deſired to do, a long time. In the mean while, " he was to go to *Jeruſalem*, to carry a large *charitable contribution*, raiſed, " by the *churches* of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, for the uſe of the *poor chriſtians* " at *Jeruſalem*. Which was a ſort of a grateful return, for their receive- " ing the *goſpel* from thence. When this affair was finiſhed, he would " haſten to *Rome*; and, among other things, he would impart unto them, " plentifully, of the *gifts* of the *ſpirit*. In the mean time, he beged their " prayers: particularly, that he might be delivered from the *unbelieveing* " *jews*, who had often ſought his life; and that (haveing ſucceſsfully ma- " naged the preſent affairs) he might have a proſperous journey to *Rome*; " and ſee them, to his great comfort and ſatisfaction.

*Writen from Corinth, An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4.*

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII. Acts xx. 3.

" The APOSTLE recommendeth *Phœbe*, the *deaconneſſe* of the *chriſtian* " *church* at *Cenchræa*, to their kind treatment. He ſaluteth his affectionate " friends, *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*; who were now returned to *Rome*, and had " *a church in their houſe*. Which *church* the APOSTLE alſo ſaluteth. Be- " ſides many others, he ſaluteth two; that is, *Andronicus* and *Junias*; who " were his own *relations*, and who had been *chriſtians* before him; and once " impriſoned, along with him, for ſpreading the *chriſtian religion*: who " were, alſo, men highly eſteemed, by the APOSTLES of the *circumciſion*. " He, likewiſe, ſaluteth *Hermas*; who is reckoned to have been author of " *a book*, ſtill extant; which is called the *paſtor*, or *ſheepherd*. The other " perſons ſaluted, are no way famous, at this day. And, therefore, the " particular mention of them is omitted.

Ch. XVI.

" But it is fit to take notice of the expreſſe caution, which he giveth " them, againſt paying any regard to the *immoral judaizers*; who often " made diviſions in *churches*, as well as propagated *falſe doctrines*, and ſub- " verted the weak and unwary.

" He ſendeth ſalutations, from *Timothy*; from *Eraſtus*, the *chamberlain* " of the city of *Corinth*; and from ſeveral others: particularly, from " *Caius*; whom he calleth *his hoſt*, and *the hoſt* of the *whole church*. The " ſame perſon, I ſuppoſe, to whom St. JOHN wrote *his third epiſtle*. And, " after he had, as it were, concluded, with wiſhing them the favor of OUR " LORD JESUS CHRIST; he broke out again, with recommending them to

" GOD;

*Writen from* Corinth, An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4.

" GOD; who was able to guard them againſt the *judaizers*, and to preſerve " them in the *true goſpel-doctrine*, which he preached. And, in hopes that " GOD would do ſo, the APOSTLE aſcribes to him eternal glory, through " JESUS CHRIST. *Amen!*"

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. VIII Acts xx. 3.

It is probable, from *Rom.* xvi. 22. that *Silas* was the APOSTLE's *amanuenſis*, in tranſcribeing *this epiſtle*; and that he *latinized* his name, in writeing to the *Romans*. For *Silas* ſignifieth the ſame, in *hebrew*, as *Tertius* doeth in *latin*; [that is, *the third.*]

This *epiſtle* to the *Romans*, was writen juſt before the APOSTLE left *Corinth*; and was ſent, to *Rome*, by the hands of *Phœbe*, who was *deaconneſſe* of the *chriſtian church* at *Cenchræa*; the port, or haven, on the eaſt-ſide of *Corinth*.

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## CHAP. VII. SECT. IX.

### *St.* PAUL, *with the meſſengers of the churches, ſet out, from* Corinth, *to go to* Jeruſalem. *They came to* Troas; *and there the* APOSTLE *raiſed* Eutychus *from the dead.* Acts xx. 3,—12.

ST. PAUL's firſt intention was to have ſailed, from *Achaia*, directly, to ſome port in *Syria*; and ſo to have gone the higheſt way to *Jeruſalem*. But, when he underſtood that ſome of the *unbelieveing jews* had got notice of his deſign; and intended to way-lay him, and to take the money from him; and, very probably, to murther him too; he altered his purpoſe, and reſolved to return, by the way he came [a]; *namely*, through *Greece* and *Macedonia*. He had now finiſhed *the collection*; and was upon the road, with his company, to carry it to *Jeruſalem*. From the other parts of *Macedonia*, the APOSTLE went to *Philippi*. Where he had been before, and had converted *Lydia*, at the *proſeucha*; diſpoſſeſſed the *pythoneſſe*; and converted the *jaylor*, and his family. Here, St. LUKE was with him,

Ver. 3. [a] *Beza* mentions one *manuſcript*, which intimates, that this reſolution was taken, in conſequence of an *impulſe of the ſpirit*. Which reading ſeems to be confirmed, from *ver.* 22.

him, again. For he ſpeaketh of himſelf, as one of the company; which he hath not done, in any part of the *hiſtory*, ſince the APOSTLE's firſt comeing to *Philippi*. I ſuppoſe, St. LUKE had been travelling, up and down, among the *churches*, to promote *chriſtianity*, as much as he could, according to the directions of St. PAUL. And, being now appointed; very probably, by all the *churches* of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, (as the APOSTLE himſelf was) he went as one of the *meſſengers*, to carry the *collection* to *Jeruſalem*[b]. And he either came to *Philippi*, along with the APOSTLE; or met him, by appointment, there. In that *roman colony*, the APOSTLE tarried, dureing the *paſſover-week*; (ſtrengthening and eſtabliſhing the *chriſtians*, in the faith and practice of *chriſtianity*:) For he would not offend the *jews*, and *jewiſh chriſtians*, ſo much, as to travel that week; which they accounted ſo peculiarly holy. The reſt of his company were gone before, to *Troas*; where they waited for the comeing up of the APOSTLE, and of St. LUKE. They were the *meſſengers* of the ſeveral *churches* of *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; choſen, by them, to go, along with St. PAUL, with the great and charitable collection, which they had raiſed[c]. For St. PAUL would not, of himſelf, take the charge of ſo great a ſum; that he might give no ground for ſuſpecting that he imbezled any part of it, to his own private uſe: takeing care, not onely to be, but alſo to appear, honeſt, in the ſight of GOD and man[d]. The *meſſengers* of the *churches*, for this ſervice, were, *Sopater* [or *Soſipater*] of *Beræa*; or the *Beræan meſſenger*. He was a relation of St. PAUL's[e]; and, according to the reading of ſeveral *antient manuſcripts* and *verſions*, he was the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, or *Rufus*[f]; that is, very probably, the *Rufus*, [mentioned *Mark* xv. 21.] who was ſon to *Simon* the *Cyrenæan*, whom they compelled to bear the croſſe, after OUR LORD, as he went up *mount Calvary*, to his crucifixion. For, it is highly probable, that *Simon*, the *Cyrenæan*, was a *chriſtian*; whom they forced to that ungrateful ſervice; and that his ſons, *Alexander* and *Rufus*, were eminent, and well-known, in the *chriſtian church*, when St. MARK wrote *his goſpel*, and ſpoke of them; which was ſome years after this time. Of the *Theſſalonians*, there were *Ariſtarchus* and *Secundus*; and *Caius*, of *Derbe*; of whom mention has been made already; and *Timothy*. The *Epheſians*[g], or *Aſians*, were *Tychicus* and *Trophimus*. Theſe, going before, tarried for St. PAUL, and St. *Luke*, at *Troas*. *Silas* ſeemeth to have tarried in

An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IX. Acts xx. 4, &c.

[b] 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19. [c] 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4. [d] 2 Cor. viii. 19, 20, 21. *Ver.* 4. [e] Rom. xvi. 21. [f] See Dr. *Mill.*
[g] See the reading of the *Cambridge* MS. in Dr. *Mill.*

An. Chri. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. IX. Acts xx. 6, &c.

in *Greece*, to take care of the *churches* there; and, particularly, that of *Corinth*. After the *paſſover-week*, St. PAUL and St. LUKE left *Philippi*; and, ſailing down the river *Strymon*, and over part of the *Ægean ſea*, they arrived in five days, at *Troas*; where they continued ſeven days. And, upon *the firſt day of the week*, (the *day*, on which OUR LORD aroſe from the dead; and which the APOSTLES, and *primitive chriſtians*, did uſually obſerve, by aſſembling together, for *religious worſhip*; and, particularly, for celebrateing the *lord's ſupper*:—Upon *the firſt day of the week*, I ſay,) the *chriſtians*, at *Troas*, met together, to commemorate the death of CHRIST, by breaking of bread, and drinking of wine. And St. PAUL (who had come thither the *monday* before, and waited all that time, to aſſemble, with the *chriſtians*, on *their ſtated day*) did not fail to be preſent, when they met together. And, then, he diſcourſed with them, a long time, about the *chriſtian doctrine*. For, he deſigned to take his leave of the place, the next day. Being, therefore, very deſireous to confirm and eſtabliſh them; (as not knowing, whether he ſhould ever have another opportunity to ſpeak to them) though the night drew on; he continued his diſcourſe. Nay; when they had lighted the upper room, where the aſſembly was held, with ſeveral lamps, he protracted his diſcourſe 'till midnight. Among his hearers, there ſate, in an open window, a young man, named *Eutychus*. And, as the APOSTLE continued to ſpeak ſo very long, he fell into a profound ſleep. And, in his ſleep, he fell, down to the ground, from the third ſtory; and was killed with the fall. The APOSTLE, who was always ready to procede, from the moſt excellent diſcourſes, to the moſt beneficent actions, broke off his diſcourſe, upon ſo remarkeable an accident. And, going down the ſtairs, he fell upon the corpſe, and imbraced the young man; (as the prophet *Elijah* did, when he raiſed the widow of *Sarepta*'s ſon; or as *Eliſha*, upon whom reſted a double portion of the *ſpirit* of *Elijah*, did, when he raiſed the ſon of the good *Shunamite*. After the ſame manner, acted by the ſame *ſpirit*; and, very probably, in imitation of thoſe two *antient prophets*, St. PAUL ſtretched himſelf upon *Eutychus*;) beging of his friends not to grieve for him; for he ſhould preſently be reſtored to life again, as if he had onely waked out of a deep ſleep [h]. And, accordingly, the APOSTLE did, immediately, and, in a miraculous manner, raiſe him to life again. And, returning to the upper room, they carried, along with them, the young man, alive, and well. Which was no ſmall matter of joy; eſpecially to his relations. After this accident, and *miracle*,

*Ver.* 10. [h] See *Matt.* ix. 24. *John* xi. 4; 11,—14.

*miracle*, the aſſembly compoſed themſelves. And, when the APOSTLE had taken ſome refreſhment, he began again; and talked with them, about the great *doctrines of chriſtianity*, 'till the morning; and then he took his leave of *that church*.

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## CHAP. VII. SECT. X.

*The* APOSTLE, *with his company, went to* Miletus; *ſent for the* biſhops *of* Epheſus, *and made a fine oration to them.* Acts XX. 13, *to the end of that chapter.*

ST. PAUL being diſpoſed to go by land, walked a-foot to *Aſſos*, a city of *Æolis*, or *Myſia*; deſigning (perhaps) to call upon ſome of the *chriſtians*, by the way. But his company took ſhip, and ſailed to *Aſſos*; where the APOSTLE had ordered them to meet him. And, when they had taken him aboard, they ſailed, from *Aſſos*, to *Mitylene*, the chief city of the iſland *Lesbos*; famous for the birth of *Pittacus*, one of the *ſeven wiſe men* of *Greece*; *Alcyus*, the *lyric poet*; and *Sappho*, the *poeteſſe*. The next day, they came over againſt *Chios*; the iſland, which was ſo celebrated for the *Chian wine*. And, in another day, they arrived at *Samos*, an iſland in the *Icarian ſea*; famous for the birth of *Pythagoras*, and the reſidence of *Polycrates*, the tyrant. After that, they paſſed by *Trogyllium*[a]; a *promontory* of *Mycale*, a mountain in *Ionia*, upon the coaſts of the *proconſular Aſia*, over againſt *Samos*. And, after that, in one day more, they arrived at *Miletus*; a conſiderable city in the ſouthern part of *Caria*[b], of the *Ionians*: of which the old *philoſopher*, *Thales*, was a native. St. PAUL, being ſtraitened for time; becauſe he had reſolved, if poſſible, to be at *Jeruſalem*, at the approaching feaſt of *pentecoſt*; as thinking, very probably, to meet with more *chriſtians* there, at that time, to diſ-

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. X. Acts XX. 13, &c.



*Ver.* 15. [a] Several antient MSS. verſions, and fathers, leave out this ſentence. [See Dr. *Mill.*] If the *proper name* be retained, I think we ought to underſtand that they were becalmed in the ſea, over againſt that place. For *Trogyllium* was not *a town*, but *a promontory*.

[b] Herodot. l. 1. p. 91. edit. Gale.

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. X. Acts xx. 16, &c.

tribute the charity with more advantage; and, (perhaps) to worſhip, at that feaſt, in the *temple*, to take away the *obloquy* of the *jews*, and zeleous *jewiſh chriſtians*:—Being ſtraitened, I ſay, for time; he could not, conveniently, go to *Epheſus*. And, therefore, he determined upon ſailing by that city; leſt he ſhould be obliged to ſpend more time, in *Aſia*, than his circumſtances would then allow. He therefore ſent, and deſired that ſuch of the *elders* of the *church* of *Epheſus*, as were ordained to be *biſhops*, would come to him, at *Miletus*; (about fifty miles ſouth of *Epheſus*;) that he might give them ſome farther inſtructions, concerning the *goſpel-doctrine*, and their own behavior in the *chriſtian church*. Very likely, he had received ſuch an account, from *Timothy*, of the ſtate of *that church*, as rendered it highly proper, for him, to ſee, and to caution, the *biſhops* of that city, to be watchful and diligent; eſpecially againſt *falſe apoſtles*, and *judaizeing chriſtians*. When they came, the APOSTLE received them with pleaſure. And, like *the father of the gentile churches*, he addreſſed them, in the following, noble, and affectionate, ſpeech. "*My* dearly beloved *chriſtian brethren*[b]: You yourſelves "know, very well, that, from the firſt day of my comeing into the "*proconſular Aſia*, in what manner I have behaved myſelf; and "how conſtantly I have been with you, in all ſeaſons and circum-"ſtances: ſerving the LORD, in the work of the *goſpel*, with all mo-"deſty and humility; and with many tears, and great trials and diſ-"couragements; which happened to me, chiefly from the malice "and treachery of mine own countrymen, the *jews*. They have, "indeed, indefatigably labored to make me preach up the neceſſity of "*circumciſion* to the *gentile converts*. And, when I ſteddily refuſed, "they have indeavored, all they could, to diſtreſſe and hinder me. "And yet, notwithſtanding this, I have kept back no part of *chriſtian* "*knowlege*, which was expedient for you: but have faithfully laid "before you the pure, unmixed, *chriſtian doctrine*; and have taught "you, publicly, and from houſe to houſe; teſtifieing, both to the "*jews*, and to the *gentiles*, the neceſſity of turning from *idolatry*, and "all other vices, unto the *true* GOD; and of believeing in OUR LORD "JESUS CHRIST, or imbraceing *that religion*, which he firſt preach-"ed, himſelf; and, afterwards, by his APOSTLES. And now, be-"hold, I am going to *Jeruſalem*; whither the *ſpirit* directs, and "obliges, me to go. But, what will befal me there, I know not. "Onely this, the *holy ſpirit*, by the mouth of the *chriſtian prophets*, "teſtifieth, in almoſt every city, through which I paſſe; *namely*, "that

[b] *Ver.* 18. [b] See ſome of the *manuſcripts* in Dr. *Mill.*

" that bonds, and other afflictions, await for me. But no proſpect An. Chriſt. 58.
" of perſecution moves me; neither do I account my life itſelf, (the Nero. 4.
" laſt, the deareſt, comfort upon earth,) of any moment, in com- Book III.
" pariſon of finiſhing my courſe with joy, and faithfully diſchargeing Ch. VII.
" the *apoſtolic office*, committed to me, by the LORD JESUS; which Sect. X.
" is the proclaiming the glad tideings of ſalvation, to all mankind, Acts xx.
" upon their repentence, faith, and future obedience. And now, be- 23, &c.
" hold, I know very well, that none of you all, among whom I
" have travelled theſe parts, preaching *the kingdom of* GOD, ſhall ſee
" my face any more. Wherefore; I take you to record, this day,
" that I am pure from the blood of you all. If any of you finally
" periſh, you muſt acknowlege, that you have been faithfully warn-
" ed. And, therefore, the blood of your ſouls will be required at
" your own hands. For I have not ſhunned, faithfully, to declare
" unto you the whole counſel of GOD. Take care, I beſeech you,
" of your own conduct: that you may bring no diſgrace upon *chriſ-*
" *tianity*; but may be examples to others, and an honor to your
" profeſſion. And watch diligently (as I have done) over all the
" flock, over which the *holy ſpirit* hath directed us to conſtitute you
" *paſtors*, or *biſhops* [c]: feeding, with the wholeſome food of the *true*
" *goſpel-doctrine*, the *church* of the LORD JESUS CHRIST; which he
" has purchaſed with his own blood [d]. This I preſſe the more earn-
" eſtly upon you; becauſe, from what has already happened in part,
" as well as from the *ſpirit* of *prophecie*, I know, that, after I have
" left you, grieveous wolves will enter in among you; not ſpareing
" the flock, committed to your care. And, even from among your
" own ſelves, there will men ariſe, who will utter perverſe things,
" and broach pernicious errors, to draw away diſciples after them.
" Be you, therefore, the more upon your guard. And remember,



*Ver.* 28. [c] See vol. I. p. 48, — 68.

[d] See the *readings* of ſeveral *manuſcripts*, *verſions*, and *fathers*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*. Some of which read, Κυρίε, LORD; others, Κυρίε καὶ Θεε, LORD *and* GOD. Some again read Θεε, GOD; and others Χριςε, CHRIST. But it is not very material, which of them we follow. For JESUS (who purchaſed the *church* with his own blood) is, by his *father*, conſtituted, both CHRIST, and LORD, or GOD.

" There is nothing more ordinary, in the antient *greek* [MSS. or] copies, than the " interchangeing of theſe three words, Θεε, GOD; Κυρίε, LORD; Χριςε, CHRIST; " becauſe they are there writen, by way of contraction, thus, ΘΥ, ΚΥ, ΧΥ. which " gave occaſion to the tranſcribers to put one, frequently, for the other." [*F. Simon's critical hiſtory of the text of the new teſtament*, part 2. p. 152, 153.]

The beſt and moſt antient copies read this text, and the moſt antient fathers cite it, [*The church of the lord.*] *See Dr.* Clarke's *commentary upon forty ſelect texts*, *p.* 127.

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. X. Acts xx. 31, *ad fin.*

" how long I have labored, and what pains I have taken, among you;
" (too much, to be all loſt and ineffectual!) For, for about the
" ſpace of three years; reckoning from my firſt comeing to *Epheſus*,
" to this my laſt, and ſolemn, farewel; I have, (as opportunity
" ſerved) inceſſantly, night and day, admoniſhed every one of you,
" with tears, to adhere to the *true chriſtian doctrine*, and to live ho-
" ly and exemplary lives. And now, brethren, haveing labored ſo
" long among you, and warned you ſo faithfully, I commend you
" to GOD, and to his favor, reveled in the *goſpel:* which *goſpel* (if
" carefully attended to) is fully able, of itſelf, without any mixture
" or addition, to build you up, in truth and virtue; and to aſſure
" you, that, at laſt, you will obtain the inheritance of eternal life,
" among all holy and righteous perſons. To bring you into the
" way to attain that perfect happineſſe; and to ſet the miniſters
" of CHRIST an example, how they ought to behave, hath been
" my great aim, and conſtant care. For I have coveted no
" man's ſilver, or gold, or apparel." And (holding out both his hands) he added: " You yourſelves know, that theſe very hands of
" mine have often labored, to provide bread for myſelf, and for my
" companions. By my example, and by my doctrine, I have in-
" ſtructed you not to be idle; but to labor, and be diligent: that you
" may not be ſuſpected of covetouſneſſe, or want the neceſſaries of
" life; but, that you may live in credit, and may have ſomething to
" beſtow upon the ſick and indigent. And, as a perſuaſive argu-
" ment, remember that excellent ſentence, which was a favorite ſay-
" ing of OUR LORD's, and frequently in his mouth; *It is more bleſſ-*
" *ed to give, than to receive.*"

When St. PAUL had finiſhed *his ſpeech*, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all, before they parted. When he had done praying, they broke out into a flood of tears; *(as, indeed, who could have refrained!)* and fell upon the APOSTLE's neck; hanging about him, and kiſſing him, with the utmoſt concern, and in the moſt tender and affectionate manner; ſorrowing, chiefly, becauſe he had aſſured them, *that they ſhould ſee his face no more.* And they accompanied him to the ſhip. And there they ſaw their laſt of their *father in the goſpel*; who had manifeſted ſo parental a concern for them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII. SECT. XI.

*St.* PAUL, *and his company, ſailed by divers places. They came, at laſt, to* Cæſarea: *where they were entertained, at the houſe of* Philip, *the* deacon *and* evangeliſt. *From thence, they went up to* Jeruſalem. *Acts* xxi. 1,—16.

HAVEING parted with the *biſhops* of *Epheſus*, in ſo tender and reluctant a manner; the APOSTLE, and his company, ſailed with a proſperous gale to *Cous*, or *Cos*; which was famous, among the iſlands called the *Cyclades*, for the worſhip of *Æſculapius*, and the *temple* of *Juno*. There, alſo, *Hippocrates*, the prince of *phyſicians*, and *Apelles*, the celebrated *painter*, were borne. The next day, they ſailed to the iſland *Rhodes*; famous for the worſhip of the *ſun*, and the huge brazen *Coloſſus*, erected there, which was reckoned one of the *ſeven wonders of the world*. It was in the ſhape of a man, an hundred and five feet high; and was ſurrounded by an hundred of a leſſer ſort [a]. From thence, they ſailed to *Patara*, the chief city and port of *Lycia*. And, finding there a ſhip bound for *Phœnicia*, they went aboard. And, ſailing within view of the iſland *Cyprus*, they paſſed by it, on the ſouth-ſide; makeing directly for *Syria*. At laſt, they landed at *Tyre*; the *metropolis* of *Phœnicia*, and the famous *mart* of the *eaſt* [b]. For there the ſhip was to unload. Finding ſome *chriſtians* at *Tyre*, they tarried there ſeven days. And ſome of them being *prophets*; they, by an impulſe of the *ſpirit*, foreſaw the danger, to which St. PAUL would be expoſed, at *Jeruſalem*; and would, for that reaſon, have diſſuaded him from going thither. But, when GOD had ordered him to go, he was of too brave a ſpirit, to decline his duty, upon any proſpect, however threatening. At the end, therefore, of ſeven days, the APOSTLE, and his attendents, ſet out again; the

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4.

Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. XI. Acts xxi. 1, &c.

*Ver.* 1. [a] See *Sandys* his travels, p. 70, &c. 6th edit. folio. *Prideaux* his connection, &c. vol. 2. p. 94, &c.

*Ver.* 3. [b] It is now inhabited, onely by a few poor fiſhermen. Whereby *Ezek.* xxvi. 14. is remarkably accompliſhed. [See *Maundrell's travels, fourth edit. p.* 49.]

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. XI. Acts xxi. 5, &c.

the *Tyrian chriſtians*, with their wives and children, accompanying them out of the city. And they all kneeled down, and prayed together, upon the ſea-ſhore; according to a common cuſtom of the *jews*, in that age [c]. And, when they had taken leave of one another, the *Tyrians* returned home. And St. PAUL, and his company, took ſhip, and ſailed to *Ptolemais*; which was formerly called *Aco*, or *Ace* [d]. And, haveing paid their reſpects to the few *chriſtians*, whom they found at *Ptolemais*, and tarried one day with them, they ſet out again. But, as they had now finiſhed their voyage by ſea, they went, by land, to *Cæſarea*, the *metropolis* of *Palæſtine*; where *Cornelius* and his friends had been converted, by St. PETER, as the *firſt-fruits* of the *devout gentiles*. And, in that city, they took up their lodgings with *Philip*, the *evangeliſt*; who had been one of the *ſeven deacons*, appointed to take care of the large, *charitable fund*; while the *chriſtians* continued together, in ſuch numbers, at *Jeruſalem*. He was the ſecond, upon their being choſen; and, after the *martyrdom* of St. STEPHEN, the firſt of them. This *Philip* firſt converted the *ſamaritanes* to *chriſtianity*. And, after his converting the *Æthiopian eunuch*, it is very likely that he ſettled at *Cæſarea*; and lived and died there. He had now four daughters; who were *virgins*, and *propheteſſes* [e]. But *the celibacy of the clergy*, or of any *religious* perſons, was not injoined, nor thought a duty, in that truely *primitive* and *apoſtolic age*.

St. PAUL and his company tarried, for ſeveral days, at *Cæſarea*. And, in the mean time, there came down, to them, the *prophet Agabus*, from *Judæa*. It was he, who, ſome years before this, went to *Antioch* in *Syria*; and foretold, in an aſſembly of the *chriſtians*, the great famine, which had ſince happened, (as he prædicted,) over all the land of *Judæa* [f]. He now, at *Cæſarea*, propheſied, as planely and publicly, concerning St. PAUL. For, in the preſence of ſeveral of the *chriſtians*, he took up the APOSTLE's girdle. And (after a ſignificant, and very common manner, in the *eaſtern countries*, of expreſſing themſelves, by actions) he bound his own hands and feet, and ſaid; "Thus ſaith the *holy ſpirit*, ſo will the *jews* at "*Jeruſalem* bind the man, to whom this girdle belongs; and will "deliver

*Ver.* 5. [c] See the note on *Acts* xvi. 13.

*Ver.* 7. [d] It is called *Accho*, Judg. i. 31. It is now in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*; and by them called *Acca*, or *Acra*. In thoſe ridiculous wars, called *the holy wars*, this town was, for a long time, the theatre of many, fierce, and bitter, contentions between the chriſtians and the infidels. 'Till, at laſt, the infidels took it, and made it an heap of ruines, as it now is. [*See Maundrell's travels, p.* 53, *&c.*]

*Ver.* 9. [e] Acts ii. 17. *Ver.* 11. [f] Acts xi. 28.

" deliver him [*as they did his great* LORD *and maſter*,] into the hands " of the *gentiles*." Upon hearing this dreadful prophecie repeted, more expreſly, and with additional circumſtances; St. PAUL's companions joined, with the *chriſtians* of *Cæſarea*, in beging of that APOSTLE, with tears in their eyes, and with the greateſt importunity, not to go up to *Jeruſalem*. To which, he, with the bravery and ſpirit of a *martyr*, replied: " What mean you thus to weep, and al- " moſt break my heart, with the tenderneſſe and concern, which " you expreſſe for me, upon this occaſion? Do not unman me ſo. " For, (though I am anxious for the welfare of the *chriſtian church*, " in general; and for you, in particular; yet) for my own part, I " am ready, not onely to be bound, but even to die, for the ſake of " MY GREAT LORD and MASTER. And, that at *Jeruſalem*, where " he himſelf was crucified; if it ſhall pleaſe him to call me to die a " *martyr*, for *chriſtianity*, in that city." And, when they could not prevail, they importuned him no more; but ſaid; " The will of " the LORD be done."

An. Chriſt. 58. Nero. 4. Book III. Ch. VII. Sect. XI. Acts xxi. 11, &c.

Not many days after, they loaded their carriages, and went up to *Jeruſalem*. And, with them, ſeveral of the *chriſtians*, from *Cæſarea*; who brought them to the houſe of one *Mnaſon*[s], a native of the iſland *Cyprus*, that had been a *chriſtian* for a conſiderable time. Probably, he might be one of the *diſciples*, converted before OUR LORD's crucifixion. That *antient diſciple* had an houſe, at *Jeruſalem*. And to that, they repaired, for lodging. For, in thoſe days, they had not inns, and ſuch accommodations for ſtrangers and travellers, as we have now. And, at the great feſtivals, it was a difficult matter to get a convenient lodging, at *Jeruſalem*: as ſuch vaſt multitudes flocked thither, from all parts.

With his arriveal at *Jeruſalem*, at this time, ended St. PAUL's *third apoſtolic journey*.

*Ver.* 16. [s] See Sir *Norton Knatchbull* in loc.

CHAP.

# CHAP. VIII.

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 17, &c.

*St.* PAUL *is accuſed of preaching* falſe doctrine, *by the zeleous* jewiſh chriſtians, *at* Jeruſalem. *In condeſcenſion to their præjudices, he takes upon him the* nazarite's vow. *But, before he had finiſhed the days of his purification, he was ſeized by the* jews, *and impriſoned by the* roman tribune; *before whom he made an* apologie. *He was brought before the* ſanhedrim; *and afterwards ſent, under a ſtrong guard, to* Cæſarea; *to prevent his being murthered by the* jews. *There he apologized, for himſelf, and for the* chriſtian religion, *before* king Agrippa; *but was confined, in that city, for above two years. Upon appealing to* Cæſar, Feſtus *determined to ſend him to* Rome. Acts xxi. 17,—xxvi. 32.

## SECT. I.

*This is the* third *and laſt* period *of the converſion of the* idolatrous gentiles. *Wherein it was known to all the* elders *of the* chriſtian church, *at* Jeruſalem, *that the* goſpel *was preached among the* idolatrous gentiles.

*St.* PAUL, *and the* meſſengers *of the* Macedonian *and* Achaian churches, *were kindly received, at* Jeruſalem. *He informs all the* elders, *in that city, of the* converſion *of the* idolatrous gentiles. *The zeleous* jewiſh chriſtians *accuſe St.* PAUL. *He maketh all lawful condeſcenſions, in order to remove their præjudices; and, particularly, takes upon him the* nazarite's vow. *The* APOSTLE of the gentiles *vindicated, in ſo doing.* Acts xxi. 17,—26.

ST. PAUL, and his company, being arrived at *Jeruſalem*, the *chriſtians* there received them, with pleaſure. And not the leſſe ſo, becauſe of the conſiderable ſum of money, which they had brought, for the uſe of their poor. The day after their arriveal, they all went unto JAMES, the onely APOSTLE then at *Jeruſalem*. And all the *elders*,

*elders*, in that city, were likewiſe preſent. And, after the APOSTLE *of the gentiles* had ſaluted them, and paid them all proper reſpect; he then gave a particular account of what ſucceſſe GOD had given him, among the *gentiles*. They had long been acquainted with the *converſion* of the *devout gentiles*. But now it was, that they firſt took him to mean the *idolatrous gentiles*. Upon this information, therefore, they gave glory to the LORD JESUS; who had extended his mercy ſo far, beyond what they ever expected. An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 20.

I cannot here forbear obſerveing, how wiſely the providence of GOD, and the conduct of St. PAUL, concurred, a ſecond time, to bring over the *jewiſh chriſtians*, to entertain favorable ſentiments of their *gentile brethren*. For, when the *devout gentiles* were taken into the *chriſtian church*, the minds of the *jewiſh chriſtians* were a little ſoured. But, upon the *prophet Agabus* his foretelling an approaching famine, the *proſelyted gentile converts*, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, made a generous collection, for the uſe of the poor *chriſtians* in *Judæa*: Which was as likely, as any thing, to create a favorable opinion of them, among ſuch as received the benefit of it. St. PAUL was one of the perſons, by whoſe hands, that charity was ſent, from *Antioch*, to *Jeruſalem*. And, now again, when the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles* came to that city, with a very large ſum of money; which he had collected, among the *chriſtian churches*, that conſiſted chiefly of *converts* from among the *idolatrous gentiles*; and which was deſigned for the uſe of the poor, *jewiſh*, *chriſtians*, in *Jeruſalem*; he took this favorable opportunity, when their minds were ſweetened with ſuch an extraordinary kindneſſe, to acquaint *all the chriſtian elders*, there, with the *converſion* of the *idolatrous gentiles*:—that *grand diſcovery*, which he had formerly communicated, onely to JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; the three of the greateſt repute among the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*; and unto them privately, and under the ſeal of the greateſt ſecrecy; leſt the *zeleots* among the *judaizers*, at *Jeruſalem*, ſhould have got acquainted with it, and thereupon done all, they could, to fruſtrate his labors. It is very likely, that he now reckoned the *gentile chriſtians* in leſſe danger of being ſubverted. And, poſſibly, the thing itſelf could not have been eaſily concealed, much longer, from the *elders* of the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*. But, notwithſtanding St. PAUL took ſuch an agreeable occaſion, of diſcovering that grand event; yet it ſeems highly probable, to me, that it put them the more upon preſſing him, to clear himſelf of an aſperſion, which his enemies had caſt upon him, and which had ſpread, among all the *chriſtians*, in *Jeruſalem*. " You

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. III. § I. I. Acts xxi. 20, &c.

" ſee, brother, PAUL, (ſaid they) how many *myriads* of *jews* have " imbraced *chriſtianity*. And they all continue zeleous obſervers of " the *law of Moſes*. Now, ſuch a ſcandal hath been thrown upon " you; as, that you teach all the *jewiſh chriſtians*, in *gentile* coun- " tries, to apoſtatiſe from *the law* [a]; and aſſert, that they ought not " to *circumciſe* their children, nor obſerve the rites and cuſtoms [b], " which *Moſes* injoined. What, therefore, can be done, to clear " you? For the *chriſtians* of *Jeruſalem*, in general, have heard of " this charge againſt you. And they will certainly come together, " as ſoon as they underſtand that you are in the city. And your " comeing cannot be long concealed. Let us adviſe you to make uſe " of the following expedient, in order to cut off all grounds for cla- " mor and uneaſineſſe.—We have four men, who are under the *na-* " *zarite's vow* [c]. Do you take them, and be purified with them. " And, after that, let the proper offerings and ſacrifices be provided, " at your coſt; that, when the days of purification are ended, their " heads may be ſhaven, and the uſual offerings made, for all of you [d]. " And then we will inform our *brethren*, of what you have done; " in order to ſet you right in their opinion; and that they may con- " clude, that it is an aſperſion, which hath been caſt upon you. For, " as you yourſelf walk orderly, and obſerve the *rituals* of the *jewiſh* " *law*; they will hardly ſuppoſe that you would teach all *jewiſh* " *chriſtians*, in *gentile* countries, to *apoſtatiſe* from *that law*.

" As to the *chriſtian converts*, from among the *devout gentiles*, or " *proſelytes of the gate*; [For, of the *converſion* of *idolatrous gentiles*, " we never heard any thing, 'till now. But, as to the *proſelyted gen-* " *tile converts*;] you remember, that we, in a full and unanimous " aſſembly of APOSTLES, *elders*, and *brethren*, did, ſome time ago, " conclude it to be the mind and will of GOD, and that the *holy ſpi-* " *rit* had plainly ſignified, that there was no neceſſity for them to " obſerve the whole *law of Moſes*, in order to their being accepted as " *chriſtians*. And, accordingly, we wrote *a letter*; wherein we de- " clared

*Ver.* 21. [a] *The Ebionites* did, afterwards, reject all St. *Paul's epiſtles*, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου, *calling him an apoſtate from the law.* [Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. c. 27.]

[b] See Dr. *Wotton's preface*, to his firſt vol. on the *Miſna*, p. 46.

*Ver.* 23. [c] Numb. vi. 1, &c.

*Ver.* 24. [d] Joſ. de Bell. l. 2. c. 15. § 1. Zeleous perſons uſed to be at a part, or the whole charge. Though, ſometimes, the expence was conſiderable. See *Joſ. Antiq.* l. 19. c. 6. § 1. where *Joſephus* uſes the very expreſſion, [of *ſhaveing the nazarites*,] which is here made uſe of. See, alſo, *Ainſworth* on Num. vi. 18. and Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility of the goſpel hiſtory, part 1. p. 465. third edition.

"clared to them, the liberty, which they have in CHRIST JESUS. An. Christ 59. Nero. 5.
"Onely putting them in mind of their obligations, to continue to
"abſtain from theſe four things, from which the *law of Moſes* re-
"quires all *proſelytes of the gate* to abſtain; namely, *from things of-* Book III. Ch. VIII.
"*fered to idols*; *from blood*; *from what is ſtrangled*; *and from forni-* Sect. I.
"*cation*, or all manner of venereal uncleanneſſe." St. PAUL, *the* Acts xxi. 25, &c.
*great*, *the good*, (who readily became all things, to all men; and condeſcended to the præjudices and infirmities of the weakeſt *chriſtians*, as far as he could do it with a good conſcience,) ſubmitted to comply with their propoſeal. And the next day, takeing the four men, he began to purifie himſelf, along with them; entering into the *temple*, and publicly declareing, that he would obſerve the ſeparation of a *nazarite*, and continue it for ſeven days. At the end of which *days of purification*, he would bring an offering, for himſelf, and the other four, who joined with him; according to what was appointed in the *law of Moſes*.

As this part of the *ſacred hiſtory* is thought to be attended with ſome difficulties; it may be proper to ſay ſomething, either to remove, or alleviate, them. In the firſt place: I think it highly probable, from the *jewiſh chriſtians*, in general, continueing to *circumciſe* their children, and to obſerve the *ceremonies* of the *law of Moſes*; and from St. JAMES, and the *elders* at *Jeruſalem*, putting St. PAUL, upon this method of clearing himſelf, of the charge laid againſt him: —From theſe things, I ſay, it ſeems to follow, that the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion* had not, as yet, a diſtinct knowlege, or full conviction, of the freedom of the *jewiſh chriſtians*, from the *ceremonial law*. As to St. PETER's *viſion*, [Acts x. 12, &c.] I have ſaid enough already. As, likewiſe, concerning his calling *circumciſion*, and the burthenſome ſervice of the *jewiſh law*, "a *yoke*; which neither their *fathers*, nor they, were able to bear." For, however we, who have the whole *goſpel* before us, may underſtand ſuch expreſſions; the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*, ſeem to have extended them, onely to the *chriſtians*, who had been *devout gentiles*; and to have had no clear notion of the *jewiſh converts* being abſolved from the obſervation of the *law of Moſes*. For, that they ſhould account it an *intolerable yoke*, upon the neck of the *jewiſh chriſtians*; and yet never intimate that they were diſcharged from it, if they themſelves had had a clear knowlege, and full conviction, of it's being *aboliſhed*; is (I think) by no means to be ſuppoſed. The APOSTLES *of the circumciſion* were ſo far præjudiced, in favor of *the law*, and of it's duration; that, for a long time, THEY were not able to comprehend, or receive, ſuch a

An.Christ. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 26.

diſcovery. And much leſſe were the other *jewiſh chriſtians,* in *Judæa,* able to bear it. OUR LORD, therefore, who knew their integrity, bore with their præjudices; and inſtilled truth into their minds, no faſter than they could receive it. For, (not to mention how much the clear and full diſcovery of this, all at once, would have ſhocked the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion,* themſelves,) to have ſent them to the *jews,* with an open declaration, that the *ceremonial law* was aboliſhed, would have been to have croſſed the very deſign of ſending them: to have beſpoke an averſion to *their doctrine*; to have ſtoped the ears of the *jews,* and to have turned their hearts from them. It was, indeed, aboliſhed, *de jure,* from the death of CHRIST, and the erecting the *goſpel kingdom.* But GOD took this wiſe method, gradually to acquaint them with it, Inſtead of reveleing it, clearly, fully, and all at once, to the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*; he reveled it, after ſome years, to St. PAUL, *the renowned* APOSTLE *of the gentiles.* And the knowlege thereof could not fail of comeing to the other APOSTLES, and *their converts,* when it ſhould be ſeaſonable. This ſhoweth us, why thoſe *jewiſh chriſtians* continued ſo tenacious of the *ceremonial law*; and why we may find much clearer intimations of it's being *aboliſhed,* in St. PAUL's *epiſtles,* than in the *ſpeeches,* or *epiſtles,* of the other APOSTLES.

*In the ſecond place,* I would ſay ſomething to vindicate St, PAUL's *character.* For, ſome have thought him culpable, for makeing this condeſcenſion; though the *jewiſh chriſtians* would have thought him highly culpable, if he had not done ſo. *So difficult a thing is it, to pleaſe mankind!*—In order to clear up this part of the *character* of the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles,* it muſt be obſerved, that, though the *ceremonial law* was, *de jure,* aboliſhed, *by the death of* CHRIST; yet as, *de facto,* the *jewiſh chriſtians* could not, immediately, get over their præjudices, GOD in mercy bore with them. And not onely diſcovered the *aboliſhing* of the *law* gradually; but, even after that, left it *indifferent,* or *lawful,* for them, (as long as their præjudices remained) to conform to the *rites* and *cuſtoms,* which *Moſes* had delivered unto them. [See *Rom.* xiv. 5; 14; 23.] Nay, farther; it was, likewiſe, *lawful,* for ſuch *jewiſh chriſtians,* as were convinced of their own liberty, to comply, in ſome caſes, with the *ceremonial law.* For inſtance, where there was a proſpect of gaining *diſciples,* among the *jews*; or of confirming ſuch of them, in *chriſtianity,* as did already profeſſe it. Thus St. PAUL circumciſed *Timothy,* (as hath been obſerved above) to take away all offence from the *jews,* and *jewiſh chriſtians,* about *Lyſtra.* For, they all knew that

that his mother was a *jewesse*. And his condescension, in the present case, was not a mean compliance; but highly becomeing the most excellent character, and an instance of great goodness. For, what could be more so, than to abridge himself of his own liberty, for his neighbor's good? And, though he knew, and might have insisted upon, his own freedom from any such obligations; yet he would not, for fear of offending the weak and scrupulous; for whom the LORD JESUS condescended even to die. Had he, indeed, by such compliances, declared, that he still thought the *ceremonial law* in full force and obligation; that might justly have been objected to him, as criminal. But, when he evidently did it, in condescension to the præjudiced and scrupulous; it was greatly to his praise. It was a denying himself, for the good of the public; and seeking earnestly, (as OUR BLESSED LORD did) not to please himself, but his neighbors, for their benefit and edification. That this was his view, appeareth planely, from many passages in his *epistles*. [1 *Cor.* vi. 12.] "All things (all sorts of *meats*, whether *clean* or *unclean*, according "to the *law of Moses*) are lawful for me; but all are not expedient;" And, [1 *Cor.* x. 23, 24.] he repeteth the same thing; *namely*, that "all things (all sorts of wholesome food) were lawful; but all were "not expedient. And, that every *christian* ought not to seek his "own good onely; but the good of others, also." But the place, which is most expresse, and full, to this purpose; and which may serve, as a key, to all the texts and instances of this kind, is, 1 *Cor.* ix. 19,—23. where St. PAUL, speaking of his own conduct, saith, that, "though he was free from such peculiar obligations, he had "made condescensions, both to *jews* and *gentiles*, as far as it was "lawful; that he might bring over, to *christianity*, as many of them, "as he could; or confirm such, as had imbraced the *gospel*." And, surely, it is almost needlesse to observe, that the APOSTLE speaks of this his behavior, (not as unlawful, or criminal; mean, or unworthy the best and most excellent character; but) as the most excellent and praise-worthy, and what would end in a most glorious reward.

An. Christ. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 26.

I do not suppose that St. PAUL did observe the *ceremonial law*, in *gentile countries*; where there were no *jews*, nor *jewish christians*, who would have been offended at his useing his *christian liberty*. But, to such of the *jews*, and *jewish christians*, as appeared to be sincere, he made very great condescensions; that he might gain them to, or confirm them in, the *christian religion*. As to the present instance: It was at the earnest request of St. JAMES, and of the *christian elders*, at *Jerusalem*, that he now purified himself; joined with the *four jewish*

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 26.

*jewiſh converts*, who were under the *nazarite's vow*; and conſented, not onely to offer the uſual ſacrifices, when the days of their ſeparation were ended; but even to be at the whole charge of provideing the ſacrifices, and other uſual oblations. And, "why did he do this?" "Why! it is evident, he did it to avoid giveing offence to the weak, "and zeleous, *jewiſh chriſtians*, who were, as yet, ſtrict in their ob- "ſervation of the *ceremonial law*; and who would have been in dan- "ger, either of throwing off their *chriſtianity*, if St. PAUL had not "complied; or of diſowning him, and the *gentile chriſtians*, who "were his *converts*." As the charge againſt him ſtood, it was actually falſe. For, St. PAUL had not taught ALL *the jewiſh chriſtians*, in *gentile countries*, that the *ceremonial law* was aboliſhed. In ſuch of his diſcourſes, at the *jewiſh ſynagogues*, as are recorded in the ACTS *of the* APOSTLES, he doeth not appear to have ſaid any thing about it. Moſt of the *jews*, among whom he preached, could not have borne ſuch a diſcovery. And that excellent APOSTLE was too wiſe and benevolent, to beſpeak their averſion to *chriſtianity*, and fruſtrate the great deſign of his life and labors. The caſe ſeemeth to me to have ſtood thus: — Though he doeth not appear to have taught any ſuch thing, immediately and directly, to any of the *jewiſh converts*, out of *Judæa*; yet, in ſome of his *epiſtles* to the *gentile churches*, he had introduced a *jew*, or *jewiſh chriſtian*, objecting to his *doctrine*; and, in anſwering ſuch difficulties and objections, had dropt ſome hints, concerning CHRIST's aboliſhing of the *ceremonial law*. This, comeing to the ears of ſome of the *jewiſh converts*, (moſt probably, from their aſſembling, in the ſame time and place, with the *gentile chriſtians*, and haveing his *epiſtles* publicly read in their *churches*) alarmed them. And, very likely, they communicated it to others; 'till it ſpread among the *churches*; and, at laſt, reached *Jeruſalem*; and occaſioned the accuſation, which we are here conſidering. However; they had alleged more than the APOSTLE was really chargeable with. For there were many *jewiſh chriſtians*, out of *Judæa*, to whom he had never hinted any ſuch thing; either in his preaching, or by writeing *epiſtles* to them. He might, therefore, very juſtly clear himſelf of that accuſation, For he was not guilty; if that had been a crime; as the *jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*, accounted it a very great crime. And, if we conſider the imprudence of ſuch a thing, it would have been culpable; and attended with bad conſequences. Inſiſting upon his own *liberty*, and declareing, openly, and all at once, that all *jewiſh chriſtians*, were intirely free from

from all obligation to obſerve the *ceremonial law*, might have deſtroyed them, for whom *the ſon of* GOD condeſcended to lay down his life. And, certainly, that would have been a very great crime! For theſe, and like reaſons, though St. PAUL knew, by *immediate revelation*, that the *ceremonial law was aboliſhed, by the death of* CHRIST; yet he had not, openly, and every where, publiſhed *that revelation*. For ſuch reaſons, he did not, in ſo many words, ſay, to the *zeleous jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*, "that the *ceremonial* "*law* was aboliſhed; and, that what he then did, was by way of "condeſcenſion to the weak and ſcrupulous." No! that would have been to have defeated the very deſign of his doing it; and would, very likely, have been attended with all the bad effects of his lying under the imputation, or not makeing that compliance at all. He openly declared, once, to an APOSTLE of the circumciſion, [*Gal.* ii. 15, *&c.*] and frequently to *jewiſh*, as well as *gentile*, *chriſtians*, that "the depending "upon the obſervation of the *law of Moſes*, for juſtification, was to "deſtroy the *goſpel*, and to render it of none effect." [*Rom.* iii. 20; 28. *and* iv. 14, *&c. and* v. 1. *and* x. 3, 4. *Gal.* iii. 11, *&c.* 18.] And, by his EPISTLES to *gentile chriſtians*, which were read publicly, in their churches; before both *jewiſh*, and *gentile*, *converts*; as well as by his general conduct; he gave the inquiſitive, and well-diſpoſed, a key to open his whole character, and to ſhow that this particular compliance, was onely by way of condeſcenſion. To have been more explicite, at this time, would have given his enemies too great an handle; and left the weak, and ſcrupulous, under invincible præjudices againſt him. In ſuch a ſituation, his conduct was highly becomeing his own great wiſdom; and the extraordinary *illumination*, which he had received from heaven.

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. I. Acts xxi. 26.

The ſum of what hath been ſaid, (in order to vindicate the APOSTLE's *character*, in this particular,) comes to this. "He had "not taught all the *jewiſh chriſtians*, in *gentile* countries, to forſake "the *law of Moſes*. Nay; he doeth not appear to have taught it, as "yet, to any of them, directly and immediately. That he took "upon him the *vow* of a *nazarite*, becauſe it was an *indiffe-* "*rent thing*; or *lawful* for him to comply with the deep-root-"ed præjudices of the *jewiſh chriſtians*. That, if he had not com-"plied, at this time, and in the preſent circumſtances, the *chriſ-* "*tianity* of the *jewiſh converts* would have been in danger; or, at "leaſt, their charity for, and union with, the *gentile churches*, which "he had planted. And, that if he had gone about to explane him-

"ſelf,

An.Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. "ſelf, immediately, and at large, the conſequences would, probably, "have been as bad."

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II. Acts xxi. 27, &c.

## CHAP. VIII. SECT. II.

*The* Aſian jews, *ſpying St.* PAUL, *in the* ſecond court *of the* temple, *ſtir up the people againſt him; who apprehend and beat him. The* roman tribune *reſcues him. His ſpeech to the people, from the* tower *of* Antonia. *They, after ſome time, interrupt him with their clamor.* Lyſias, *the* tribune, *was going to examine him, by torture; but deſiſted, when he underſtood that he was a* free roman. *Acts* xxi. 27,—xxii. 29.

WHEN the ſeven days, which were ſet apart for his *purification*, were about to be accompliſhed; ſome of the *jews*, who were come, from *Aſia propria*, to celebrate the feaſt of *penteco*ſt, at *Jeruſalem*, ſpyed the APOSTLE, in the *ſecond court* of the *temple*. They had ſeen him, before, at *Epheſus*; and had been active, in oppoſeing him there. And now, ſeeing him again at *Jeruſalem*, they put the people immediately in an uproar. And, laying hands upon St. PAUL, they cried out, "*Men of Iſrael*, help us! "Here is the very man, who goeth about, among the nations, ex- "citeing mankind, againſt the people of the *jews*; and teaching them "things contrary to the *law of Moſes* [a], and contrary to the honor "and ſanctity of this holy place, the *temple*. Nay; and he hath "even brought *gentiles* into the *court* of the *Iſraelites*; and, in ſo "doing, hath been acceſſary to the pollution of this ſacred place." [b]

For,

*Ver.* 28. [a] The prodigious veneration, which the *jews* had for *the law*, may be ſeen, in *Joſephus*, de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 2. See *p.* 75, 76. of this *ſecond volume*.

[b] How careful, the *jews* were, to preſerve the purity of the *temple*, vid. *Philo. de legat.* p. 1025. *E.* and the note on the *eſſay*, concerning the aboliſhing of the ceremonial law, annexed to *Titus*, p. 66. *firſt edition*; p. 458, 459. *ſecond edition*.

And,

For, a little before that, they had ſeen *Trophimus*, a *gentile chriſtian*, from *Epheſus*, walking the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, along with the APOSTLE. And they ſuppoſed that he had brought him into *the ſecond court of the temple*, called, *the court of the Iſraelites*, or *of the women*. Into which, if any *gentile* entered, according to both *Joſephus* and *Philo*, it was preſent death [c]. This accuſation, though falſe, put all the city in a commotion; and brought a vaſt concourſe of people together; who ſeized upon St. PAUL, in order to kill him. And, therefore, they drew him out of that *court of the Iſraelites*, leſt it ſhould have been defiled with his blood; and they hurried him into *the court of the gentiles*, which was not accounted ſo holy. And, immediately, the gates of the *temple* were ſhut. Then they fell upon him, with what the *jews* uſed to call, the *rebel's beating*. Which was, the people's puniſhing ſuch as, they apprehended, had rebelled againſt their *law*; and that, without any judicial proceſſe. Their manner of beating them, was, with ſtaves, ſtones, whips; or any thing, that they could lay their hands on, firſt. And they frequently beat them without meaſure; and ſo unmercifully, that ſeveral have died under their hands. [Some have thought, that the APOSTLE alluded to this beating, 2 *Cor.* xi. 23. when he ſaith, *he had received ſtripes above meaſure*. But he could not, in that expreſſion, refer to this inſtance; becauſe, *that epiſtle* was writen, long before this happened] *John Hyrcanus*, high-prieſt and prince of the *jews*, built the caſtle, which was called *baris*; that is, a *palace*, or *royal caſtle*, on a ſteep rock; fifty cubits high, without the outward ſquare, on the north-weſt corner of the *temple*; but, upon the ſame mountain, and joining to the ſaid ſquare [d]. This was called the *palace of the Aſmonæans*, in *Jeruſalem*; as long as they reigned there. In *that caſtle*, the *ſacred robes* of the *high-prieſt* were laid up, when they were not in uſe. When *Herod the great* came to be *king of Judæa*, he rebuilt the caſtle, and made it a very ſtrong fortreſſe [e]; lineing, or caſeing over, the high rock, on which it ſtood, with poliſhed, white marble, ſo as to make it inacceſſible from the ſubjacent valley; and, building the caſtle itſelf ſo high, as to com-

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II.

Acts xxi. 29, &c.

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And, how ready they were to reſent any affront done to it; and to riſe, in a tumultuous manner, to do themſelves juſtice, immediately; vid. *Joſeph.* de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 1. See alſo *p.* 75, 76. of this *ſecond volume*.

*Ver.* 29. [c] See what is ſaid, in a *note* on the *Eſſay*, concerning the *ceaſeing* of the *ceremonial law*, annexed to *Titus*, p. 66. *firſt edition*; p. 458, 459. *ſecond edition*.

*Ver.* 31. [d] Joſ. antiq. jud. l. 18. c. 4. § 3. & de bell. jud. l. 5. c. 5. § 8.

[e] Joſeph. antiq. jud. l. 15. c. 11. § 4.

An.Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II. Acts xxi. 31, &c.

mand the *temple*, and ſee what was done in the two outer courts of that ſacred place: that he might ſend down his ſoldiers, in caſe of any tumult [f]. And, when he had made theſe alterations, he called it *Antonia*; in honor of his great friend, *Mark Antony*. When the *romans*, afterwards, reduced *Judæa*, from a kingdom, to a province, they alſo kept a ſtrong garriſon, in the ſame place; particularly, at the time of the ſolemn feſtivals, when the *jews* came, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, to the *temple* [g]. And a great tumult being now made about the APOSTLE; probably, ſome of the *centinels*, who kept watch on the ſouth-eaſt turret of the caſtle *Antonia*, ſpyed it; and gave notice to the *roman tribune*, (who was *captain* of the fortreſſe, and had a thouſand ſoldiers under him,) that all *Jeruſalem* was in an uproar. Immediately, upon this notice, the *tribune* took centurions, with the hundred ſoldiers, whom they, each of them, commanded; and ran down the ſtairs, which led from the ſouth-eaſt turret of the *caſtle*, into the outer cloyſters of the *temple*; and, from thence, into the *court of the gentiles*, where the mutiny was. Upon ſeeing the *tribune*, attended with ſuch a number of armed men, they left off beating the *innocent* APOSTLE. And then *Lyſias*, the *tribune* himſelf, took him into his cuſtody, and fulfilled *Agabus* his *prophecie*. For, he ordered him to be bound with two chains; as concludeing that he was ſome notorious malefactor. But, when he inquired "who he was, and what was his crime?" he could get no ſatisfactorie account, from that inraged multitude. For ſome of them anſwered him one thing; and others, another. And, when he found, that, in ſuch a tumult, he could have no certain account of his crime; he ordered the ſoldiers to conduct him into the *caſtle of Antonia*; up the ſame pair of ſtairs, through which they came down. And, when they had brought the APOSTLE to the bottom of the ſtairs, there was ſuch a vaſt croud of people, preſſing them on every ſide, that the ſoldiers were forced to take him up, and carry him in their arms. For the multitude followed, in a furious manner, crying out; "Away "with him, away with him, to the death, which he ſo well de-"ſerveth." And, when he had got almoſt to the top of the ſtairs, and was going to be conducted into *the caſtle*, to the place where he was to be confined; St. PAUL ſpoke, in *greek*, to the *tribune*, and ſaid; "Will you give me leave to ſay a word, or two, to you?" *Lyſias*, (apprehending it to have been the *impoſtor*, mentioned already [h]; whom *Felix* had oppoſed, and put to flight) anſwered: "What, "then!

[f] Joſeph. de bell. jud. l. 5. c. 5. § 8. [g] Joſeph. Antiq. jud. l. 20. c. 8. § 11.
[h] See above, p. 156, 157, of this *ſecond volume*.

" then! can you ſpeak *greek?* Are not you that *ægyptian*, who, An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5.
" ſome time ago, made a diſturbance in this country? And, under
" the pretence of being a *mighty prophet*, led out, into the wilder-
" neſs, four thouſand of the *ſicarii?*" To which, St PAUL replied, Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II.
" No! I am not an *ægyptian*, but a *jew*; who was borne at *Tar-*
" *ſus*, the *metropolis* of *Cilicia*; a city by no means deſpicable, Acts xxi. 37, &c.
" if you conſider either it's grandeur, antiquity, or fame for the li-
" beral arts and ſciences. And my preſent requeſt to you, is, that
" you would permit me to ſpeak to this vaſt concourſe of people."

When the *tribune* had given him leave; the APOSTLE ſtood at the top of the ſtairs, and beckoned with his hand, to the people, for audience. And, when a profound ſilence was made; he lifted up his voice, in the *hebrew tongue*, and addreſſed himſelf, to the people, in the following manner: " *My brethren and fathers*, attend Acts xxii. 1, &c.
" carefully to my *apologie*, which I am now going to make be-
" fore you." And, when they heard that he ſpoke in *hebrew*, or *ſyro-chaldaic*; which was the language, that was the vulgar tongue, and the moſt eſteemed at *Jeruſalem*; and not in *greek*, or like an *helleniſtic jew*, of whom they had leſſe favorable ſentiments; much leſſe, a *gentile*; they were more careful to continue in deep ſilence. Dureing which, the APOSTLE proceded to ſpeak, to this effect:

## St. *PAUL's* SPEECH to the people of the *jews*, as he ſtood upon the ſtairs, which led, from the cloyſters, in the *temple*, up to the tower of *Antonia*.

When the APOSTLE, by begining in the *hebrew*, or *ſyro-chaldaic*, language, had fixed the attention of the people, he proceded to ſay:
" If you would know, how, from a *zeleous jew*, I became ſo zeleous
" a promoter of the *chriſtian religion*, take the account as follows.
" I am really deſcended from the race of the *jews*; and was borne
" in *Tarſus*, the chief city of *Cilicia*. But I came, in my younger
" days, from thence; and was educated, in this city, *Jeruſalem*;
" where I ſate, as a ſcholar, at the feet of *Rabbi Gamaliel*; who was,
" as you all know, of the moſt ſtrict and popular ſect of the *jews*;
" that is, a *phariſee*. And, by him, I was inſtructed in the *religion*
" of our anceſtors; being excedeingly zeleous, not onely for the *law*
" *of Moſes*; but, alſo, well acquainted with, and ſtrictly tenacious
" of, the *traditions of the elders*; as you, in general, are, at this
" day. And I perſecuted *this ſect*; that is, the *chriſtians*, even to

An Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II. Acts xxii. 4, &c.

" death; apprehending, binding, and caſting into priſon, ſuch as " profeſſed *chriſtianity*, whether men or women; as *Caiaphas*, who " was then high-prieſt, could teſtifie; and, likewiſe, the whole *ſan-* " *hedrim.* For, from them I received *letters*, to the *jews* at *Damaſ-* " *cus*, when I went thither, purely with a deſign, to bring all the " *chriſtians*, that I could meet with, in chains, to *Jeruſalem*; in or- " der to their being puniſhed, as blaſphemers of the *law of Moſes.* But " it came to paſſe, that, as I was upon my journey, and not far from " the city *Damaſcus*; about the middle of the day, all on a ſudden, " a great light from heaven ſhone round about me. Upon which, I " fell to the ground, with reverence, and aſtoniſhment. And, as I " lay proſtrate, I heard a voice, ſaying unto me, in the *hebrew* " *tongue*; *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?*" To which I anſwer- ed: " Who art thou, LORD; that I ſhould perſecute thee?" He replied: " I am JESUS *of Nazareth*; and, in perſecuteing my diſci- " ples, thou perſecuteſt me." They alſo, who were with me, ſaw " the glorious light; and were ſtruck with terror and aſtoniſhment. " But they did not underſtand any thing, of what the voice ſpoke to " me. However; I myſelf (being acquainted with the *hebrew* lan- " guage, and diſtinctly hearing what was ſaid) underſtood it all, ve- " ry well; and proceded to inquire, " *What ſhall I do*, LORD?" To " which, the LORD anſwered: " *Ariſe, and go into* Damaſcus. *And* " *there, every thing ſhall be told thee, which is appointed for thee to do,* " *at preſent?*" When I aroſe from the ground, and had opened mine " eyes, I immediately found, that the exceſſive ſplendor of *the cloud* " *of glory* had ſo dazzled me, as to take away my ſight. Some of " the company, therefore, leading me by the hand, I went into *Da-* " *maſcus.* And there, one *Ananias*, (a ſtrict obſerver of the *law of* " *Moſes*; and one, that had a good character among all the *jews*, " who lived at *Damaſcus)* after three days, came unto me, as direct- " ed by a *viſion* from heaven; and, putting his hands upon mine " eyes, he ſaid, *Brother* SAUL, *receive your ſight.* And, that very " moment, my ſight was reſtored. After which, he ſaid: " The " GOD of our renowned and pious anceſtors, *Abraham, Iſaac*, and " *Jacob*; the ſame GOD, whom the *jews* have worſhiped, from age " to age, and whom we *chriſtians* worſhip; even that GOD of our " forefathers, hath choſen you: that you ſhould know his ſacred " will; and ſee that innocent and righteous perſon, the *meſſiah*; and " learn his *doctrine*, from his own mouth. For you are to be his " witneſſe, unto the world, of the things, which you have already " ſeen, and heard; as well as of the things, which you are hereafter

" to

" to ſee, and hear. And now, why ſhould you delay one moment An.Chriſt. 59.
" longer? Ariſe, and be *baptized:* thereby waſhing away your for- Nero. 5.
" mer ſins, and devoteing yourſelf to a life of purity, ſuch as the
" LORD JESUS requireth; whoſe name you are to invoke, as well as Book III. Ch. VIII.
" obey his other commands." According to *Ananias* his prædic- Sect. II.
" tion, it came to paſſe, that, after ſome years, when I returned to Acts xxii.
" *Jeruſalem*, and was praying, in the *ſecond court* of the *temple*, I 15, &c.
" was in an *extaſie*; in which, the LORD JESUS, who is the *meſſiah*,
" evidently appeared in perſon to me; declareing, by his own mouth,
" the *doctrine*, which I was to preach; and giveing me the following
" commiſſion: " *Make haſte*, (ſaid he) *and depart from* Jeruſalem;
" *do not attempt to preach the* goſpel, *among the* jews *in this place.*
" For they will look upon thee as an *apoſtate*; and, under ſuch inve-
" terate præjudices, they will never receive thy teſtimony, concerning
" me, or my doctrine." I anſwered; " LORD, it ſeemeth to me,
" that I am much more likely to do good, among the *jews*, in this
" city, than any where elſe. For, they can never think me an hy-
" pocrite, nor ſcruple my teſtimony; becauſe they cannot reaſon-
" ably doubt of my haveing had ſufficient evidence, before I made ſo
" great an alteration in my conduct. For they know very well, how
" I impriſoned the *chriſtians*, and ſcourged them in many ſynagogues.
" And the *jews*, in *Jeruſalem* particularly, can remember, that, when
" the blood of thy holy martyr, *Stephen*, was poured out, I was pre-
" ſent; teſtifying my approbation, and even keeping the upper gar-
" ments of the falſe witneſſes, who ſtoned him." But, after all,
" that I could allege, for the expedience of my preaching, among the
" *jews*; and of the averſion, which I had, to go to perſons of other
" nations; the LORD ſaid again, " Depart hence. For I know, very
" well, how little thy ſucceſſe would be, among the *jews*; and how
" much thou wilt ſpread the *goſpel*, among the *gentiles*. And, there-
" fore, I order thee to go to the *gentiles*, in diſtant nations, and preach
" the *goſpel* among them." —— The *jews* were very fond of perſuading the *gentiles* to be *circumciſed*, and ſo to become *proſelytes of right-eouſneſſe*. But they underſtood the APOSTLE (as he meant) that he was to go to the *gentiles*, and receive them into the *church* of GOD, equally with the *jews*; without requireing them to be *circumciſed*, and to become ſubject to the *law of Moſes*. And, therefore, though they had thus far patiently heard the APOSTLE's ſtory, and *apologie* for himſelf, and for *chriſtianity*; yet, as ſoon as ever he mentioned his commiſſion to go and preach to the *gentiles*, they could contain themſelves no longer; but broke out into the greateſt rage imaginable; lifting

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. II. Acts xxii. 22, &c.

ing up their voices, and crying out aloud, "Away with ſuch a fellow "from the earth! For, it is not fit that he ſhould live a moment "longer." When they made this freſh clamor; and ſome of them pulled off their cloathes, as ready, and præpared, to ſtone him to death; and others threw duſt into the air, to expreſſe the higheſt rage and indignation againſt St. PAUL; the tribune, *Lyſias*, ſuſpected him to be ſome notorious criminal. And, therefore, he ordered him to be carried into the *tower* of *Antonia*; that there, according to the *roman cuſtom*, he might be examined by torture; in order to extort a confeſſion, from him, of the crime, and of the people's extreme indignation againſt him. One of their ways of examining by torture, was, by binding the perſon to a pillar, and ſeverely ſcourging him [i].

When the ſoldiers had ſtripped the innocent APOSTLE, and were extending his arms to the utmoſt ſtretch, that they might bind him, with thongs, upon the block, or ſhort pillar, in order to ſcourge him, in a terrible and cruel manner, 'till he ſhould become his own accuſer; he ſaid to the *centurion*, who was appointed to attend the torture; "Doeth the *roman law* permit you, in this manner, to bind a "*freeman of Rome*; and to extort from him a condemnation of him-"ſelf, by ſcourging him with rods, before he hath had a legal trial, "and a judicial ſentence is paſt upon him [k]?" Upon that information, the *centurion*, immediately, went to the *tribune*, and bade him "take heed what he did. For his priſoner was a *free roman*." Then the *tribune* himſelf came to the APOSTLE, and ſaid: "Tell me, ſincerely, *are you a freeman of Rome?*" "Yes, ſaid he; that I certainly am." The *tribune* (wondering how a man, that made no greater a figure, came by his *freedom*) anſwered again: "My *freedom* coſt me a great ſum of money; how came you by yours?" The APOSTLE replied: "I am the ſon of a *freeman*; and ſo came I by my *freedom* [l]." The *tribune*, being perſuaded that he ſpoke the truth; and that he was a *free roman*; ordered ſuch as were going to extort a confeſſion from him, by ſcourging him, to unbind him, and deſiſt. Nor was he himſelf without ſome dread, of being called to an account, by his ſuperiors, for binding, and attempting to ſcourge, a *freeman of Rome*, contrary to the *roman law*.

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*Ver.* 24. [i] That this was cuſtomary among the *romans*, about this time, ſee *Sueton.* in *Aug.* c. 19. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 56, 57. See alſo ſome inſtances among the *jews*; Joſeph. Antiq. l. 16. c. 10. § 2,——5.

*Ver.* 25. [k] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. book 1. chap. 10.

*Ver.* 28. [l] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. chap. 10. § 6, 7.

## CHAP. VIII. SECT. III.

*The* APOSTLE *brought before the* ſanhedrim. *His treatment and behavior there. Upon his declareing himſelf for* the reſurrection from the dead, *the* phariſees *and* ſadducees *fell into a diſpute among themſelves. The* tribune *reſcued the* APOSTLE *from them.* Acts xxii. 30,—xxiii. 10.

THE *tribune*, (ſtill deſireous to know, what the *jews* had to lay to the APOSTLE's charge) the next day, commanded him to be brought, from the place of his confinement, where (very probably) he was chained to a ſoldier. And, ordering the chief-prieſts, and the whole *ſanhedrim*, the great council of the *jewiſh* nation, to aſſemble, he brought St. PAUL down, and ſet him before them. An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. III. Acts xxii. 30, &c.

Dr. *Lightfoot* ſuppoſeth that the *ſanhedrim* had, for ſome years, before this, reſided at *Jabneh*, nigh *Joppa*; but that they were now at *Jeruſalem*, upon the account of it's being *penteceſt*, one of the greateſt feſtivals of the *jewiſh* nation. But, to me, they ſeem to have reſided at *Jeruſalem*. For they were there, when *Feſtus* came to that city; and went down, from thence, to *Cæſarea*, to accuſe St. PAUL.

The *tribune* might think it highly proper to bring this affair before the *ſanhedrim*, both to oblige the *jews*, and as it was a controverſie about *their religion*; of which, it is likely, he underſtood very little. The preſent *jewiſh* high-prieſt was *Ananias*, the ſon of *Nebedæus* [a]; who, by his ſtation, was the head of the *ſanhedrim*. It has been related above [b], that he ſucceeded *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Camys*; and had been ſent, in chains, to *Rome*, before this, to give an account, to *Claudius Cæſar*, of his behavior, in the quarrel, which happened between the *jews* and *ſamaritanes*, dureing the *procuratorſhip* of *Cumanus*. I ſuppoſe, he was acquited, at the interceſſion of *Agrippa the younger*;

*Ver.* 30. [a] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 5. § 2. & c. 6. § 2. [b] See *p.* 75; 77. of this 2*d. vol.*

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. III. Acts xxiii. 1, &c.

*younger*; and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*, and ſtill injoyed the dignity of the high-prieſthood.

When the APOSTLE was brought before *that great council of the nation*, he looked earneſtly upon them, to ſee if he knew any of their faces. For, when he ſate, as a ſcholar, at the feet of *Gamaliel*, he had known moſt of them. And, probably, if he had not imbraced *chriſtianity*, he might, in time, have arrived to that dignity himſelf. When he had taken a view of them, for ſome time, he began his *apology* thus: "*Brethren*; I can appeal to GOD, the ſearcher of all hearts, that, notwithſtanding the grieveous things, which "have been alleged againſt me, I have acted without hypocriſie, in "the main habit of my life; and have lived with a good conſcience, "in the ſight of GOD, unto this day."—[*that is*, When he was a *jew*, he, out of conſcience, acted as a *jew*. Nay; even when he perſecuted the *chriſtians*, he acted according to conſcience; though it was an erroneous conſcience. And, in turning *chriſtian*, and promoteing the ſpread of the *goſpel*, with ſuch zele, he acted according to conſcience; and that not an erroneous conſcience, but a conſcience well-informed, and rightly guided and directed [c].] *Ananias*, the high-prieſt, being full of præjudice againſt *him*, and the *goſpel-doctrine*, condemned this ſpeech, as too boaſting and arrogant. And ordered ſome of the *apparitors*, who ſtood by the APOSTLE, to ſmite him on the mouth; for his takeing upon him to glory ſo much in himſelf. Though it was, in reality, a well-grounded and juſt defence. But St. PAUL could not have wondered at ſuch cruel and unrighteous treatment, if he had conſidered, that ſo had the falſe prophet, *Zedekiah*, dealt with the true prophet, *Micaiah* [d]. So had the high-prieſt, *Paſhur*, ſmote the prophet *Jeremiah* [e]. And, what is more, in like manner had the wicked *jews* ſtruck OUR LORD; when he behaved with the greateſt modeſty and innocence [f]. This treatment, however, exaſperated the APOSTLE. Some think, that he was looking another way, and did not ſee who it was that gave ſuch orders. Others think that, as the high prieſt had not on his peculiar veſtments, the APOSTLE did not know him: eſpecially, when the *high-prieſthood* was bought and ſold ſo commonly; and the *romans* made ſuch frequent

*Ver.* 1. [c] See on 1 *Tim.* i. 13. *The reaſonableneſſe of the chriſtian religion*, *p.* III. & *Epiſcopius on* 1 *John* iii. 9. That phraſe, [*a good conſcience*,] occurs, 1 *Tim.* i. 5; 19. and 1 *Pet.* iii. 16. where it ſignifies "a conſcience inlightened by the goſpel; as well as followed in life and action." And it ought to be remembered, that St. PAUL is here apologizeing for his own conduct, ſince he turned *chriſtian*.

*Ver.* 2. [d] 1 *Kings* xxii. 24. [e] *Jer.* xx. 2. [f] *John* xviii. 22.

quent changes in that office. Which-ever be the true ſolution; the APOSTLE knew not that it was the high-prieſt, who gave that order. But, being provoked at ſuch cruel and malicious treatment; he, in a quick and paſſionate manner, replied, "GOD ſhall ſmite thee, thou "hypocrite! who, like a whited wall, putteſt on a fair outſide, "whatever there be within. Thou pretendeſt to ſit here, and judge "me, according to the *law*: and yet commandeſt me to be ſtruck "on the mouth, contrary to the *law*; which ſaith, "Thou ſhalt do "no unrighteouſneſſe in judgement;—but in righteouſneſſe ſhalt thou "judge thy neighhor [g]." Upon which, they, who ſtood by, ſaid: "What! doeſt thou revile GOD's high-prieſt?" The APOSTLE, hearing this, immediately recalled his words; and made an *apology*, ſaying: "Indeed, *brethren*, I have been ſo long from *Jeruſalem*, and "ſo much a ſtranger to the changes, which have been made, in that "ſacred office, that I did not know that it was the *high-prieſt* [h]. Such "an anſwer, to one in ſo high a place of dignity, muſt be owned to be "unbecomeing. For it is writen, Thou ſhalt not revile the *gods*; "nor ſpeak evil of the *rulers* of thy people [i]." An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. III. Acts xxiii. 3, &c.

St. PAUL ſtill continued to look about him. And, upon recollecting himſelf, and takeing a careful view of the *ſanhedrim*, he knew ſeveral of them. And, perceiveing that one part of them were *phariſees*, and the other *ſadducees*; he happily gave a turn to their unanimous procedeings againſt him, by crying out, as he ſtood in the open court, "Brethren, I am a *phariſee* myſelf; and the ſon of a *phariſee*. "It is for my belief, and expectation, of *the reſurrection from the* "*dead* [k], (among other important articles) that I am now ſtanding to "be judged." When he had ſaid this, there aroſe a contention between the *phariſees* and the *ſadducees*. And the *ſanhedrim* was divided. For the *ſadducees* held, that "there will be no reſurrection



*Ver.* 3. [g] *Lev.* xix. 15.

*Ver.* 5. [h] Various have been the interpretations of this place. I think we ought to follow the plane and *literal* ſenſe of the words. For, why might not the APOSTLE miſtake, as well as another man? Though he was *infallible*, as to his *knowlege* of the *chriſtian doctrine*, ; yet he was not ſo, in all his words and actions; in common life, or upon other occaſions.

[i] *Exod.* xxii. 28.

*Ver.* 6. [k] The APOSTLE here refers, particularly, to the reſurrection of JESUS; and, by him, of all mankind. This, all the *jews*, long before, knew to be the chriſtian doctrine: and, therefore, here was no fraud, nor artful gloſſe, to curry favor with the *phariſees*; but onely an appeal to their prevailing doctrine; as a point, in which he agreed with them; and, as what greatly favored the chriſtian doctrine, which he preached, and for which he ſuffered.

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. III. Acts xxiii. 8, &c.

from the dead; nor did they believe the exiſtence of *angels*, or "*ſpirits*:". Whereas; the *phariſees* held all theſe articles; and ſo far agreed with the *chriſtian doctrine*.

St. PAUL's ſpeech revived the old diſpute between them. And there was a great noiſe and clamor; each contending, that what they held, was *the onely true doctrine*. At laſt; ſome of the learned men among the *phariſees* ſtood up, and argued in favor of the APOSTLE. And (alludeing, very probably, to the *viſions* and *revelations*, which he had mentioned, in his *late ſpeech* to the people) they ſaid: "As for our parts, upon conſidering the matter, we find "no great fault with this man; whoſe *doctrine* you accuſe, with ſo "much vehemence. But, if a *ſpirit*, or an *angel*, [the exiſtence "of which we hold; though you *ſadducees* deny that there is any "ſuch thing. But, if a *ſpirit*, or an *angel*,] hath appeared, and "reveled any thing to him, as poſſibly they may; what he ſaith, "ought carefully to be conſidered. And we ſhould not con-"demn him too raſhly; leſt we be found to fight againſt GOD [1]." At laſt; the diſſention ran ſo high, that the *tribune* was afraid they would have pulled St. PAUL to pieces between them. And, therefore, he ordered a company of ſoldiers to go into the *council-chamber*, and take him, by force, from the midſt of them; and bring him ſafe back, into the *tower* of *Antonia*, again.

*Ver.* 9. [1] *Gamaliel* was now dead. [See Dr. *Prideaux*, his *connection*, &c. vol. 2. p. 529.] Otherwiſe, one would have ſuſpected that he had made this ſpeech. It being ſo very like the ſpeech, which he is recorded to have made. [*Acts* v. 39.] *Party-ſpirit* now carried the *phariſees*, to ſay the ſame things, concerning *chriſtianity*; which *policy*, and the *national expectations*, led *Gamaliel* to ſay, in the place above cited.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII. SECT. IV.

*The* LORD JESUS *appeareth, in a viſion, to* PAUL; *comforteth him, under his preſent confinement; and telleth him, that he muſt go to* Rome, *to preach the* goſpel *there. The forty conſpirators againſt his life are diſappointed; and* PAUL *ſent to* Cæſarea. *Acts* xxiii. 11, *to the end of that chapter.*

THE night after St. PAUL had been before the *ſanhedrim*, the LORD JESUS (who uſed to diſpatch *an angel*, upon inferior occaſions, and to inferior perſons; and who, after his *aſcenſion*, appeared, very rarely, to any, but to APOSTLES onely: — The LORD JESUS, I ſay, the night after the APOSTLE had been before the *ſanhedrim)* appeared to him in a *viſion*, and ſaid: "Bear up with chearfulneſſe and *fortitude*. For I will be thy protection; and do aſſure "thee, that thou ſhalt not loſe thy life, here. But, as thou haſt "bravely bore teſtimony to me, and my *doctrine*, in *Jeruſalem*, the "*metropolis* of *Judæa*; thou ſhalt alſo teſtifie of me, at *Rome* itſelf; "the *ſeat of empire*, and *metropolis of the world!*" This might be one principal reaſon, why he afterwards appealed to *Cæſar*, when he was in ſo much danger of his life, among the malicious *jews*. After ſuch a *viſion*, he had the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied, that no enemy could prevail againſt him, there. However; they did not deſiſt from attempting it. For, early the next morning, above forty of the *jews* entered into a conſpiracy, againſt the life of that holy and excellent man; binding themſelves under a curſe, if they eat or drank any thing, 'till they had killed PAUL. After they had agreed among themſelves, they went to the chief-prieſts and elders, to acquaint them; ſaying: "We have entered into an oath, and bound "ourſelves under a ſolemn curſe, that we will taſte nothing, 'till we "have ſlain PAUL. We, therefore, deſire you to intimate it, to "the *tribune*, as your own requeſt, and the requeſt of the *whole ſanhedrim*, that PAUL may be brought down, to-morrow, from the "caſtle of *Antonia*, to the hall where the *ſanhedrim* meets; as if you "were

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. IV. Acts xxiii. 11, &c.

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. IV. Acts xxiii. 15, &c.

" were going to have him examined more narrowly. And we, as " ſoon as ever he cometh out of the *caſtle*, and before he cometh nigh " you, are reſolved, and ready, to kill him." [For they thought, that, by killing the *diſciples* of JESUS, they would do GOD great ſervice.] This conſpiracy was not carried on, ſo ſecretly, but PAUL's ſiſter's ſon got notice of it; who went, immediately; and told his uncle of the danger that he was in. Upon which, the APOSTLE (like a man of ſenſe and buſineſſe) was undaunted; and compoſed enough to take proper meaſures for his own ſafety. And would not neglect the moſt likely means; notwithſtanding CHRIST had, in a *viſion*, aſſured him, that he ſhould eſcape, from *Jeruſalem*, with his life. He called to one of the *centurions* of the garriſon, and deſired him to introduce that young man to the *tribune*, as one, who had a matter of ſome importance to communicate. The *centurion*, accordingly, introduced him; acquainting *Lyſias*, that it was at the requeſt of the priſoner, PAUL; who ſaid, that the young man had ſomething of moment to impart unto him. *Lyſias*, who, in this whole affair, acted like a man of great wiſdom and integrity, took the young man by the hand, and conducted him to a private place, where they could not be over-heard. And then he aſked him, " What he wanted with him?" The young man informed him, of the conſpiracy againſt the life of his priſoner; and added; " They " have agreed to petition you, to bring him down, to-morrow, to " their *ſanhedrim*; under a pretence, that they want to examine him " more exactly. But do not you comply with their requeſt. For " there lie in wait, for him, above forty men; who have bound " themſelves under a curſe, that they will not eat, nor drink, any " thing, 'till they have killed PAUL. And they are, even now, " ready to execute their wicked deſigns; and are in expectation of a " promiſe from you, that he ſhall appear again, before the *ſanhe-* " *drim*." The *tribune* charged the young man not to tell any body, that he had made this diſcovery: and ſo diſmiſſed him. For he was unwilling needleſly to irritate the *factious jews*. And yet he was accountable for the life of his priſoner; eſpecially after ſuch an information. Moreover; he might, poſſibly, be ſtill under ſome uneaſie apprehenſions; becauſe he had ordered a *free roman* to be bound, and examined by torture.

When the young man was departed, *Lyſias* immediately called for two centurions; and ordered them to make ready the two hundred foot ſoldiers, under their command. And he farther gave orders, for ſeventy horſemen, and two hundred ſpearmen, to ſet out, along with

with the two companies of foot, about nine a-clock in the evening; and to provide an horſe, or ſome other beaſt of burthen, for PAUL to ride upon, to *Cæſarea.* And all this ſtrength, and ſecrecy of travelling, was deſigned, either to elude the conſpirators; or to reſiſt them, if there was occaſion: that they might conduct him ſafe to *Cæſarea*; and deliver him into the hands of *Felix*, the *governor.* And he wrote a letter, and ſent by them; which was to this effect: An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. IV. Acts xxiii. 23, &c.

"*Claudius Lyſias* ſendeth all proper reſpect, and ſalutation, to the "moſt excellent governor, *Felix.* The occaſion of my preſent write- "ing, is this. The priſoner, whom I ſend along with this letter, "was apprehended, by the *jews*; and was in danger of his life, a- "mong them; 'till I came, with my ſoldiers, and reſcued him. "Since which, I have been informed, that he is a *free roman* [a]. And, "when I was deſireous to know, what they had to lay to his charge, "I brought him before their *ſanhedrim.* But I could not, from all "that they alleged, perceive that he was guilty of any breach of the "*roman law.* They charged him, indeed, with the breach of their "*laws*, as to ſome rites and opinions of their own; but they could "prove nothing againſt him, deſerveing death, or ſo much as impri- "ſonment. However; being informed that they had conſpired his "death; to prevent their executeing their purpoſe, I have immedi- "ately ſent him away to you. And I will order his accuſers to "come; that they may (according to the *roman law)* allege, face to "face, before you, what they have to ſay againſt him. *Adieu.*"

Then the ſoldiers, according to *Lyſias* his order, took PAUL; and conducted him, by night, to *Antipatris.* It had formerly been called *Caphar Salama* [b]. But *Herod the great* rebuilt it; and called it *Antipatris*, from the name of his father, *Antipater.* The next day, they thought the APOSTLE pretty much out of danger. And, therefore, the two companies of ſoldiers returned to *Jeruſalem*, to the tower of *Antonia*; but the horſemen went on, and conducted PAUL to *Cæſarea.* And, delivering the letter to *Felix*; they, along with it, preſented the priſoner. When the *governor* had read *the letter*, he aſked, "Of what province he was?" And, being told that he was of *Cilicia*; "I will hear you (ſaid he) what you have to ſay, when your accuſers are come." And, in the mean while, he ordered him to be kept, in cuſtody, in the *prætorium*, or *judgement-hall*; built by *Herod the great*, when he rebuilt, and inlarged, *Cæſarea.*

CHAP.

*Ver.* 27. [a] See Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory, part I. p. 144, &c. third edition.

*Ver.* 31. [b] See 1 *Maccab.* vii. 31. or (according to *Reland) caphar ſaba.* See *Reland*'s *palæſtina ſacra*, p. 455; 570.

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. V.

## CHAP. VIII. SECT. V.

Acts xxiv. 1. &c.

*Some of the* ſanhedrim *appear againſt St.* PAUL, *before* Felix, *at* Cæſarea. Tertullus *his accuſation. The* APOSTLE's *defence.* Felix *remains undetermined.* Acts xxiv. 1,—23.

WE have already given the character of *Felix*; who (though he cleared the country of ſome *impoſtors* and *robbers)* was guilty of a great deal of male-adminiſtration; had barbarouſly and ungratefully murthered *Jonathan*, the *high-prieſt*; and now lived in an adulterous commerce with *Druſilla*. By whom he had a ſon, named *Agrippa*; who, dureing the reign of *Titus Veſpaſian*, was, in the prime of his youth, buried, together with his wife, under an eruption of *Veſuvius*, the famous *vulcano*, or burning mountain.—By theſe obſervations, taken from other *hiſtorians*, it will eaſily appear, how juſt an account St. LUKE hath given us, of *Felix* his whole behavior towards the APOSTLE.

Five days after St. PAUL's arriveal at *Cæſarea*, the *high prieſt*, *Ananias*, went down thither, in perſon, from *Jeruſalem*; together with ſome other of the *ſanhedrim*; takeing, along with them, one *Tertullus*, an *advocate*, or *roman orator*; who underſtood the *roman language*, and the forms of addreſſe, and who was to lay St. PAUL's crimes before the *governor*, *Felix*[a]. Upon the APOSTLE's being brought into the court, *Tertullus* ſet himſelf to accuſe him, with great vehemence; begining *his ſpeech*, with ſome flattering complements to the *governor*; and ending it, with falſe accuſations of St. PAUL, the priſoner. "Seeing that, under you, we injoy much "peace and tranquillity; and, by your prudence, many things have "been rectified, and many great and illuſtrious undertakeings have "been

*Ver.* 1. [a] Ὅτις ἐνεφάνισεν is the *reading* of the *ſyriac* and *arabic verſions*. [Vid. *Mill.*] And ought, I think, to be preferred to the common reading. For ἐμφανίζω ſignifieth, properly, *to accuſe*, or *lay open a crime*. Which was the part of *Tertullus*; and not of the *high-prieſt*, and *elders*. [See *Beza*, *Grotius*, *Pricæus*; and, more eſpecially, *Le Clerc.*]

" been happily accompliſhed, unto this nation: We, with great
" gratitude, accept of ſuch favors, *moſt excellent Felix!* at all times,
" and in all places. I could eaſily inlarge upon your prudence, and
" other virtues; and upon the bleſſings of your wiſe government.
" But, for fear of giveing you uneaſineſſe, and treſpaſſing upon your
" time and patience, I will procede directly to the matter in hand;
" and I hope that you, according to your known goodneſſe and hu-
" manity, and with your uſual candor, will hear me, whileſt I
" briefly lay the crimes of the priſoner before you. We have found
" this man to be a moſt peſtilent fellow; and one, who has raiſed
" ſeditions and tumults, among all the *jews*, throughout the *roman*
" *empire*. For he is a ring-leader of the *hæreſie* of the *nazarenes*.
" And he lately made an attempt to profane the *holy temple*, at *Jeru-*
" *ſalem*; by bringing an *uncircumciſed gentile* into the *court* of the *Iſ-*
" *raelites*. Upon theſe, and ſuch like, accounts, we apprehended
" him; deſigning to have judged him according to our law; that
" is, the *jewiſh law* [b]. But the *tribune*, *Lyſias*, came; and, by an
" armed force, with great violence, took him out of our hands; or-
" dering his accuſers to appear before you. And we do not doubt,
" Sir, but that, upon examination, you will find him guilty of every
" thing, which we have laid to his charge." When *Tertullus* had done ſpeaking, the *high-prieſt* and *elders*, from the *ſanhedrim*, confirmed the account; aſſureing *Felix*, " that that was the truth of the caſe."

An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. V. Acts xxiv. 3, &c.

By the *roman law*, both parties were to be heard, before ſentence was paſt. When, therefore, the *governor* had, by nodding, given the ſignal, for PAUL to ſpeak; though he had not one friend in the court, yet, in an undaunted and compoſed manner, he ſpake as follows. " Seeing I know that you (Sir) have been, for ſeveral years,
" a governor over this province; and, conſequently, muſt be ac-
" quainted with the humors, intereſts, ſects, and diviſions of it; I do
" the more chearfully make my *apology*, before you; in anſwer to
" the crimes now laid to my charge. For you muſt needs have heard
" of *chriſtianity*; and underſtand more of the *jewiſh laws*, and of
" their

*Ver*, 6. [b] *Tertullus* gloſſed over a tumultuous attempt upon St. PAUL's life, with the plauſible pretence of their deſigning to judge him according to *their law*. And he calls *Lyſias* his juſt care of the life of a man, ready to be torne in pieces, by a mob, [a *takeing him, with great violence, out of their hands.*] Not to mention, that the very introduction to *his ſpeech*, was a flattering an unjuſt and tyranpical governor; who had, indeed, deſtroyed a few *robbers* and *impoſtors*; but was, in reality, himſelf, a public evil. And, take him in his whole character, he deſerved no ſuch complements.

An. Christ. 59. Nero. 5. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. V. Acts xxiv. 10, &c.

"their *prophecies* and *expectations*, than *Lyſias*, who ſent me hither,
"ſeems to do. And you may eaſily have ſufficient information, that
"it is now onely twelve days, ſince I went up to *Jeruſalem*, to wor-
"ſhip GOD there; to which, as a *jew*, I have a right, as well as
"any of my accuſers. But, though I went to worſhip, in the *tem-*
"*ple*; yet they never found me diſputeing there, with any man.
"No! nor makeing any tumult, among the people, in any of their
"*ſynagogues*, or in the city *Jeruſalem*. And, in one word, they
"are not able to prove what they have now alleged againſt me.
"But, as to their chargeing me with being an *hæretic*, and a *naza-*
"*rene*; this I freely confeſſe unto you, that, according to the way,
"which they call *hæreſie*, ſo worſhip I the ſame GOD, which my
"forefathers worſhiped; and which the *jews* continue to worſhip:
"firmly believeing all things, that are writen, both in the *law of*
"*Moſes*, and in the *prophets*; and expecting, that, in due time,
"there will be a full accompliſhment of whatſoever is there prædict-
"ed; (except what has been accompliſhed already:)—particularly,
"ſuch things as concern the comeing of the *meſſiah*, and of *his king-*
"*dom*. And, I truſt in GOD, that there will be a *reſurrection from*
"*the dead*, both of the good, and of the wicked. Which is nothing
"but what the *jews*, in general, profeſſe to expect. But, as I have
"ſuch a firm expectation of the reſurrection of the juſt, and tremble
"at the thoughts of riſeing among the wicked; I make it the princi-
"pal care, and ſtudy, of my life, to preſerve my conſcience void of
"offence, both towards GOD, and towards man. After many years
"abſence, I came, lately, to *Jeruſalem*; to bring alms and charity,
"to ſome of the poor of my own nation; as well as to make oblati-
"ons, at the temple. And, though ſome of the *jews* of *Aſia pro-*
"*pria* found me purifying myſelf, in the *ſecond court* of the *temple*,
"after the manner of a *nazarite*; yet I had not brought any *uncir-*
"*cumciſed gentile* into that court; nor was I attended with a multi-
"tude of *jews*; neither did I any thing, towards makeing a tumult
"among the people [c]. Thoſe *Aſian jews*, who apprehended me,
"and brought me into all this trouble, ought to have been here;
"and to have accuſed me, face to face; if they had had any thing to
"allege

*Ver.* 18. [c] If the APOSTLE had diſturbed other people, in their religious worſhip, whether *jews* or *gentiles*;—invaded their civil rights;—or made any tumult, ſedition, or inſurrection;—the *roman law* would have condemned him. But, as there were already ſeveral *ſects* among the *jews*; the *chriſtians* might (as a *new ſect*) differ from them all; and yet remain under the protection of the *roman law*. [See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 250. ſecond edition. p. 423. third edition.]

" allege againſt me. But it is a plane evidence of my being inno- An. Chriſt. 59. Nero. 5.
" cent, and that they had acted illegally; when they, who firſt ap-
" prehended and accuſed me, have not appeared againſt me. But, Book III. Ch. VIII.
" as they have thought fit to decline comeing before you; let the Sect. V.
" perſons, who appear againſt me, declare, honeſtly, and with in- Acts
" tegrity, what crimes they have found in me. Unleſſe they account xxiv. 20, &c.
" it a crime, that (whileſt I ſtood before the *ſanhedrim)* I declared
" aloud my belief of the *reſurrection of the dead.* And, for that,
" and other ſuch important doctrines, I am now called to an ac-
" count [d]."

Thus *Felix* gave both ſides an hearing. But, being willing to inform himſelf farther, concerning the *chriſtian religion*; and deſireous to know what new light the *tribune* could yet give him, as to the facts; he defered the determination, to another opportunity: telling them, that, " when *Lyſias* came down to *Cæſarea*, he would inquire " of him, and indeavor to know the caſe, more fully." And he ordered a *centurion*, or the captain of an hundred ſoldiers, to take PAUL into his cuſtody; but to keep him as a priſoner at large. For he bade him let him have as much liberty as he could, without ſuffering him to eſcape; and charged him not to hinder any of the *chriſtians*, or of his other friends, from comeing to him, and aſſiſting him, as much as they pleaſed.

While PAUL was at *Cæſarea*, at this time, there happened a dreadful quarrel, between the *jews* and the *ſyrians* of *Cæſarea*, about their title to the rights and privileges of that city. The *jews* pleading, that they ought to have the præference; becauſe it was built by their king, namely, *Herod the great.* And the *gentiles* claimed it for their city; becauſe it had formerly been called *Straton's tower.* And then no *jew* had any ſettlement in it. Beſides; it had *heathen* temples and ſtatues in it; which the *jews* would never permit, in one of their cities. From words, they came to blows. And, though ſome of them were taken up, and puniſhed; yet the reſt did not deſiſt, but rather more fiercely maintained the quarrel. At length, the *jews*, haveing had the better in a combate, *Felix*, comeing into the market-place, required them to withdraw peace-



*Ver.* 21. [d] When St. PAUL ſais, here, that they found no ἀδίκημα, in him, when he ſtood before the *ſanhedrim*; he refers onely to the main accuſation; [namely, his preaching chriſtianity, and, particularly, CHRIST's reſurrection from the dead.] He ſeems to have no reference to his anſwer to the high-prieſt; which happened merely as an incidental thing. [See chap. xxiii. 1, &c.] and was not ἀδίκημα, *a crime*, cognizeable by the *roman* law.

ably; threatening them ſeverely, if they did not. When they diſregarded that order, he ſent in his ſoldiers among them; who ſlew ſeveral, upon the ſpot; and, afterwards, plundered their houſes. And, when that did not intirely quell them; he ſent ſome of the leading men, on both ſides, to *Rome*; to give an account of that ſedition, before *Nero*, the emperor, himſelf [e].

[e] Joſeph. de bell. jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 7. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 7.

## CHAP. VIII. SECT. VI.

*The* APOSTLE, *dureing his confinement at* Cæſarea, *preacheth the* goſpel, *before* Felix *and* Druſilla. *After two years,* Felix *was turned out of the 'government; but left St.* PAUL *in cuſtody.* Acts xxiv. 24, *to the end of that chapter.*

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VI. Acts xxiv. 24, &c.

FELIX, and his wife *Druſilla*, who was a *jeweſſe*, and with whom he lived in ſuch an adulterous commerce, had gone from *Cæſarea*; and had been abſent, for ſome time. But, after their return to the city, they took it into their heads, one day, dureing the APOSTLE's confinement, at *Cæſarea*, to ſend for him; that they might hear him give an account of the *chriſtian religion*; which then made ſo great a noiſe in the world; and which had ſpread ſo far and wide, by his preaching, more particularly. And St. PAUL (who knew the character, as well as quality, of his hearers) diſcourſed, before them, concerning the neceſſity of *juſtice* and *temperance*, or *chaſtity*; and inforced *his doctrine*, by the powerful and tremendous argument of *a judgement to come* [a]:—*doctrines*, which *his excellence* had not been uſed to! and which awakened his conſcience, ſo dreadfully, as to make him *tremble*, and fall into a ſudden and great diſorder, before his priſoner: ſo that he could not bear it, nor ſuffer the APOSTLE to procede.—"Leave off your diſcourſe now, (ſaid he) and "go your way, for the preſent. When I have a more convenient op-"portunity,

*Ver.* 25. [a] This was St. PAUL's *preaching* CHRIST; or *the faith of* CHRIST. [See ver. 24.]

" portunity, I will ſend for you again, and hear you farther." But it doeth not appear that ever he ſent for him, to hear him, again, upon that ſubject. An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VI.

There is no intimation of *Druſilla*'s diſcovering any remorſe. It has been conjectured, " that ſhe confided in her *jewiſh* privileges; " and expected to be ſaved, as a *daughter of Abraham*; notwithſtanding the immorality and wickedneſſe of her life." And, conſidering the temper of the *jews*, about this time; the conjecture is, by no means, improbable. Acts xxiv. 25. &c.

As to *Felix*; he did, indeed, ſend for PAUL; and frequently converſe with him, upon another account; *that is*, he hoped the APOSTLE would have given him money, and bought his releaſe. For, as he had mentioned his bringing *alms* to the *jews*, and *oblations*; *Felix* might think, that that charity was not all diſtributed. Or, as St. PAUL was at the head of ſo numerous a *ſect*, as the *chriſtians* then were; he reckoned him a perſon of conſequence, who had good friends; and one, that was likely enough to raiſe a large ſum, to procure his liberty. But the APOSTLE, not being uſed to give bribes, continued in bonds, for two years. For, though a *roman citizen* might not be bound with thongs, by way of puniſhment, or in order to be ſcourged; yet he might be chained to a ſoldier, and kept in cuſtody, upon juſt ſuſpicions, or when credible accuſations were brought againſt him[b]. Though St. PAUL was, indeed, detained unjuſtly.

After the APOSTLE had been two years in cuſtody, *Felix* was turned out of the government; and was ſucceded by *Porcius Feſtus*[c]. But *Felix* had behaved himſelf in ſo unjuſt and arbitrary a manner, dureing his adminiſtration, that he was afraid the *jews* would accuſe him to *Nero*. In order, therefore, to appeaſe and gratifie them, he left this friendleſſe, good man, ſtill in cuſtody: (juſt as *Pilate* behaved, when he delivered up OUR LORD to be crucified.) But his baſe treatment of the APOSTLE did not prevent what he feared. For ſome of the leading men, among the *jews*, (who reſented *Felix* his puniſhing them, in a manner, which they accounted cruel and unjuſt; upon occaſion of the late quarrel, between them and the *gentiles* of *Cæſarea*) poſted, after him, to *Rome*; and laid ſuch things to his charge, as that they would have prevailed with the *emperor* to



*Ver.* 26. [b] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 305, &c. ſecond edition. p. 519. third edition.

*Ver.* 27. [c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 9. De bell. l. 2. c. 14. § 1.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 1, &c.

have put him to death; had it not been for the powerful interceſſion of his brother, *Pallas*; who was then in favor with *Nero*; and who, by his intereſt, procured his brother's pardon [d]. When the perſons, deputed both from the *jews* and *gentiles* of *Cæſarea*, came to *Rome*, according to *Joſephus*; the *jewiſh* ambaſſadors were likely to have ſucceded, and gained their point; had not the ambaſſadors of the *gentiles* bribed *Burrus*, who had been *Nero*'s *tutor*, and was then his *greek ſecretary*. And, by his influence, he procured *letters*, from the *emperor*, to aboliſh the rights and privileges of the *jews*, in the city of *Cæſarea*; which they had, 'till then, injoyed in common with the *gentiles*. This exaſperated the *Cæſarean jews*, ſo much, that they would never be quiet; 'till their factions ended in *that war*, which ſo dreadfully deſtroyed the *jewiſh nation*.

[d] That *Pallas* was in favor with *Nero*, in the ſixth year of the reign of that *emperor*; ſee biſhop *Pearſon*'s *annal. paulin.* p. 17, &c.

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## CHAP. VIII. SECT. VII.

*Some of the* ſanhedrim *went down to* Cæſarea, *to accuſe St.* PAUL, *before* Feſtus. *When* Feſtus *would have ſent him back to* Jeruſalem, *he appealed to* Cæſar. *Acts* XXV. 1,—12.

CÆſarea was the place, where the *roman præſidents* uſually reſided. And, when *Feſtus* came to the *province* [a], in order to take the government upon him; after three days, he went up, from *Cæſarea*, to *Jeruſalem*; where the chief-prieſts [b], and the leading men among the *jews*, (whom time and conſideration had not ſoftened) ſtill retained their malice againſt the APOSTLE. And, poſſibly, the more ſo; as they had, hitherto, been ſo frequently diſappointed. They, therefore, applied to the new governor; and inveighed bitterly

*Ver.* 1. [a] Ἐπαρχία. See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 92. ſecond edition. p. 162. third edition.

*Ver.* 2. [b] The antient *manuſcripts* and *verſions*, of greateſt authority, read οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

terly againſt the excellent man; beging it, as a favor, of *Feſtus*, upon his acceſſion, that he would ſend PAUL, to *Jeruſalem*, under the pretence of haveing him tried there. But they, in reality, deſigned to procure ruffians; who ſhould lie in wait for him, and murther him, upon the road. An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book II. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 3, &c.

It may ſeem ſtrange to us, at the firſt view, that the *jews* ſhould dare to raiſe ſuch frequent tumults, and commit murthers, upon whom they pleaſe; when there was a *roman præſident*, and ſuch a number of *roman ſoldiers*, among them. But St. LUKE appeareth evidently to have known the ſtate of affairs, in *Judæa*, about this time [c]. And *Joſephus* hath given us ſeveral inſtances, and obſervations, which will abundantly confirm what St. LUKE hath ſaid. For, about this time, *king Agrippa* gave the *high-prieſthood* to *Iſhmael*, the ſon of *Phabus*; (who ſucceded that *Jonathan*, whom *Felix* had got aſſaſſinated.)—And, ſoon after, the chief-prieſts began to quarrel with the inferior prieſts. The leading men, on both ſides, gathering a company of deſperate and profligate fellows. They came, from reproaches, to blows; and threw ſtones at one another: raiſeing ſuch tumults, that one would have thought, there had been no magiſtrate, to preſerve the peace of the city. Nay; the chief-prieſts proceded to that height of cruelty and injuſtice, as to ſend their ſervants to the barns, [or *ſtore-houſes*,] to take away the tithes, which belonged to the inferior prieſts. And they ſo far ingroſſed all to themſelves, that ſome of the inferior prieſts periſhed, through hunger and want [d].

The *ſicarii* alſo, who ſprang up in the days of *Felix*, were much increaſed in ſtrength and number, when *Feſtus* came to the province; ſo that the land of *Judæa*, in general, was harraſſed by them [e]. For, while the *robbers* began to appear again, and to burn and plunder many of the villages; the *ſicarii* appeared in the city, and committed incredible ſlaughters; eſpecially at the feſtivals. Nor did they always do miſchief, ſecretly, and with their private daggers; but they alſo would, ſometimes, imitate the *robbers*; and break into the villages, where they ſuppoſed their enemies lived; ſetting them on fire, and carrying away their goods, as plunder.

Can any one, who carefully and impartially conſidereth theſe things, doubt of the juſtneſſe of St. LUKE's account, when he repreſents the *jews*, as deſigning to procure men to lie in wait, and murther

*Ver.* 3. [c] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 281, &c. ſecond edition. p. 439, &c. third edition.

[d] Joſeph. antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 8. [e] Joſeph. antiq. l. 20. c. 8. § 10.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 4, &c.

murther St. PAUL; upon the road, between *Cæſarea* and *Jeruſalem?* No! the forty conſpirators, who had entered into a combination, to murther him, at *Jeruſalem*; and the ſecret deſign, which was now laid, to aſſaſſinate him, upon the road, if *Feſtus* would have ſent him to *Jeruſalem*, again; are exactly agreeable to the character of the *jews*, and the ſtate of *Judæa*, at this time: as they are repreſented, by *Joſephus*, a *jewiſh hiſtorian*; who was, himſelf, one of *their prieſts*; and was now above twenty years old. So that he was perſonally acquainted with the ſtate of the nation; and was too fond of ſaying things in their favor, to have given us ſuch a repreſentation; if the facts had not been too flagrant, and too notorious, to have been concealed.

Though the chief prieſts, and leading men of *Jeruſalem*, beged it as a favor, that PAUL might be ſent back, to them, from *Cæſarea*; *Feſtus* refuſed to gratifie them. Poſſibly, he might have had ſome information of their former deſigns; and of the reaſon why *Lyſias* ſent the APOSTLE, with ſuch ſtrength and ſecrecy, to *Cæſarea*. But, whether he did, or did not, ſuſpect their deſigns; upon the life of his priſoner; he anſwered: "As PAUL is in cuſtody, at *Cæſarea*; and I "myſelf deſign, ſhortly, to return thither; it would be much better "for ſuch of you, as are his accuſers, and can go with convenience, "to go down along with me, and appear againſt him, at *Cæſarea*; "if he hath actually been guilty of any breach of the *roman law*, for "which he deſerves puniſhment." [So much more juſt and merciful were the *roman governors*, than the *jews*, of that age; who were fallen into an amazeing degeneracy, and filling up the meaſure of their iniquity, 'till at laſt they became ripe for vengeance!] When *Feſtus* had tarried, about ten days, at *Jeruſalem*, he returned to *Cæſarea*; and ſeveral of the leading men of the *jews*, of *Jeruſalem*, along with him. The day after their arriveal, he (as willing to gratifie them, by diſpatching the affair) ſummoned *a court*. And, when he had ſeated himſelf upon the tribunal, and the *Jeruſalem jews* were ſtanding round about him, he commanded the APOSTLE to be brought before him. As ſoon as he appeared at the bar, his old enemies began, with great malice and virulence, to accuſe him; laying many and aggravated crimes to his charge. But they could not prove what they alleged againſt him. And ſo he told them, when the *governor* allowed him, in his turn, to make his defence: "Whatever you may allege, (ſaid he,) I am guilty of no crime, "againſt the *jews*, or againſt the *temple*, or againſt *Cæſar*, the *roman* "*emperor*." Upon this, *Feſtus*, the governor, (who was unwilling

to

to ſend him to *Jeruſalem*, without his own conſent; and yet willing to oblige the *jews*, as much as he lawfully could) aſked PAUL: "Seeing you know that you are innocent; will you conſent to go up "to *Jeruſalem*; and there be tried, before me, concerning the "things, which the *jews* lay to your charge?" The APOSTLE knew his own rights and privileges, as a *free roman*; and was too well apprized of the treachery and malice of the *jews*, to conſent to any ſuch thing; and therefore anſwered: "I am now ſtanding be- "fore *Cæſar*'s tribunal [f], where I ought to be judged. To the *jews* "I have done no wrong; as you yourſelf muſt know very well. If "I have, indeed, been guilty of any crime; let me be fairly tried, and "puniſhed for it. And, if I be found guilty of any capital crime; "I refuſe not to ſatisfie the *law*, with my death. But, if there be "no truth in their accuſations, as I am well aſſured there is none; no "man can lawfully deliver me into their hands, ſo as to gratifie them, "with my death. I appeal unto *Cæſar*."—For thoſe, who had the *freedom* of the *city of Rome*, had the privilege of appealing to the *emperor*, before ſentence was paſt upon them; if they apprehended that juſtice would not, otherwiſe, be done them [g]. And, after ſuch an appeal, they were to be reſerved to be judged by the *emperor* himſelf.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VII. Acts xxv. 9, &c.

St. PAUL, indeed, doeth not appear to have abſolutely appealed to *Cæſar*; but onely conditionally; *that is*, rather than be ſent to *Jeruſalem*, again, (as *Feſtus* had propoſed) he claimed his privilege, and inſiſted upon being heard, before *Cæſar*. And, becauſe the *appeal* was onely conditional; *Feſtus* confered with his own *roman council*,

*Ver.* 10. [f] *Grotius* quoteth the following words, from *Ulpian*; l. 1. D. *de officio procuratoris Cæſaris*. "Quæ acta geſtaque ſunt a *procuratore Cæſaris*, ſic ab eo com- "probantur, atque ſi a *Cæſare* geſta ſunt. Thoſe things, which are acted, and "done, by *Cæſar's procurator*, are ſo approved of him, as if they had been done by "*Cæſar* himſelf." So that, when St. PAUL was ſtanding, before *Feſtus*, the *procurator* of that province; he might, very juſtly, be ſaid *to be ſtanding before Cæſar's tribunal.*

*Ver.* 11. [g] "Ante ſententiam appellari poteſt, in criminali negotio; ſi [*ſcil.* judex] "contra leges hoc faciat. Before the ſentence be paſt, in criminal caſes, they may "appeal to *Cæſar*; if the judge act contrary to the *laws*." *L.* ante *D.* de appella- "tionibus recipiendis. [*Vid. Grot. in loc.*]

"*Lege Juliâ* de re publicâ condemnatur, qui aliquâ poteſtate præditus; *civem ro- "manum* ad imperatorem appellantem, necarit, necarive juſſerit, torſerit, verbera- "verit, in publica vincula duci juſſerit." By the *Julian law*, any perſon in power "is guilty of open violence, or injuſtice; if, when a *roman citizen* hath appealed to "the *emperor*, he ſhould kill him, or command him to be killed, tortûre, beat, or "command him to be thrown into a common jail. *Pauli Recept. Sentent.* l. 5. tit. 26. Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory, part* 1. *p.* 530, 531. third edition.

An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxv. 13.

*cil*, what he had beſt to do [h]. The reſult of which conſultation, was, that he declared unto the APOSTLE; "As you have appealed unto *Cæſar*, unto *Cæſar* you ſhall go." For he was afraid to condemn a perſon ſo innocent; and yet very deſireous to rid his hands of an affair, about which, the *jews* were ſo very troubleſome; and in which he was willing to gratifie them ſo far, as not to acquit the APOSTLE, without farther examination; though he could not legally condemn him.

*Ver.* 12. [h] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 1. p. 134, 135. ſecond edition. p. 225. &c. third edition.

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## CHAP. VIII. SECT. VIII.

*King* Agrippa *and* Bernice *went to viſit* Feſtus. *He acquaints them with St.* PAUL'S *caſe. The* king *being deſireous to hear him, the* APOSTLE *is brought from the priſon; and made ſuch an excellent defence, before them, that he gained the good will of that grand audience; and almoſt converted* king Agrippa *to* chriſtianity. *Acts* xxv. 13,—xxvi. 32.

I SUPPOSE the reader is already acquainted with the character of *king Agrippa the younger*; that was ſon to *Herod Agrippa*, whoſe tragical death is related, *Acts* xiith. He was in profeſſion a *jew*, and had the power of the *temple*, and the ſacred treaſury; and could likewiſe diſpoſe of the *high-prieſthood*, as he thought proper. As to *Bernice*, his ſiſter: ſhe was the eldeſt daughter of *Herod Agrippa*; and had been contracted in her infancy, by *Claudius Cæſar*, to *Marc*, the ſon of *Alexander Lyſimachus*, the *alabarch*. But, he dying, before the marriage was conſummated, her father married her to his own brother, *Herod*, king of *Chalcis* [a]; though that was contrary

*Ver.* 13. [a] Joſeph. antiq. l. 19. c. 5. § 1. & l. 20. c. 9. § 1.

contrary to the *law of Moſes.* After his death, ſhe went and lived with her brother *Agrippa*; with whom ſhe was ſuſpected of an inceſtuous commerce [b]. To wipe off that aſperſion, ſhe indeavored to marry again; offering herſelf to *Polemon*, king of *Cilicia*, upon condition that he would become a *proſelyte of righteouſneſſe* to the *jewiſh religion.* *Polemon*, who had more regard to the riches, than to a lady of ſuch a character, conſented to be *circumciſed*, and actually married her. But *Bernice* did not continue long with her huſband; which occaſioned his caſting off the *jewiſh religion.* And, notwithſtanding the ſcandal, which ſhe had formerly lain under, ſhe went and lived where ſhe pleaſed: not onely continueing in the good graces of her brother *Agrippa* [c]; but, afterwards, inſinuateing herſelf ſo far into the affections of *Titus Veſpaſian*, as to occaſion much diſcourſe. For ſhe was a lady of great beauty, and very generous and liberal. Nay; ſhe had even the proſpect of being *empreſſe*; had not the murmurs of the people of *Rome* prevented it [d].

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect VIII. Acts xxv. 13, &c.

This *Agrippa the younger*, and his ſiſter, *Bernice*, went down to *Cæſarea*, to congratulate *Feſtus*, upon his acceſſion to the government of that province. And, when they had been there ſome days, *Feſtus*, among other diſcourſe, acquainted the king with the caſe of the APOSTLE, "There is (ſaid he) a man left in cuſtody, by *Felix*; "concerning whom, when I was at *Jeruſalem*, the *chief-prieſts* "and *elders* of the *jews* were very importunate, with me, to paſſe "ſentence upon him. To whom I anſwered, It is not the cuſtom

[b] It is to this, I am ſatisfied, that the *ſatyriſt* refers. I ſhall onely put down the *engliſh*, from *Dryden*, and refer the learned reader to the original. *Juvenal*, ſat. 6. ver. 154, &c.

"Rich chryſtals of the rock ſhe takes up there;
"Huge *Agate* vaſes, and old *China* ware.
"Then *Berenice*'s ring her finger proves,
"More precious made by *her inceſtuous loves.*
"And infamouſly dear; a brother's bribe,
"Ev'n GOD's anointed, and of *Judah*'s tribe:
"Where barefoot they approach the ſacred ſhrine,
"And think it onely ſin to feed on ſwine."

"The *ring*, that he here mentions, was of great value; and was given, by this "*Agrippa*, to his ſiſter *Bernice.* She wore it publicly; and thereby made *their in-*"*ceſtuous loves* more talked of."

[c] Tacit. hiſt. l. 2. c. 2, & 81.

[d] Sueton. in Tit. c. 7. Dio *ex* Xiphilin. l. 66. p. 752. alias 753.

An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxv. 16, &c.

" of the *romans* to gratifie any with another man's deſtruction; " eſpecially, before the perſon accuſed have his accuſers face to " face, and liberty to make his own defence; that he may clear " himſelf of the crime, if he can[e]. When, therefore, his accu- " ſers were come, from *Jeruſalem*, to this city, I was willing to diſ- " patch the affair. And, the very next day, I ſate in judgment; " and commanded the man to be brought before me. His accuſers " were, indeed, very vehement. But they did not ſo much as al- " lege any rebellion, fraud, murther, or ſedition, againſt him; " nor any ſuch crimes, as I ſuppoſed they would have laid to his " charge. But they put ſome queſtions to him, concerning *their* " *own religion*[f]; and about one JESUS, (I think they called him,) " who was dead. But PAUL confidently affirmed that he was riſen " again; and that he is ſtill alive[g]. And, becauſe theſe were ſuch " controverſies, as I could not tell what to ſay to; and was doubt- " ful, whether they came properly under my cognizeance; or whe- " ther ſuch *religious diſputes* among the *jews* ſhould not rather be re- " fered to the *ſanhedrim*; I aſked the priſoner, if he was willing " to go to *Jeruſalem*; and, there, be judged, concerning theſe " things? But, he appealed to *our auguſt emperor*, and inſiſted " upon his being heard before him. I, therefore, ordered him to " be kept in cuſtody, 'till I ſhould have an opportunity to ſend " him to *Cæſar*."

King *Agrippa*, had, no doubt, frequently heard of CHRIST, and his *diſciples*; and remembered, very probably, his *father*'s putting the APOSTLE JAMES to death; and of the deſign, which he had, alſo, upon the life of PETER. And (though *Feſtus* was come lately into that country, and knew little of their opinions and cuſtoms; yet the *king*) underſtood the *jewiſh* doctrines, diſputes, and expectations; and had heard frequent reports of the ſpreading of *chriſtianity*; notwithſtanding his *father*, and the *jews* in general, had indeavored to cruſh it. Nay; it is not unlikely, but that he might be acquainted with the character of St. PAUL himſelf. For theſe, or

*Ver.* 16. [e] Cic. *in* Verr. l. 4. c. 40, 41. & l. 5. c. 23; 109. See Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility, &c. part 1. book 1. chap. 10. § 8.

*Ver.* 19. [f] See Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel hiſtory*, as quoted in the note on Acts xvii. 22.

[g] From this, as well as many other places, in the ACTS *of the* APOSTLES, it is evident, that St. LUKE hath, generally, given us no more than the ſubſtance of the *ſpeeches*. For there is nothing of this, related in the place, where he mentions what paſſed, when the APOSTLE made his *firſt apologie*, before the *governor Feſtus*.

or like reaſons;—as *Herod Antipas* deſired to ſee OUR LORD, of whom he had heard ſo much; it is no wonder that *Agrippa* had the curioſity to ſee, and hear, the *great* APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. Accordingly; upon the information, which *Feſtus* had given him; *king Agrippa* deſired it, as a favor, that he might be permitted to hear him. To which, *Feſtus* readily replied: "Well, to-morrow you ſhall hear him." The next day, *Agrippa*, with his ſiſter *Bernice*, came to the *prætorium*, or *judgement-hall*, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue; makeing a moſt pompous and magnificent appearence. And, along with them, there came the *tribunes*, and other *roman officers*; and the principal perſons of the city *Cæſarea*. And, when they were ſeated; *Feſtus* gave orders that PAUL ſhould be brought. Who came preſently, in his humble garb, and (as it ſhould ſeem) with his chains on [h]. But, his inward integrity was more honorable, and of greater excellence, than all their external pomp and grandeur. When the priſoner appeared, *Feſtus* addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and ſaid: "*King Agrippa*; and all you, "who are here preſent; look upon this man! For this is the re- "markable perſon, againſt whom, the body of the *jews*, both at "*Jeruſalem*, and here in *Cæſarea*, have interceded with me; de- "ſireing that I would put him to death; and crying out, with great "vehemence, that he ought not to live any longer. But I declare, "that, though I have examined him, I have not found that he "hath done any thing, to deſerve his being put to death. And, "beſides, as he hath appealed to *Cæſar*; I am determined to ſend "him to *Rome*, as ſoon as I have an opportunity. But haveing, as "yet, no certain proof of his being guilty of any crime againſt "the *roman law*; I do not know, very well, what to write unto "*my ſovereign lord*. I have, therefore, brought him out, before "this company; and eſpecially before you, *king Agrippa*; that, "by a freſh examination of the affair, before a perſon of ſuch ſkill, "both in the *jewiſh* and *roman laws*, I may the better know how "to lay the accuſation before the *emperor*. For, to me, it ſeems "very abſurd, to ſend a priſoner, without ſignifying the crimes, "which are alleged againſt him."—*Feſtus* knew very well the account, which *Felix* had left behind him; and the accuſations of the leading men, among the *jews*, both at *Jeruſalem* and *Cæſarea*. Yet he was at a loſſe, what to allege againſt the APOSTLE; becauſe the *romans* had then no *laws* againſt the *chriſtians*. They were, ſo far,

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6.

Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII.

Acts xxv. 22, &c.



*Ver.* 23. [h] See the ſecond diſſertation, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on *Philemon*; ſecond edition.

An.Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 1, &c.

far, looked upon as a *ſect* of the *jews*. And, provided they injured no man in their civil rights, nor made any ſedition and diſturbance in the ſtate, they were protected by the *roman laws*. He was, therefore, in hopes that *king Agrippa*, who underſtood the *jewiſh* cuſtoms and privileges, would help him out of this difficulty; and teach him how to form his charge againſt the priſoner, in ſo uncommon and remarkable a caſe.

St. *PAUL*'s SPEECH before *king Agrippa*, *Bernice*, *Feſtus*, the *roman tribunes*, and the leading men of the city *Cæſarea*.

Then *Agrippa*, turning to the APOSTLE, ſaid, "You have leave to ſpeak for yourſelf." Upon which, he ſtretched forth his hand to the people, that they might keep ſilence; and then ſaid: "I think "it no ſmall advantage to me, and my righteous cauſe, *O king* "*Agrippa!* that I have this day an opportunity to ſpeak for my- "ſelf, before a perſon of ſo much underſtanding and humanity; "concerning all the crimes, which the *jews* lay to my charge; "eſpecially, ſeeing I know [i] you to be ſo well acquainted with all "the *ſects*, among the *jews*; and with their ſeveral opinions, ritual "obſervations, cuſtoms, prophecies, and expectations. Wherefore, "I deſire you to hear me with patience and candor. I came to "*Jeruſalem*, in my youth; and was educated, in my own nation, "at the feet of *Gamaliel*. And how I behaved there, the *jews*, in "general, know very well; who have, indeed, known me from "the begining of my appearence in the world, and can teſtifie (if "they pleaſe) that, according to the ſtricteſt *ſect* of *our religion*, I "lived a *phariſee*. And now, I am called in queſtion, for my "hope in that great promiſe of a reſurrection to eternal life, which "GOD made unto our fathers. In the faith and hope of which "promiſe's being accompliſhed, in due ſeaſon, the *twelve tribes* of "*Iſrael*

*Ver.* 3. [i] Εἰδὼς, or ἐπισάμενος, [*knowing*,] is the reading, in ſome of the *antient manuſcripts* and *verſions*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*; which reading is followed, in our common *engliſh* verſion. However; ſeveral learned men have thought it an addition to the text; for which there is no occaſion. What ſeems to have led ſome of the tranſcribers to have inſerted ſuch a word, was, that σὲ and γνώστην are of different caſes. But, for a genitive caſe abſolute, the *Attics* put the accuſative abſolute, without regarding what went before, or followed after.

" *Iſrael*[k] intenſely ſerve GOD, night and day.—And yet, for regard- An. Chriſt. 60.
" ing this promiſe, O *king Agrippa*, and hopeing for it's being ac- Nero. 6.
" compliſhed, I am accuſed, by the *jews*; as if I was the worſt of
" malefactors. They, indeed, expect a temporal *meſſiah*. But I Book III. Ch. VIII.
" look upon *Jeſus of Nazareth* to be the very perſon, deſcribed by Sect VIII.
" the prophets. And hold, that, as a moſt convinceing proof of Acts
" his being the *meſſiah*; he, on the third day, roſe again from the xxvi. 7, &c.
" dead. What! do you deem it a thing incredible, that a GOD of
" infinite power ſhould raiſe the dead to life again? Or was it un-
" becomeing the divine wiſdom, to raiſe ſo extraordinary a perſon,
" as JESUS of *Nazareth?* Concerning this laſt, you, perhaps, will
" hæſitate. Nay; I muſt own, that I once did think it my duty,
" to do many things, in oppoſition to the name, or doctrine, of
" that ſacred perſon. Which I alſo did, even at *Jeruſalem*. And
" ſeveral of the *chriſtians*, his followers, I ſhut up in priſon; have-
" ing received, from the chief-prieſts, power and authority, for that
" very purpoſe. And, when ſome of them were put to death, I
" freely gave my voice againſt them; joining with their bittereſt
" enemies, and heartily approveing of their being cut off. I fre-
" quently puniſhed others of them, in ſeveral of the *ſynagogues* of
" the *jews*. And, by my ſeverity to them, I compelled them to
" blaſpheme JESUS, and ſpeak evil of *his doctrine*. Nay; being
" outrageouſly mad againſt them, I perſecuted them, beyond the
" borders of *Judæa*, and into diſtant and ſtrange cities.

" You will, doubtleſſe, be apt to inquire, how I came ſo very
" much to alter my ſentiments? But the reaſons were ſtrong;
" and the evidences ſuch as I dared not to reſiſt. For, as I was go-
" ing to *Damaſcus*, with authority and commiſſion from the chief-
" prieſts, to apprehend the *chriſtians*, and carry as many of them,
" as I could find there, in chains, to *Jeruſalem*: about the mid-
" dle of the day, *O king!* as I was almoſt entering the city, I ſaw
" a light, which came down from heaven, and ſurrounded me and
" my company. A light, which far exceded the ſplendor of the
" ſun, even in his meridian brightneſſe! So aweful was the appear-
" ence, that we all fell proſtrate. And I, alone, heard a voice,
" ſpeak-

*Ver.* 7. [k] Great numbers of the *ten tribes* returned, with the *two tribes* of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, from the *Babyloniſh captivity*. [Ezra vi. 16, 17. *and* viii. 35. Luke ii. 36.] And many of them, who did not return to the land of *Canaan*, did, nevertheleſſe, entertain hopes of the comeing of the *meſſiah*; and of a *reſurrection*, and future ſtate of happineſſe.

That great numbers of the 12 tribes were ſtill in being, ſee *the hiſtory before the paraphraſe and notes on St.* James, p. 14, &c.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 14, *&c.*

ſpeaking unto me, in the *hebrew* tongue, "*Saul, Saul, why perſe-*
"*cuteſt thou me*; who am induced with ſuch power, as will, if
"thou continueſt to reſiſt it, in the end, prove thy ruine? For it
"is, in effect, like kicking againſt ſpikes." Upon that, I inquired,
"Who art thou, LORD! that I ſhould be charged with perſecute-
"ing thee?" To which, the LORD replied: "I am JESUS of *Na-*
"*zareth*; whom thou perſecuteſt, with ſo much zele and fury.
"For perſecuteing of my diſciples, is, in effect, to perſecute me.
"However; ariſe, and ſtand upon thy feet. For I have made this
"glorious appearence, unto thee; on purpoſe to conſtitute thee a
"miniſter, and a witneſſe, both of the things, which thou haſt now
"ſeen; and of the things, about which I will, hereafter, appear
"unto thee. And, as I imploy thee, I will protect and deliver
"thee; both from the people of the *jews*[l], unto whom I now
"ſend thee; and from the *gentiles*, unto whom I will hereafter
"ſend thee[m]: —to open their eyes, and to turn them from dark-
"neſſe unto light; and, from *idolatry*, and ſubjection to *ſatan*,
"unto the liveing and *true* GOD; that, upon conforming to the
"*chriſtian revelation*, they may receive a full remiſſion of all their
"paſt ſins; and, at laſt, obtain the inheritance of eternal life, a-
"mong

*Ver.* 17. [l] *Beza* mentions two *manuſcripts*, and Dr. *Mill* adds the *ſyriac verſion*, which read τῶν ἰουδαίων [*of the jews,*] after λαοῦ [the *people.*] But, [by *the people,*] in the new teſtament, is, commonly, meant *the jews*. That, therefore, ſeems to be the true interpretation, though not the true reading.

m Inſtead of νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω, *I now ſend thee*; ſome of the moſt antient and beſt *manuſcripts* and *verſions*, mentioned by Dr. *Mill*, leave out νῦν [*now*;] and others read ἀποστελῶ, *I will ſend thee*: intimateing that St. PAUL is here giveing an account of CHRIST's glorious appearence to him, at his converſion to *chriſtianity*; when his apoſtleſhip to the gentile world was a future and diſtant event.

Some have thought, "that St. PAUL received his commiſſion, to go and preach, *directly*, to *the idolatrous gentiles*, when he was converted to the chriſtian faith, on the road to *Damaſcus*." But, if he then received a commiſſion to go, *directly*, to preach to *the idolatrous gentiles*; it ſeems ſtrange that there ſhould be no clear proof that he did ſo. That he ſhould *then* receive his whole commiſſion, in general terms, which were to be explaned, afterwards, and gradually, is exactly agreeable to OUR LORD's giveing the other APOSTLES, their commiſſion, *Matt.* x. 1, *&c.* For there are ſeveral things, in that commiſſion, relateing to their ſecond expedition; which commenced after the death of OUR LORD, and the effuſion of the ſpirit. *For inſtance*, what is ſaid, *Matt* x. 18, *&c.* And yet, the commiſſion is introduced, as if it had related to their firſt expedition onely; *namely*, that which took place, before our LORD's death, when they went to the *jews*, in the land of *Iſrael*; and to them alone. *Matt.* x. 5, 6, 7. [Compare *Matt.* xxviii. 19. and *Mark* xvi. 15. with *Acts* x. 1, *&c.*] This, together with the various reading, mentioned above, may induce us to think that, on the road to *Damaſcus*, St. PAUL might receive his commiſſion at large. And that the particulars of it were opened afterwards, and at different times and places.

" mong ſuch as are purified, by the ſame *goſpel* method." After I
" had received all theſe evidences of the reſurrection of JESUS from
" the dead, and of his preſent ſtate of glory; and was fully con-
" vinced that he was the *promiſed meſſiah*; O *king Agrippa*, I was
" not diſobedient to the directions, which I had received from the
" heavenly glory[n]: but immediately imbraced the *chriſtian faith*,
" myſelf; and preached it, as ſoon as I had opportunity, unto
" others: —Firſt unto the *jews* at *Damaſcus*, and *Arabia*; then
" in *Jeruſalem*, and through the whole country of *Judæa*; and,
" after that, to the *gentiles:* admoniſhing them to repent, and turn
" unto GOD; practiſeing things becomeing ſuch a profeſſion of re-
" pentence. Theſe are my crimes! theſe the reaſons, why the *jews*
" apprehended me, in the *temple*; and attempted, in a tumultuous
" manner, with their own hands, to take away my life! Since that,
" ruffians have laid in wait, to aſſaſſinate me. And ſuch, indeed,
" has been the oppoſition, which I have met with, that it is, through
" the extraordinary favor and protection of GOD, that I am alive, at
" this day; to witneſſe, both to perſons of the loweſt degree, and
" to perſons of dignity and diſtinction, (ſuch as thoſe, before whom
" I now ſtand!) that the *meſſiah*, ſpoken of by *Daniel*[o], was to ſuffer;
" and that he ſhould be the firſt, who ſhould riſe again from the
" dead, never to die any more. And, that he ſhould be a light to
" inlighten the *gentiles*, as well as the people of *Iſrael*"[p].

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 18, &c.

When St. PAUL had proceded ſo far, in his *apologie*; *Feſtus*, who had been, but a little while, the *procurator* of that province, and who was very much unacquainted with the *jewiſh* and *chriſtian religion*, cried out; " Certainly, PAUL, you are beſide yourſelf!
" Your over-much learning hath turned your head, and brought on
" this unaccountable madneſſe." To which the APOSTLE replied, with the utmoſt decency and juſtneſſe; " I am not mad, *moſt excel-*
" *lent Feſtus!* For what I ſpeak is true, and procedes from a ſound
" mind. It is onely your unacquaintedneſſe with the ſacred write-
" ings of the *jews*, and with what hath lately been done, towards
" planting *chriſtianity* in the world, which makes theſe things appear
" ſo ſtrange and unaccountable to you. They appear in a very dif-
" ferent light to the *king*, who very well underſtandeth ſuch things;
" and before whom I, therefore, ſpeak with the more freedom and
" planeneſſe. For I am ſatisfied he muſt have heard of theſe
" things, once and again; becauſe they have been made no ſecret
" of, nor were they tranſacted in a corner; but expoſed to the pub-
" lic

*Ver.* 19. [n] Iſa. l. 5. *Ver.* 23. [o] Dan. ix. 25, 26. [p] Iſa. xlii. 6, 7. *and* xlix. 6.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. VIII. Sect. VIII. Acts xxvi. 26, &c.

" lic notice and examination of mankind." And then, addreſſing himſelf more particularly to the *king*, he ſaid: " O *king Agrippa!* " give me leave to aſk you: Do not you believe the *prædictions* of " the *prophets?* But, why do I aſk ſuch a queſtion? I know that " you are a *profeſſed jew*, and am fully perſuaded that you do believe " the *prædictions* of the *prophets*. Neither do I doubt of your ca- " pacity, to diſcern how exactly they are accompliſhed, in JESUS " *of Nazareth.*" Upon which, *Agrippa* ſaid unto PAUL; " You " almoſt perſuade me to be a *chriſtian.*" The APOSTLE replied, in the moſt benevolent and ingageing manner, and with great affection and earneſtneſſe: " Would to GOD, that not onely you, O " *king*; but alſo, all, that now hear me, were not onely *almoſt*, " but *altogether* ſuch as I am; except the miſery and diſgrace of " theſe chains [q]." And, when he had ſaid thus, the *king* roſe up, and his ſiſter *Bernice*, and all the company. But, the leading perſons were ſo affected with *his apologie*, that they all agreed, he had done nothing to deſerve death, or ſo much as impriſonment. And *king Agrippa*, in particular, (who was well acquainted with both the *jewiſh* and *roman laws*; and knew what was criminal, and what not) declared it, to *Feſtus*, as his opinion, that he ought to have been releaſed, immediately; if he had not appealed to *Cæſar*. For, after an appeal to *Cæſar*, the judge, from whom he appealed, could no more abſolve, than condemn, him. The whole affair was, after that, to be reſerved to the cognizeance, and determination, of the *emperor*.

*Ver.* 29. [q] " When I conſider this APOSTLE as appearing, either before *the witty* " *Athenians*, or before *a roman court of judicature*, in the preſence of their great men " and ladies; I ſee how handſomely he accommodateth himſelf to the apprehenſions, " and temper, of thoſe politer people, *&c.*" *Lord* Shaftsbury's *characteriſtics*, vol. I. p. 30.

St. PAUL is thought to have had his chain now wrapt about his own arm; and that he was not chained to a ſoldier, whileſt he ſtood before this grand and numerous audience. [*See the ſecond diſſertation, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on* Philemon, *ſecond edition.*]

CHAP.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Some farther account of the* reign *of* Nero; *and of the* affairs *of the* jews.

SEneca and *Burrus* conſpired together, and deveſted *Agrippina*, the mother of the emperor *Nero*, of the power, which ſhe had uſed, in ſo arbitrary and inſolent a manner. [*Dio*, p. 689, *&c.*] And, when they had got the power into their own hands, they generally made a good uſe of it. Though, in ſome inſtances, they are branded by the *antient hiſtorians*. And, particularly, *Seneca* is blamed; from whom, a better behavior, and a more juſt and merciful adminiſtration, might have been expected; as he made ſo great pretences to *moral philoſophy*, and has ſo frequently recommended *juſtice* and *beneficence*. As for *Nero*, he did not much trouble his head, about the affairs of government; but lived an idle, voluptuous life. In which, *Seneca* and *Burrus* did not interrupt him: in hopes he would leave affairs to their management, when he had ſo many ſenſual gratifications. But they did not duely conſider, what a corruption of manners is occaſioned by voluptuouſneſſe; and how dangerous it might one day prove, not onely to themſelves, but to the *whole roman empire*. Nor were there wanting perſons, among the companions of his pleaſures, who incited him to deſpiſe the conduct of his two prime miniſters; and to account it glorious, for ſo great an *emperor* as he was, to be under no controul. An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

We cannot draw his picture at full length, becauſe his whole reign doeth not come within the compaſſe of *this period*. But, it may give the reader ſome *idea* of him, to ſay that his debauchery gradually increaſed; and led him into many and great extravagances. And his extravagance occaſioned his oppreſſing the people, with new and heavy taxes; and his takeing away the eſtates of many rich perſons, and the lives alſo of ſome of them.

*Agrippina*, being incenſed at her being thrown down, on a ſudden, from the vaſt power, which ſhe had ſo long injoyed, threatened to depoſe her ſon *Nero*, whom ſhe had raiſed to the *empire*; and exalt *Britannicus*, in his ſtead. Upon which, *Nero* took off the unhappy

An. Christ. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

happy young prince, by a ſtrong doſe of poiſon: pretending, indeed, that he died of the falling ſickneſſe; (to which he had been ſubject;) but the marks of the poiſon were too evident, to admit of ſuch a pretence.

The leudneſſe, debauchery, and extravagance, of *this young tyrant*, made him much more reſemble *Caligula*, than *Auguſtus*. And he now, indeed, began to form himſelf upon the model of *Caligula*. His chief favorite was *Otho*; a man of an infamous character, and of a diſpoſition very like that of his maſter. To *Otho*, he gave *Poppæa Sabina* to wife. But the *emperor* was in love with her; and lived in as great familiarity with her, as *Otho* himſelf. There was an irreconcileable quarrel between *Poppæa* and *Agrippina*; which ended, at laſt, in *Agrippina*'s deſtruction. For, after various attempts to poiſon her; and to murther her, by ſeveral other methods; *Nero* ſent *Anicetus*, the captain of a ſhip, with two of his ſailors, to put *his mother* to death. As ſoon as they entered the chamber, ſhe gueſſed what they were come about. And, uncovering herſelf; ſhe bade them "ſtrike the womb, that had brought forth *Nero*." Upon which, one of them ſtunned her, by ſtrikeing her, on the head, with a club. And the other two, drawing their ſwords, killed her with many wounds. When *Nero* heard that *his mother* was dead, he could not believe it, 'till he went to the place himſelf. And there, viewing her naked body, all over, very deliberately, he ſaid: "I profeſſe, I did not know that my mother was ſo handſome a woman." After that, he gave money among the guards, that they might be willing to obey him, in all his cruel and unjuſt orders; and accuſed *his mother* of many and great crimes; and, particularly, of conſpireing againſt his life. In which, he ſaid, ſhe was diſcovered. And, therefore, as he gave it out, ſhe had laid violent hands upon herſelf. And ſuch was then the degeneracy of the *romans*, that they congratulated him, upon the death of *his mother*; as if it had been ſome mighty and glorious victory. But his own conſcience was filled with the utmoſt horror. And, for a long time, he phanſied that *his mother's ghoſt* was continually haunting him. However; he added the murther of *his aunt*, to that of *his mother*; though ſhe was guilty of no crime, but expreſſed the greateſt tenderneſſe and affection for him. And, after her death, he ſuppreſſed her will, and ſeized upon her eſtate. He had often attempted to ſtrangle his wife, *Octavia*. In which he could not ſuccede. He, therefore, publicly divorced her. The people reſenting it, that he treated her ſo cruelly, by whoſe means he had been advanced to the

*imperial*

*imperial dignity*; and, chargeing him with ingratitude, he baniſhed her, and afterwards put her to death; under a pretence of her frequent adulteries, of which ſhe was intirely innocent. After he had divorced *Octavia*, he took *Poſppæa*, from *Otho*, and married her. But the rage of luſt, cruelty, and extravagance, to which he at laſt arrived; and the miſerable death, by which he ended his days, after he had reigned above thirteen years; do not come within the compaſſe of the *preſent hiſtory*. —— He is, generally, thought to have exceded *Caligula*; and to have been ſo great a monſter of vice and cruelty, that *his name* is become a *proverb*, for the worſt of tyrants. An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

We learn from *Joſephus*, [antiq. jud. l. 20. c. 8. §. 10, &c.] that the affairs of the *jews*, about this time, were as follow. The *ſicarii* had committed many cruel and illegal actions, in *Jeruſalem*, and the neighboring country; being deluded by an *impoſtor*, who promiſed them deliverance, and an end of all their troubles, if they would follow him into the *deſert*. But *Feſtus* ſent out ſoldiers, againſt them; who ſlew both the *impoſtor*, and his deluded followers. This was a farther accompliſhment of OUR SAVIOR's *prædiction*, concerning the *falſe prophets*, who would appear, about this time.

King *Agrippa* had an houſe at *Jeruſalem*, which joined to the *porticoe* of the tower of *Antonia*. That houſe he raiſed to a conſiderable height. By which mean, he had not onely a fine proſpect of the city, but could, from his dineing-room, ſee all over *the courts of the temple*; that is, the *court of the prieſts*, where the *ſacrifices* were offered, as well as the *two outer courts*. In this proſpect, the *king* took great delight. But the leading men, among the *jews*, at *Jeruſalem*, highly reſented it, as an impious thing. For they reckoned it unlawful, for any, but the *prieſts*, to ſee what was done in the *innermoſt court*. They, therefore, ran up an high wall, at the extremity of the weſt-ſide of the *inner court of the temple*; whereby they not onely obſtructed the *king*'s view, from his dineing-room; but alſo the proſpect from the *weſtern porticoe*; where the *romans* uſed to keep guard, dureing the feſtivals, to prevent any diſturbance in, or about, the *courts* of the *temple*. King *Agrippa* highly reſented their building ſuch a wall. And *Feſtus*, yet more: commanding them to pull it down again. But they deſired he would give them leave to ſend ambaſſadors, to lay the matter before *Nero*. For they intimated, "that death was preferable to the ſeeing any part of the *temple* pulled down." *Feſtus*, ſo far,

An.Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

far, granted their requeſt. Upon which, they ſent ten leading men to *Nero*; and, along with them, *Iſmael* the *high-prieſt*, and *Helcias*, the keeper of the ſacred treaſury. When they came to *Rome*, they made intereſt with *Poppæa*, the wife of *Nero*. And, by her means, not onely obtained pardon for what they had done; but, that the wall, which they had built, ſhould remain. The ten principal men, whom the *jews* had ſent, upon that affair, were diſmiſſed. But *Iſmael* and *Helcias* were kept, as hoſtages for the good behavior of the *jews*. Upon which, king *Agrippa* gave the *high-prieſthood* to *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Cabi*; ſon of *Simon*, who had formerly injoyed that dignity.

*Feſtus*, the *procurator* of *Judæa*, died. And *Nero* appointed *Albinus* to ſuccede him. About the ſame time, king *Agrippa* depoſed *Joſeph*; and made *Ananus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, *high-prieſt*, in his ſtead. He was a *ſadducee*, and a fierce and cruel man; as *that ſect* were commonly reputed to be. And, though the *jews* had not the power in their own hands; he called a council of judges, from among the *jews*; and did many illegal things, before *Albinus* arrived in the province. Which greatly exaſperated *Albinus*, and made *Agrippa* to depoſe him; after he had been *high-prieſt*, onely for three months. And that dignity was beſtowed upon *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Damnæus*. But, when *Albinus* came to *Jeruſalem*, *Ananus* made his peace with him, by giveing him large preſents. And ſo the matter was dropt, and his illegal procedeings no farther inquired into. *Albinus*, upon his arriveal, indeavored to ſettle the province, as well as he could; particularly, by deſtroying a great number of the *ſicarii*. *Ananias*, the ſon of *Nebedæus*, who had been *high-prieſt*, was a powerful man. And, by bribeing *Albinus*, and the preſent *high-prieſt*, arrived to yet greater wealth and power. For he had a ſet of wicked ſervants, who would join themſelves to ſome of the moſt abandoned and deſperate men; and go and plunder the barns of the *inferior prieſts* of their tithes; and beat ſuch as oppoſed them. The other *chief-prieſts*, and their ſervants, did the like; when they ſaw that they might do it, with impunity. By which means, ſeveral of the *inferior prieſts* periſhed with hunger. The *ſicarii* entered the city, by night, upon the approach of an high feſtival, and took alive *Eleazar*'s *ſecretary*. He was the ſon of *Ananus*, the *high-prieſt*. And *Eleazar*, his maſter, was captain of the *temple*. When the *ſicarii* had made him their priſoner, they would not releaſe him; 'till *Albinus* had been prevailed upon, to release some of the *ſicarii*, whom he had in cuſtody. After which, the

the *ſicarii* were perpetually attempting to take ſome perſons of conſequence, that they might change them for ſome of their own fraternity. An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6.

About this time, there came to *Jeruſalem*, out of the country, a poor man, called *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Ananus*. And, though the city was now in profound peace, and abounded with plenty; he, at the *feaſt of tabernacles*, went up to the *temple*, and began to cry out, ſuddenly, "A voice from the eaſt. A voice from the weſt. "A voice from the four winds. A voice againſt *Jeruſalem*, and "the *temple*. A voice againſt bridegrooms and brides. A voice a-"gainſt all the people!" After which, he went, about every ſtreet of the city, crying out, in that manner, night and day. Some of the leading men among the *jews* took it ill, that he ſhould utter ſuch dreadful bodeings. They, therefore, laid hold of him, and beat him with many ſtripes. Whileſt he ſaid nothing, in his own defence, nor blamed thoſe, who ſcourged him; but went on, repeteing the ſame diſmal words, as before. Upon which, the principal men, among the *jews*, ſuſpecting that the man was inſpired, carried him before *Albinus*, the *roman procurator*; who ordered him to be laſhed, 'till his bones were bare. Dureing which, he neither begged for mercy, nor ſhed any tears; but, at every ſtroke, cried, as loud as he could, and with a melancholy voice, "Woe, "woe to *Jeruſalem!*" *Albinus* aſked him, "Who he was? and "whence he came? and why he ſaid ſuch things?" But he would anſwer him nothing. He onely continued lamenting the city; 'till *Albinus* diſmiſſed him, as thinking him mad. To the breaking out of the war, he never went to any of the citizens, neither was he ſeen talking to any body; but continued to repete the ſame lamentation, "Woe, woe to *Jeruſalem!*" He never ſpoke againſt any particular perſon; though he was daily beat, and abuſed. Neither did he ſpeak well of ſuch as gave him his food; but onely repeted the dire preſage. He was obſerved to be loudeſt at the *feſtivals*. And, though he held it for ſeven years and five months, he was neither hoarſe nor weary. Nor did he deſiſt, 'till he ſaw his *prædictions* begun to be accompliſhed, by the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. For, after the *romans* had incompaſſed the city, he went upon the walls, and cried out, again, with a loud voice; "Woe, woe to the city, and the *temple*, and the people!" And at laſt he added, "Woe, alſo, to myſelf!" Which words were ſcarce uttered, before a ſtone, thrown from one of the *roman engines*, fell upon him, and put an end to his.

Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. IX. Acts xxvi. 32.

his life. [*See Joſephus, concerning the jewiſh war, book* 6. *chap.* 5. § 3, 4.]

If *Joſephus* his account may be depended upon; (And, indeed, one can hardly ſuſpect that he would falſifie, in a thing, that was ſo public, and well known. And, ſuppoſeing the account true;) his obſervations, concerning his being ſent, as a *prophet*, or extraordinary meſſenger, from GOD, ſeem to be very juſt, and well-grounded. And it was, no doubt, a ſignal and loud warning of the approaching *war*; which ended in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the *temple*; and the moſt amazeing deſolation of a *wicked people*, that ever was heard of.

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## CHAP. X.

*St.* PAUL *ſets out upon his* fourth apoſtolic journey: *ſails for* Rome: *takes the iſland* Crete, *in his way*; *is ſhipwreck'd, and caſt upon the iſland* Melita. *When he arrived at* Rome, *he was confined there, in his own hired houſe, for two years. From thence, he wrote ſeveral* epiſtles; *received frequent meſſages, from diſtant places*; *and ſent meſſages to ſeveral of the* churches. *Acts* xxviiith *and* xxviiith *chapters.*

### SECT. I.

*The* APOSTLE *ſails by ſeveral places: Is ſhipwreck'd, and caſt upon the iſland* Melita. *Acts* xxvii. 1, *to the end of that chapter.*

ST. PAUL was not permitted to take *Antioch*, the *metropolis* of *Syria*, in his way, before he ſet out upon this *fourth apoſtolic journey*; as he had done, in the begining of his three former journeys: becauſe he was now a priſoner, and under the controul of others; and ſent to *Rome*, at their charge, and according to their order.

order. And, when *Feſtus* had determined, in conſequence of St. PAUL's appealing to *Cæſar*, to ſend *him* [a], by ſea, to *Italy*; he delivered the APOSTLE, and ſeveral other priſoners; who were, likewiſe, to be ſent to *Rome*, to be heard, before the *emperor*; to the care of a *centurion*, or *roman captain*, with his hundred ſoldiers. The *captain*'s name was *Julius*; who was (very probably) a *freedman* of the *Julian*, or *Cæſarean*, *family*. For *freedmen* had, commonly, the names of their maſters, who gave them their *freedom*. He was *centurion* of a *cohort*, belonging to the *legion* called *Auguſtus* his *legion*. And, going on board a ſhip, which belonged to *Adramyttium*, one of the ports of *Myſia*, they ſet out, from *Cæſarea*; intending to ſail by the coaſts of *Aſia minor*. Along with the APOSTLE, there went St. LUKE, the *author* of one of the *four goſpels*, and of the ACTS *of the* APOSTLES. And *Ariſtarchus* [b], the *Macedonian*, from the city of *Theſſalonica*. He had gone, as one of the meſſengers of the *churches*, to carry the charitable collection, to *Jeruſalem*. It is likely that he had followed St. PAUL, from *Jeruſalem*, to *Cæſarea*; and now determined to accompany him, when he found that he was to be ſent to *Rome*. And, ſailing along the coaſts of *Palæſtine*, they came, the next day, to *Sidon*; which was a famous city, and *mart* town, of *Phœnicia*. There the captain, *Julius*, treated St. PAUL with great humanity; freely permitting him to viſit the *chriſtians*, or any other friends; and to receive any favor, which they pleaſed to ſhow him. Looſeing from *Sidon*, they ſailed on the north-ſide of *Cyprus*; coaſting it along, by the iſland, becauſe the wind was againſt them. But, afterwards, ſailing farther from the coaſt, over the ſea [c], which waſhed *Cilicia*, St. PAUL's native country; and *Pamphilia*, the adjacent region; they landed at *Myra*, (or *Limyra*,) a city of *Lycia*. And the *centurion*, finding there a ſhip, which came from *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; and which was carrying corne, and other goods, into *Italy*; he agreed with the maſter of the veſſel, to take him, and all the company, aboard; and carry them into *Italy*. And, putting to ſea, they ſailed ſlowly, ſeveral

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I.

Acts xxvii. 1, &c.

*Ver.* 1. [a] Αὐτὸν, *him*, is expreſſed in the *vulgar*, *ſyriac*, and *arabic*, *verſions*; and ſeemeth to have been the original reading. For *Feſtus* could not determine to ſend *Luke* and *Ariſtarchus*, St. PAUL's companions, thither. They were not his priſoners.

*Ver.* 2. [b] The *vulgate* reads, μενόντων σὺν ἡμῖν, &c. Perſeverante nobiſcum *Ariſtarcho*; [*Ariſtarchus continuing with us:*] intimateing, that the other meſſengers of the *churches*, which came, with St. PAUL and St. LUKE, to *Jeruſalem*, did not continue with them.

*Ver.* 5. [c] Τὸ τε πέλαγος, &c.

An.Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. Acts xxvii. 7, &c.

ſeveral days. And, when they were ſcarce come over againſt *dos*, a city and *promontory* of *Doris*, in the *peninſula* of *Caria*; the wind being weſterly, and not ſuffering them to ſteer a ſtraight courſe, they ſailed, under the iſland *Crete*, which is now called *Candie*, over againſt the city and *promontory* of *Salmone*. And haveing juſt paſt that, they came into a port of *Crete*; which was then (and is to this day) called *the Fair havens*. Not far from which, was, the city *Laſea*, or *Alaſſa* [d].

St. LUKE hath ſaid nothing of St. PAUL's preaching, in *Crete*, at this time. But, poſſibly, he might preach there. For (as we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve) there are ſeveral inſtances of the APOSTLE's preaching at a place, upon his firſt comeing thither. And yet St. LUKE, becauſe of his deſigned brevity, hath thought fit to paſſe it over in ſilence. However; the APOSTLE doeth not ſeem to have had an opportunity to make many converts, in the iſland, at this time. For, though the captain, *Julius*, was a perſon of ſingular humanity, and gave him as much liberty as he could; yet the *Fair havens*, and the city *Alaſſa*, were all the places, that he could now go to; becauſe their ſtay here was but ſhort.

Haveing ſpent ſo long a time, in ſailing ſo little a way, and the ſeaſon of the year rendering ſailing very hazardous; St. PAUL adviſed them to winter at the *Fair havens*. For the *faſt* was now over; that is, the yearly *faſt of atonement*, for the ſins of the people of *Iſrael*, mentioned in many places of the old teſtament. In two or three of which places, it is ordered to be kept on the tenth day of the ſeventh month; five days before the *feaſt of tabernacles* [e]. Now, the *feaſt of tabernacles* began on the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month; that month, which the *jews* called *Tiſri*, and which anſwers to part of *ſeptember* and part of *october*, in our way of divideing the months. This *jewiſh faſt*, therefore, fell about the twenty-fifth of *ſeptember*. And, as it was now paſt, for ſome time, the nights were growing long and dark, and the heavens cloudy; the *michaelmas* flows were comeing down upon the *mediterranean ſea*; and the ſtormy months of autumn and winter advanceing. But, though the APOSTLE's advice was ſo reaſonable; and founded upon a *prophecie*, that, if they did put to ſea again, it would be to the hazard,

*Ver.* 8. [d] See the *Alexandrian*, and one more, *manuſcript*, in Dr. *Mill*; and *Grotius* on this place.

*Ver.* 9. Lev. xvi. 29, *&c. and* xxiii. 27, *&c.* Numb. xxix. 7, *&c.* It is called a *ſabbath*, [Lev. xvi. 31. and xxiii. 32. and perhaps, alſo, Iſa. lviii. 3; 13.] becauſe they were to abſtain from all manner of work that day; as on the *weekly ſabbath*,

hazard, not onely of the loading and the ſhip, but even of their lives, alſo; yet *Julius* depended more upon the judgement of the pilot, and the maſter of the ſhip, than upon any thing which the APOSTLE could ſay. And, as the *Fair havens* was an inconvenient port to winter in, as being but poorly defended againſt winds and ſtorms; the majority were for leaveing it, and trying if they could not get to *Phœnice*, (another port in *Crete*,) that they might winter there. For it was a much more ſafe and convenient harbor; being made in the form of an half moon; looking towards the ſouth-weſt, and north-weſt; whereby it kept off the ſtormy winds, on every ſide; and ſecured the ſhips, which rode at anchor there. And, while the ſouth-wind blew ſoftly, they ſuppoſed that they could compaſſe their deſign. And, accordingly, they made an attempt; coaſting the *iſland Crete*, as far as they could. But they had not long been out of the harbor of the *Fair havens*, before a very ſtormy and tempeſtuous wind, called [*Euro-aquilo* [f], or] a *north-eaſt wind*, aroſe againſt them; and carried them out to ſea. And, when the ſhip was carried violently along, and not able to bear up, againſt ſuch a great ſtorm; they even committed her to the winds and waves. And, running under a little *iſland*, called *Clauda* [g], they had much a-do to hoiſt the boat, out of the ſea, into the ſhip. And, when they had, with ſome difficulty, ſecured the boat, they uſed what helps they could, to ſtrengthen and defend the ſhip; undergirding it with ropes, to prevent it's ſpliting; and fortifying it, as much as they were able, againſt the violent ſtorm. And, fearing leſt they ſhould have been driven upon the *ſyrtes*, or *quick-ſands*, on the coaſts of *Africa*; they ſtruck ſail, and then let the ſhip drive. And, when they were excedeingly toſſed about, in the ſtorm; the billows ſwelling, and the ſeas roaring; the next day, the ſailors threw the goods overboard, to lighten the ſhip. And, on the third day, all hands were buſie, in caſting over-board the very tackling of the ſhip. And when neither ſun, moon [h], nor ſtars appeared, for ſeveral days; and the waves ran high, and the winds were ſtrong and violent; they began utterly to deſpair, even of their lives. And, when they had neglected their meals for a long time, St. PAUL went, and ſtood in the midſt of them, and ſaid:

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. Acts xxvii. 10, &c.



*Ver.* 14. [f] See the note upon the *hiſtory* before the paraphraſe and notes on *Titus*, p. 13. and what is ſaid in the *errata*, annexed to 2 *Timothy*, p. 144. firſt edition, p. 400. 2d edition.

*Ver.* 16. [g] It is, otherwiſe, called *Gaudos*, or *Cauda*. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

*Ver.* 20. [h] Μήτε σελήνης [*nor the moon*] is added in the *ſyriac verſion*. [See Dr. *Mill.*]

An. Chriſt 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. Acts xxvii. 21, &c.

ſaid: "Ought ye not to have taken my advice; and not have ſailed "from the *Fair havens* in *Crete?* If you had done ſo, you would "have avoided this reproach upon your ſkill in navigation; as well "as the loſſe of your merchandize, and tackle. However; I de- "ſire you would be no longer afraid. Becauſe, though the ſhip "ſhall be loſt; yet none of you ſhall loſe your lives. For there "appeared unto me, in a *viſion*, this night, the *angel* of the one "true GOD; whoſe ſervant I am, and whom I diligently and daily "worſhip; ſaying, "Be not afraid, PAUL! For thou muſt appear "before *Cæſar*. And, behold, GOD will, at thy requeſt, ſave the "lives of all thoſe, who are in the ſhip with thee." Wherefore, Sirs, "be of good chear. For I am ſatisfied that the divine promiſe will "be punctually accompliſhed. But we muſt firſt be caſt, by ſhip- "wreck, upon the coaſt of ſome *iſland*."

And it came to paſſe, about the fourteenth night, while the ſhip was toſſed, up and down, in the *Adriatic ſea*; about the middle of the night, the ſailors ſuſpected that they were drawing near ſome land. And, when they had ſounded, with line and plummet, they found the water about twenty fathoms deep. And, haveing gone a little farther, they ſounded again; and found it onely fifteen fathoms. And, when, by that, it evidently appeared, that they were drawing near ſome ſhore, they were afraid, leſt they ſhould have run upon the rocks, or ſhelves, which commonly abound nigh the coaſts of *iſlands*. They, therefore, caſt four anchors out of the ſtern; wiſhing earneſtly that it were day, that they might ſee the ſhore. In the mean time, the ſailors attempted to make their eſcape, out of the ſhip; and let down the boat, into the ſea, under a pretence of caſting anchors, at a greater diſtance, out of the fore-part of the ſhip; but, in reality, to make off with the boat, and ſave their own lives. St. PAUL perceiveing their deſign, ſaid, to the *centurion* and ſoldiers; "Unleſſe theſe ſailors continue in the "ſhip, to manage and make the beſt of it, the reſt cannot eſcape "with their lives." Upon which, the *ſoldiers* cut the ropes, by which the boat hung. And ſo it dropt into the ſea, before any of the ſailors had got into it. Juſt before break of day, the APOSTLE beged of them all to take ſome refreſhment; ſaying, "You have "had no ſet meals, and have eat very little[i], for theſe fourteen "days. Let me, therefore, adviſe you, for your health's ſake, to "eat ſomething. And, for your incouragement, I can aſſure you, "that

*Ver.* 33. [i] Compare *Matt.* xi. 18. with the APOSTLE's expreſſion in this place.

" that none of you ſhall loſe ſo much as an hair of your heads." Then he took bread, and chearfully gave thanks to GOD, in the preſence of the whole company. And, haveing broken the bread, he proceded to eat. Upon which, they all revived; and began to hope well, and to take ſome refreſhment, along with the APOSTLE. All the perſons aboard the ſhip, were no leſſe than two hundred and ſeventy ſix. And, being well refreſhed, they threw over-board their wheat, and other proviſions; that the ſhip might be light, and able to ſail near the ſhore. When it was day, they looked earneſtly to deſcry the land. But they could, none of them, tell what country they were upon the coaſts of. However; they diſcovered a creek, with a proper ſhore to land at: and they reſolved, if poſſible, to thruſt the ſhip in there. Weighing, therefore, their anchors, they committed the ſhip to the waves. Their ſhips, in thoſe days, had commonly two rudders, or ſteerages; one on each ſide; which were faſtened to the ſhip, by bands or chains. Perhaps, thoſe rudders had been faſtened, when they permitted the veſſel to drive before the wind. And they might, now, think it proper to looſe them, in order to ſteer the ſhip into the creek. For that reaſon, it has been ſuppoſed, that they looſed the *rudder-bands*. And, hoiſting up the ſail, which was in the fore-part of the ſhip, they made towards the ſhore. And, falling upon a cliff, where two currents of the ſea met, they ran the ſhip a-ground. And, while the fore-part ſtuck faſt, and remained immoveable, the hinder-part was broken, and ſhattered, by the violence of the waves [k]. Then the ſoldiers adviſed that the priſoners ſhould be killed; leſt any of them ſhould ſwim to ſhore, and ſo eſcape out of their hands, and they remain accountable for them. But the *centurion*, who had the charge of the priſoners, was willing to ſave the APOSTLE's life. He, therefore, hindered their cruel purpoſe [l]; and ordered, that ſuch of the priſoners, as could ſwim, ſhould throw themſelves firſt into the ſea, that they might not hinder the others, in ſhifting for themſelves; but be ready, on the ſhore, to aſſiſt as many as they could. And the reſt, ſome upon planks, and others upon

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. I. Acts xxvii. 34, *ad fin.*



*Ver.* 41. [k] St. PAUL ſaith, 2 *Cor.* xi. 25. " A day and a night, I have been in " the deep." But this *ſhipwreck* cannot be there referred to. For that *epiſtle* was writen long before this time.

*Ver.* 43. [l] GOD, at the requeſt of St. PAUL, ſaved the whole company from being drowned. And, for his ſake, *Julius*, the centurion, took care, that the priſoners were ſaved from being murthered. All this ought to be aſcribed to the over-ruleing providence, and mercy, of GOD.

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. pieces of the ſhattered ſhip, all made a ſhift to eſcape, and get ſafe to ſhore, with their lives and limbs.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. II. Acts xxviii. 1, *&c.*

## CHAP. X. SECT. II.

*They all ſtaid, three months, in* Melita. *St.* PAUL *ſhook off a* viper, *which bit his hand, without receiveing any harm. He miraculouſly healed the father of* Publius; *and many other ſick perſons. The* Meliteſe *were, in return, very kind to them.* Acts xxviii. 1,—11.

BEING all come ſafe aſhore, they found that the *iſland* was called *Melita*. There were two *iſlands* of that name; but this was what lay between *Africa* and *Sicily*. It is a ſmall iſland, being about twelve miles broad, and twenty long, and ſixty diſtant from *Sicily*, to the ſouth. It took it's name from the abundance of *honey* found therein. For *meli*, in *greek*, ſignifies *honey*. It, alſo, yields a great deal of *cotton*. And, though the ſoil is but three feet deep, above the ſolid rock, it is very fruitful. It is now called *Malta*. And the place, where they were driven aſhore, is, at this time, ſhown to travellers; and goes by the name of St. PAUL's *ſhore*, or *haven*. St. PAUL's ſhipwreck has, in later ages, occaſioned, alſo, a ſuperſtitious regard to this iſland. In conſequence of which, it was given, in the year of *our lord*, 1530. by the emperor, *Charles the* 5th, to *the knights of St. John*, in *Jeruſalem*, when they had been expelled, from *Rhodes*, by the *Turks*. They are one thouſand in number, of whom 500 always reſide in the iſland, and are called *Hoſpitallers*, *knights templars*, or *knights of Malta* [a].

The *Meliteſe*, though reckoned, by the *greeks* and *romans*, a *barbarous* and *unpoliſhed people* [b], treated them with great and uncommon

*Ver.* 1. [a] See Dr. *Doddridge*.

*Ver.* 2. [b] The *antients* looked upon *iſlanders* in general, as *rough-hewn aud unpoliſhed*; for want of a more free and common converſation with the reſt of mankind.

And

mon humanity, after their ſhipwreck; receiveing them all with an hearty welcome, and makeing a large fire, to warm and dry them; after they had been ſo much plunged in the ſea; and becauſe the ſeaſon was wet and cold. Among the reſt, St. PAUL was active; and put, upon the fire, ſome faggots of wood, which he himſelf had gathered; and, when they grew hot, out-leapt a *viper*, and faſtened upon his hand. The natives ſaw, by his chains, that he was a priſoner. And, when they obſerved this accident befal him, they diſcovered the ſame cenſorious ſpirit, which is yet too common in the world; *namely*, to look upon the afflictions of others to be judgements, and tokens of the divine diſpleaſure:—ſaying, one to another, "Without doubt, this man is a murtherer, or ſome noto-"rious malefactor. For, though he hath eſcaped from ſhipwreck; "yet *juſtice* perſueth him, and will not ſuffer him to live [c]: but "hath ſingled him out, and reſerved him to a more exemplary pu-"niſhment; appointing this *viper* as the executioner of divine ven-"geance." But the APOSTLE ſhook off that venomous and fierce creature, into the fire, without receiveing any, the leaſt, harm. [This was exactly agreeable to what OUR LORD had promiſed his *diſciples* ſhould do [d].] However; the *Meliteſe* watched him narrowly; expecting to ſee him ſwell, and be inflamed with the poiſon; or to fall down dead, ſuddenly. But, when they had watched him, a long time; and ſaw that he had received no harm, from that ſerpent, whoſe bite they knew to be mortal; they ran into the other extreme, and thought as much too highly of him, now, as they had unjuſtly cenſured him before. For, inſtead of a murtherer, they concluded he muſt needs be a *god*, in human ſhape; or elſe he could not have reſiſted the force of that poiſon [e].

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. II. Acts xxviii. 2, &c.

Not far from the place, where they had been ſhipwreck'd, was the ſeat of the chief man of the *iſland*; whoſe name was *Publius*; and who governed the iſland, under the *proconſul* of *Sicily*. He ſent

And the *greeks*, in particular, looked upon all nations, except their own, as *barbarous*. [See Rom. i. 14.] Juſt as the *jews* contemned men of other nations, and called them *gentiles*, upon the account of their *religion*.

*Ver.* 4. [c] See Amos v. 19.

*Ver.* 5. [d] See *Mark* xvi. 18. *Luke* x. 19. and compare, with this, the *miracles* of *Moſes*, recorded *Exod.* iv. 2,—5. *and* vii. 10, 11, 12.

*Ver.* 6. [e] The *Lyſtrians* would have worſhiped St. PAUL, as a *god*; and, afterwards, ſtoned him, as a *blaſphemer*, and the worſt of men. [*Acts* xiv. 11,—19.] So ſoon do unthinking perſons run from one extreme to another; and ſo little account is to be had of the warmth of affections, where it is not grounded upon *reaſon* and *conviction*!

An. Chriſt. 60. Nero. 6. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. II. Acts xxviii. 7, &c.

ſent for them, to his houſe; and, for three days, entertained them, in a kind and friendly manner. It happened that *Publius* his *father* kept his bed, at that time. For he labored under both a fever, and a bloody flux. To him, therefore, the APOSTLE went in, and prayed over him. And then, laying his hands upon him, (as OUR LORD had done, in working ſeveral of his *miraculous* cures; and as he had ordered his *diſciples*, the APOSTLES to do; when they miraculouſly healed diſeaſes[f]:—In conformity to CHRIST's example, and in obedience to his command, PAUL, I ſay, laid his hands upon the father of *Publius*, and) healed him, immediately and perfectly.

When this *miraculous* cure was noiſed abroad, ſeveral other perſons, in the *iſland*, who labored under ſickneſſe and other bodily diſorders, either came, or were brought; and St. PAUL perfectly and miraculouſly cured them all. In a grateful return for which favor, the people of the *iſland* ſhowed the APOSTLE and his company no ſmall reſpect; treating them generouſly, while they ſtaid there; and furniſhing them plentifully, at their departure, with ſuch proviſions, as they ſhould moſt want, in their voyage.

After three months, they met with another *Alexandrian* ſhip; which had wintered in the *iſland*, and was bound for *Italy*. It was called *Gemini*, or the *twins*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; from their images being ingraven on the fore-part of the ſhip; *that is*, "the "pictures of two young men, cloathed in white tunics and purple "upper garments: and rideing on two, beautiful, white horſes; with, "each of them, a javelin in his hand; and, by their ſide, half an "egg and a ſtar." When they appeared together, (as the *heathens* fabled, they ſometimes did,) they were looked upon, as *two deities*; which were propitious to ſailors. That, very likely, was the reaſon why both their images were ingraven on this ſhip. And, perhaps, moſt of them, who ſailed in company with the APOSTLE, might look upon it, as a good *omen*, that they ſailed under ſuch a protection; and might promiſe themſelves a more proſperous voyage, in this ſhip, than they had met with, in the ſhip, which brought them from *Crete*. As, indeed, they had. But it was oweing to the protection of a *ſuperior deity*, even the one true GOD, whoſe providence is conſtantly over all his works.

*Ver.* 8. [f] See *Mark* xvi. 18.

CHAP.

## CHAP. X. SECT. III.

*They ſailed from* Melita *to* Sicily. *From thence, to* Rhegium, *in* Italy. *After that, to* Puteoli; *from whence they went, by land, to* Rome. *Some* chriſtians *met them, at* Appii Forum; *and others, at* Tres Tabernæ. *Acts* xxviii. 12,—15.

LOOSEING from *Melita*, they ſailed to *Syracuſe*, the *metropolis* of the iſland *Sicily*, on the eaſtern coaſt. It is ſaid to have been twenty-two miles round, and to have equalled *Carthage* in it's riches. It was not far from *mount Ætna*; and was famous for an excellent haven. There, they tarried three days; either detained by the winds, or for the ſake of repairs, victualling, or traffic. From *Syracuſe*, they fetched a compaſſe; and ſailed, on the eaſtern coaſt of *Sicily*, to the town of *Rhegium*. It was a town, which lay upon the coaſts of *Italy*, nigh the ſtraits of *Sicily*, over againſt *Meſſana*, which ſtood in the iſland. The *greek* word, *Rhegium*, ſignifies a *breach*. And the *antients* ſo named this place, becauſe they ſuppoſed that, formerly, *Sicily* had been joined to *Italy*; 'till it was *broken off*, about this town, by an earthquake, or inundation [a]. When they had tarried, one day, at *Rhegium*, the wind ſhifted to the *ſouth*. By which mean, they ſailed along the coaſt of *Italy*; and arrived, the next day, at *Puteoli*; a city of *Campania*, nigh the city *Neapolis*, or *Naples*. *Strabo* ſaith, it was a very great *mart* town; where there was an harbor for ſhips, made by art and labor. An. Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. III. Acts xxviii. 12, &c.

So much had the goſpel ſpread, before St. PAUL's arriveal; that here, as well as at *Rome*, they found ſome *chriſtians*. I ſuppoſe, it's being a tradeing city conduced to it's haveing *chriſtianity*, more early than ſome other places.

The *chriſtians* at *Puteoli* beged of the APOSTLE to make ſome ſtay among them. To which, *Julius*, the *centurion*, with great benignity, conſented. And they tarried, there, ſeven days. From thence,

*Ver.* 13. [a] *Rhegium* comes from the *verb* ῥηγνύω, or ῥήγνυμι, [*to break.*] Vid *Juſtin. hiſt.* l. 4. c. 1.

An. Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. III. Acts xxviii. 14, &c.

thence, they went, by land, to *Rome*. The *chriſtians* at *Rome*, who ſeem to have been pretty numerous, had heard a great deal of the *famous* APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. And had, ſome time ago, received a long and excellent *epiſtle* from him. And now, haveing notice of his approach, they were overjoyed at the hopes of ſeeing, and converſeing with, him. And, to ſhow him all the reſpect in their power, they went out to meet him. Some of them, as far as *Appii Forum*, a town in the *Appian way*, between *Rome* and *Campania*; at the diſtance of fifty-one miles from *Rome*. Others went to the place called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Taverns*; which alſo lay upon the *Appian way*, and was about thirty miles from *Rome* [b]. The ſight of them, and the proſpect of travelling with them, to that *great city*, revived the heart of the APOSTLE. Upon which, he gave thanks to GOD; who had permitted him, with ſo much pleaſure, to ſee their faces. And, though he came, with *his chains on*, and as a priſoner; and was, now, in the near proſpect of appearing before *Cæſar*. Yet, when he beheld the *chriſtians* of *Rome*, his own afflictions vaniſhed; and he was animated with freſh vigor and *fortitude*; as perceiveing that he was like to have ſome friends, dureing his confinement, in that *imperial city*; and that there were hopes of *chriſtianity*'s floriſhing there.

*Ver.* 15. [b] Vid. Anton. in itinerar. & Tull. ep. ad Attic. *l.* 2. *epiſt.* 10; 13.

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## CHAP. X. SECT. IV.

*The* APOSTLE *at* Rome. *He preaches to the* jews *there. When ſeveral of them refuſe to imbrace* chriſtianity, *he declared his reſolution to preach to the* gentiles *of* that city. *Acts* xxviii. 16,—29.

WHEN they came to *Rome*, the *centurion*, *Julius*, delivered up his charge of the priſoners, to *Burrus Afranius*, who was then captain of the *prætorian band* [a]. There was, now, onely one

*Ver.* 16. [a] *Trajan.* ad *Plin.* l. 10. ep. 65. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 12. c. 42. l. 13. c. 14. l. 14. c. 51. *Dr. Lardner's credibility of the goſpel hiſtory, part* 1. *book* 1. *chap.* 10. § 11. p. 532, 533.

one captain of the guards. But, *Burrus* dying, the next year, there were two appointed. He committed the other priſoners to a more cloſe confinement. But the APOSTLE was ſuffered to take an houſe, and live private, as a priſoner at large; haveing onely one ſoldier to watch him, who was chained to him, by a long chain, which was faſtened to the APOSTLE's right arm, and to the ſoldier's left [b]. Such a favorable, and eaſie, confinement muſt have proceded, partly from the kind repreſentation, which *Julius*, the *centurion*, who had brought him from *Cæſarea*, had made, in his behalf. But ſtill more, very probably, from *Feſtus* his *letter* to the *emperor*; who could declare that PAUL was not guilty of the breach of any part of the *roman law*. Though it is not impoſſible, but that it might be, in part, oweing to *Burrus* his ſingular goodneſſe and humanity.

An. Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IV. Acts xxviii. 16, &c.

Where-ever the APOSTLE came, he generally went firſt to the ſynagogue, and attempted the *converſion* of the *jews*. But, as he was now under confinement, he either could not go to the *ſynagogue*; or might think it improper to go, and preach in ſo public a place. Four days after his arriveal, therefore, he ſent for the chief of the *jews*, at *Rome*, to come to his houſe. They came, at his requeſt. Upon which, he ſaid to them: "Brethren, though I have done nothing "detrimental to the people of the *jews*, or contrary to the rites and "inſtitutions, which *Moſes* delivered to *our fathers*; yet the *jews* "apprehended me, at *Jeruſalem*; and cauſed me to be laid in chains, "by the *romans*. Who, when they had examined the caſe, and "would have releaſed me; as not guilty of any crime, much leſſe "of any capital crime; the *jews*, who ſhould have been my beſt "friends, ſpoke againſt it [c]. This compelled me to appeal to *Cæ-* "*ſar*. Not that I deſign to accuſe mine own nation to the *emperor*. "No! I have ſtill a very great tenderneſſe and concern for them. "But I muſt vindicate myſelf. And I was, in the firſt place, de- "ſireous to talk with, and convince, you. You know the national "expectation, concerning the comeing of the *meſſiah*, about this "time; and cannot be ignorant of the *prophecies*, upon which that "expectation is grounded. Neither will you deny the doctrine, of



[b] *Seneca de tranquill.* c. 10. Id. epiſt. 5. *Herod Agrippa* was chained to a *ſoldier*, when he was thrown into priſon, by *Tiberius*. Joſeph. antiq. jud. l. 18. c. 6. § 6, 7. *See alſo the ſecond diſſertation, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on Philemon*: 2d edition. *Dr. Lardner's credibility, &c. part* 1. *book* 1. *chap.* 10. § 9.

*Ver.* 19. [c] Compare, herewith, the caſe of OUR BLESSED LORD, when he was accuſed, before *Pontius Pilate*.

An. Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IV. Acts xxviii. 20, &c.

" *a reſurrection from the dead.* And why ſhould you, then, refuſe " to believe the reſurrection of JESUS of *Nazareth*; and to acknow- " lege him to be the *meſſiah?* For, he hath given ſuch evidence of " theſe things, as is ſufficient to ſatisfie all well-diſpoſed inquirers. " As to my belief of ſuch articles, there is no occaſion for any o- " ther teſtimony, than my preſent confinement. For, becauſe of " my faith in that great promiſe, made to *Iſrael*, I am bound with " *this chain.*" The *jews* replied: " We have not received *any let-* " *ters*, from any of our brethren in *Judæa*, about you; nor heard " any thing, about your caſe, in particular. Neither have any of " the *jews*, who came from thence, reported any evil of you. But, " as you profeſſe yourſelf a *chriſtian*, we ſhould be glad to hear " you explane yourſelf, and give us your opinion. Though we " would firſt let you know, that this *ſect*, called *chriſtians*, are a " people, who are generally ſpoken againſt; both by the *jews* and " *gentiles*; at *Rome*, and every where elſe [d]."

Thus ended the converſation, the firſt time, between the APOSTLE, and the leading men of the *jews*, at *Rome*. But they fixed upon a day, when they were to come again, and hear him give a more particular account of the *chriſtian doctrine*, and of the evidences of it.

When the day came, ſeveral more of the *jews* went to the APOSTLE's houſe. To whom he explaned himſelf more fully; bearing his teſtimony, that the *kingdom of* GOD, which was to be erected under the *meſſiah*, was already come; and pointing out the exact accompliſhment of the *antient prophecies*, recorded in the old teſtament, by JESUS and his *religion*; and ſhowing them, evidently, that, from his life, doctrine, miracles, reſurrection, aſcenſion, and pouring out of the *ſpirit*, he muſt be the promiſed and long-expected *meſſiah*. And ſo intent was he upon convinceing them, that he diſcourſed with them, about ſuch ſubjects, from morning 'till

*Ver.* 22. [d] *Juſtin Martyr* hath aſſigned one of the chief reaſons, why the *chriſtians* labored, ſo univerſally, under the *popular odium*. " For the *jews* not onely curſed " them in their *ſynagogues*, and did all they could to raiſe the hatred and enmity of " mankind againſt them; but they ſent out choſen men, from *Jeruſalem*, to ac- " quaint the world, and more eſpecially the *jews*, every where, that the *new ſect*, " which aroſe from JESUS of *Galilee*, was an atheiſtical and wicked *ſect*: to be a- " voided, and deteſted, by all mankind." [*Vid. Dialog. cum Trypho. edit. Thirlb.* p. 170, 171. *Paris. edit.* 1636. p. 234, 235. & *Thirlb.* p. 368, 369. *Paris.* 335. Vid. *etiam*, *Tertull.* ad *Nat* l. 1. c. 14. Origen. contra Celſum, l. 6. p. 293, 294. edit. Spencer. Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſ. l. 4. c. 18. & *Grot.* in *Mat.* xxvii. 63.] The *jews* ſpoke againſt *Jeſus* himſelf: and, afterwards, againſt his apoſtles. But it is not eaſie to fix the exact time, when thoſe *choſen men* were ſent out, by them.

'till evening. Upon which, ſome were convinced, and imbraced *chriſtianity*; but others rejected it, notwithſtanding all that he had alleged. An. Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7.

When the *jews* thus differed among themſelves, the aſſembly broke up; after St. PAUL had concluded, with a cloſe reproof to the unbelieveing and diſobedient, in the words of the *prophet Iſaiah*; as OUR LORD had done, upon a like occaſion; "Go to the people of "*Iſrael*; and, in my name, (ſaith GOD to the *prophet*,) declare, "that, hearing, you will hear, and will not underſtand; and, though "you might ſee, yet you will not perceive; becauſe your hearts "are hardened, through groſſe and ſinful præjudices; and your ears "refuſe to hear, and your eyes to ſee. For you wilfully cloſe "them; leſt you ſhould ſee ſuch truths, as you will not comply "with; though it is the onely way to peace, and acceptance with "GOD." To this purpoſe, ſpoke the *antient prophet*. And how "aptly do his words agree to many of you, who now hear me? "But, as you refuſe the *meſſiah*, now he is come; and reject the "truth and purity, together with the privileges, of *his kingdom of* "*righteouſneſſe*; I tell you planely, (in order to provoke you to jea-"louſie,) that *this ſalvation*[c] of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, "muſt be offered unto the *gentiles* of this city. And many of "them will hear and obey; though you deſpiſe it." Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IV. Acts xxviii. 23, &c.

Thus the body of the *jews*, at *Rome*, acted like the body of that nation, in other places; and went away, with their ſinful and inveterate præjudices. Though it is ſaid, that the APOSTLE's diſcourſe occaſioned them to have ſeveral diſputes among themſelves. But, very likely, without any remarkable effect. For it doeth not appear, that any more of them imbraced *chriſtianity*, at *Rome*.

*Ver.* 28. [c] See the *reading* of ſome of the moſt antient and beſt MSS. in Dr. *Mill*: τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον, *this ſalvation*.

## CHAP. X. SECT. V.

### *The* APOSTLE *makes ſeveral converts to* chriſtianity, *at* Rome. *An account of his* companions, *or fellow-laborers, there.*

An.Chriſt. 61. Nero. 7. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. V. Acts xxviii. 29.

DUREING this his eaſie confinement, at *Rome*, St. PAUL went on, to preach the *goſpel*. And he wanted not ſome remarkable ſucceſſe. For he had the ſkill to make both *his chains*, and *his liberty*, to turn to the intereſt of *chriſtianity*. Nothing could diſcourage him; his whole heart was ingaged in the work; and he turned almoſt every thing, that befel him, to the advancement of the *goſpel*. Among others, he converted *Oneſimus*, at *Rome*. He was a ſervant to *Philemon*, who was a *chriſtian*; a perſon of diſtinction, at *Coloſſe*; and (as ſome think) a convert of St. PAUL's [a].

The APOSTLE's being confined, for ſo peculiar a reaſon, as his zele and diligence to ſpread *chriſtianity*, made the *goſpel* to be the more inquired into. Some were excited, out of curioſity; and others, out of a more virtuous diſpoſition of mind; to ſearch into a *doctrine*, ſo different from the common opinions; and which then made ſuch a noiſe in the world. Both in the court, the camp, and the city of *Rome* [b], *chriſtianity* was the frequent ſubject of their converſation. So that ſeveral of the guards, or *prætorian ſoldiers*; and ſome of *Nero*'s houſhold, or domeſtic ſervants [c], as well as ſeveral of the city, actually imbraced the *chriſtian faith*. By all accounts, both from friends and enemies, the *chriſtians*, at *Rome*, amounted to a conſiderable number [d]. Long before St. PAUL came to *Rome*, and even in the days of *Claudius Cæſar*, (if *Suetonius* his account be juſt,) the *chriſtians* were conſiderable enough, to be taken notice of, by the *emperor*. Though, I think, that could be, onely, as the *romans* accounted them, a *ſect* of the *jews*: eſpecially, if

[a] See Philemon, *ver.* 10. and the hiſtory præfixed to the paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to Philemon.

[b] Philip. i. 13.—Ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι [*in the palace, or* prætorium, *and in all other places.*] [c] Phil. iv. 22.

[d] See the two laſt notes: *Sueton.* in *vit. Claud.* c. 25. & in *vit. Nero.* c. 16. & *Tacit. Annal.* l. 15. c. 44.

if we compare what is ſaid, by *Suetonius*, with *Acts* xviii. 2. which is commonly thought to refer to the ſame thing. With the death of *Claudius*, the *decree*, which baniſhed the *jews* and the *chriſtians*, from *Rome*, died alſo. Upon which, they returned to that *imperial city*. And, as no more *decrees* were made, hitherto, againſt them; either by the *emperor*, or the *ſenate*; it is highly probable that their numbers increaſed. The *ſalutations*, in the concluſion of St. PAUL's *epiſtle* to the *Romans*, are a plane confirmation of this.

An. Chriſt. 62. Nero. 8. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. V. Acts xxviii. 29.

As there was already ſuch a foundation laid, and St. PAUL now came thither, in the fulneſſe of the bleſſing of the *goſpel* of CHRIST;—he not onely imparted *ſpiritual gifts*, to thoſe who were converted before his comeing [e]; and, by his diſcourſes, as well as by his miracles, confirmed them in their moſt holy faith: but he had the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of converting many more, and greatly augmenting the *chriſtian church*, at *Rome*. It hath been already taken notice of, that he converted ſome of the *jews*. But the great harveſt, in *that city*, was chiefly among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

St. PAUL's labor and diligence was the principal cauſe of the ſpreading of *chriſtianity*, at *Rome*. But that was not all. For, when they ſaw his zele and ſucceſſe, though he was *in chains*; ſeveral other of the *chriſtians* took courage, from his example; and were, likewiſe, active in propagateing *chriſtianity*. — Some of them did it, out of a true concern for the advancement of the *chriſtian religion*. But others, and more particularly the *judaizers*, did it, out of ſtrife, and a ſpirit of oppoſition; that St. PAUL might be the more cloſely confined, or puniſhed ſome other way.

The *evangeliſts*, who were St. PAUL's faithful aſſiſtents, or fellow-laborers at *Rome*, were, (1.) St. LUKE; who (as we have mentioned above) came with him, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*. In two of the *epiſtles*, writen dureing this his confinement, the APOSTLE ſends *ſalutations* from him [f]. (2.) *Ariſtarchus*, the *Macedonian*; who alſo, came, along with the APOSTLE, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*. It doeth not appear, that he was carried, as a priſoner: but he ſeems to have gone voluntarily to *Rome*; and to have been there apprehended, and confined, for his zele and activity, in preaching the *goſpel*, in *that city* [g]. Perhaps, the *factious judaizers*, who preached CHRIST out of contention, hopeing thereby to add affliction to the APOSTLE's bonds [h], were the occaſion of *Ariſtarchus* his confinement;

[e] Rom. i. 11. *and* xv. 29. [f] Col. iv. 14. Philemon, *ver.* 24. [g] Col. iv. 10. [h] Phil. i. 16.

An. Chriſt. 62. Nero. 8. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. V. Acts xxviii. 29.

ment; as the *jews* were of St. PAUL's. (3.) *Timothy*; who was a peculiar favorite with St. PAUL. He went, with the APOSTLE, to *Jeruſalem*, with the *charitable collection*. But it doeth not appear, that he came along with him, to *Rome*. I ſuppoſe he firſt went to viſit other *churches*; and, afterwards, followed the APOSTLE to that *imperial city*. We find his name, joined with the APOSTLE's, in the beginning of three of *his epiſtles*, written from *Rome*, dureing the APOSTLE's confinement, there, at this time[i]. St. PAUL deſigned to ſend him to *Philippi*, to viſit *that church*. And, very likely, he did ſo; though we have no particular account that he did. (4.) *Tychicus*. What hath been ſaid of *Timothy*, was, in a great meaſure, his caſe. For he was one of the meſſengers of the *churches* of *Aſia*, ſent, with their charitable collection, to *Jeruſalem*; and, very likely, he went, from thence, to viſit ſome of the *chriſtian churches* of St. PAUL's planting, before he followed that APOSTLE, to the great, *imperial, city*. Him did the APOSTLE ſend, from *Rome*, to *Laodicea*, and *Coloſſe*; to acquaint the *chriſtians* of thoſe cities, with his circumſtances; and to know how things went among them: *that is*, whether they continued ſtedfaſt in the *true chriſtian doctrine*; againſt the attempts of the *judaizers*, and the malice of perſecutors and wicked men[k]. And, along with him, went *Oneſimus*, in order to return to his maſter, *Philemon*; whom he had robbed, and from whom he had run away, ſome time ago. (5.) *John Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*, was with the APOSTLE, at *Rome*, dureing this, his firſt confinement, in that city[l]. It was he, about whom PAUL and BARNABAS had diſſered, ſo much, as to part company[m]. But we ſee, here, that St. PAUL and St. MARK were perfectly reconciled again; and acted in concert, in promoteing the *goſpel*. For this was many years after that difference and ſeparation. What I have ſaid, of the two former, ſeems to have been true of him; *namely*, that he did not go, with the APOSTLE; but followed him, to *Rome*. If they had been in company, dureing the voyage, St. LUKE would ſcarce have taken notice, onely of *Ariſtarchus* his being with them. [*Acts* xxvii. 2.] And the reading of the *vulgate*, taken notice of, in that place, if genuine, will be a farther confirmation thereof. (6.) *Epaphroditus* came, from *Philippi*, with a *preſent*, from the *church*, there, to St. PAUL, in his confinement. And, to the APOSTLE's great grief, he

i Phil. i. 1. Col. i. 1. Philem. *ver.* 1. He is again mentioned, *Phil* ii. 19.
k Eph. vi. 21, 22. Col. iv. 7, 8. l Philem. *ver.* 23. Col. iv. 10. m Acts xv. 39.

he fell ſick, at *Rome*; and had like to have died. But it pleaſed GOD that he recovered; and, after ſome time, returned to *Philippi*, again [n]. (7.) *Epaphras* went, from *Coloſſe*, to the APOSTLE, at *Rome* [o]. (8.) *Jeſus*, called *Juſtus*; who, perhaps, went, from *Jeruſalem*, to *Rome*. However; he was, there, with the APOSTLE; and was one of the *jewiſh chriſtians*; where-ever he was borne, or from whence ſoever he came [p]. (9. and laſtly.) *Demas*. This was he, who, afterwards, forſook the APOSTLE: when, dureing his ſecond confinement, at *Rome*, he was called to make an *apologie*; and to anſwer for his life, before the *emperor*, *Nero*; or his *præfect*, *Helius Cæſarienſis*. I do not ſuppoſe that he forſook the *chriſtian religion*, when he forſook the APOSTLE; or that his love to the *preſent world* was covetouſneſſe; but a timorous ſpirit, and an inordinate love of life. He was afraid to die *a martyr for chriſtianity*, along with the APOSTLE; or to go where there was any danger of perſecution. And, therefore, he not onely forſook St. *Paul*, when none of the *chriſtians* dared to ſtand by him, or to appear with him; and when he was delivered, with great difficulty, as out of the mouth of a ravenous lion:—but he went, to *Theſſalonica*, where there was leſſe danger, and leſſe occaſion for him. Though the APOSTLE would have had him ſtaid with him, or gone elſewhere [q].

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Theſe were the perſons, who were with St. PAUL, whileſt he lived, in his eaſie confinement, at *Rome*; and who, moſt of them, aſſiſted him, as *evangeliſts*; in watering, and cultivateing *chriſtianity*, in ſeveral of the *churches*, where he had planted it.

[n] Phil. ii. 25,—30. [o] Col. iv. 12. [p] Col. iv. 11. [q] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

CHAP.

## CHAP. X. SECT. VI.

*Dureing this, his firſt confinement, at* Rome, *St.* PAUL *wrote four of* his epiſtles. *The* order, *in which he wrote them, conſidered.*

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DUREING this, his firſt impriſonment, at *Rome*, the APOSTLE *of the gentiles* wrote four of *his epiſtles*. That he wrote what we commonly call *his epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*, when he was *confined*, appears evidently, from his own words. [*Eph.* iii. 1. *and* vi. 20.] And the ſame obſervation holds, as to his *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*. [Col. iv. 18.] So, likewiſe, as to the *epiſtle* to *Philemon*. [ver. 9, 10.] And, laſtly, as to his *epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, [Philip. i. 7; 13; 16.] That they were writen, at *Rome*, appears alſo, from ſeveral expreſſions. For he mentions the ſpreading of *chriſtianity*, in the *prætorium*, and in *Nero's houſhold*. [See *Phil.* i. 13. *and* iv. 22. And, [from *Col.* iv. 14. *Philem.* ver. 23, 24.] it appears, that St. LUKE, who went with him, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*, was then with him; and others were impriſoned along with him. Which they do not appear to have been, in any other city, but that of *Rome*.

That St. PAUL was, ſome years, after this, confined, a ſecond time, at *Rome*, ſeemeth to me very evident. And that the *epiſtle* to the *Philippians* was writen, dureing his firſt confinement, there, is as evident, from *Phil.* ii. 24. For, when he wrote *that epiſtle*, he had a proſpect of being ſet at liberty. Whereas; when he was confined, the ſecond time, in that *imperial city*, he expreſſes no hope of his inlargement. But, on the contrary, ſaith, that "he "was ready to be offered up, [or his blood ready to be poured "out, as a libation;] and the time of his diſſolution was at hand." [2 *Tim.* iv. 6, &c.] And, what hath been ſaid, of the *epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, may be juſtly applied to the other *three epiſtles*, which we are now conſidering. For [*Philem.* ver. 22.] he deſired a lodgeing might be provided for him, at *Coloſſe*; becauſe he hoped, ſhortly, to be ſet at liberty. And the other *two epiſtles*; namely, that to the *Epheſians*, or *Laodiceans*, and that to the *Coloſſians*; were writen, about the ſame time, and ſent by the ſame hands. [Compare *Philem.* ver. 10. with *Eph.* vi. 21, 22. and *Col.* iv. 7, 8, 9.]

The

The *order*, in which theſe *four epiſtles* were writen, comes next to be conſidered. For, though they were writen, much about the ſame time, and from the ſame place; yet there are ſome tranſient and oblique hints, from whence we may collect the *order*, in which the APOSTLE wrote them. For inſtance; the *epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*, or *Laodiceans*, muſt have been writen before the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*; becauſe St. PAUL orders the *Coloſſians* to get *that epiſtle*, and read it in their *church*. [Col. iv. 16.] For it would have been a very unuſual way of ſpeaking, to refer them to an *epiſtle*, which was not yet writen. I own he might, poſſibly, refer them to what he was deſigning to write. But that is not ſo agreeable to common language. And we have no reaſon for makeing that ſuppoſition. The *epiſtle*, therefore, to the *Laodiceans*, which is commonly called *the epiſtle to the Epheſians*, I look upon, to have been writen, the firſt of the four. In the ſecond place; I reckon him to have writen the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*; while the form, matter, and the very expreſſions, of that other *epiſtle*, ſeem to have been freſh upon his mind. So that Dr. *Mill* hath, very juſtly and beautifully, called them *twin epiſtles*. And Mr. *Locke* hath obſerved, that "they do ſo perfectly correſpond, that one cannot be miſtaken "in thinking them very fit to give light to one another." They were not onely writen, about the ſame time; but ſent by the ſame hand. And were, both of them, to be read, in the *two churches*, to which they were originally directed, or ſent.

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I ſuppoſe it will not be wondered, that I place *Philemon* the third in order. For, that it was writen after the *two*, already mentioned, ſeems highly probable; from his expreſſing his hopes of being ſhortly releaſed. [*Philem.* ver. 22.] Whereas; we find no ſuch intimations; either in the *epiſtle* to the *Laodiceans*, or in that to the *Coloſſians*. But, that it ſhould be placed next to them, ſeems as proper; becauſe it was ſent, at the ſame time, and by the ſame hands. [See *Philem.* ver. 10. *Eph.* vi. 21, 22. and *Col.* iv. 7, 8, 9.] And, that the *epiſtle* to the *Philippians* was writen the laſt, may appear from *chap.* i. 25. *and* ii. 24. For, when he wrote it, he was in expectation of his being ſhortly ſet at liberty.

Theſe hints are the beſt guides, that I have met with, towards ſettleing the *order*, in which theſe *four epiſtles* were writen.

## CHAP. X. SECT. VII.

### *What is commonly called* the epiſtle to the Epheſians, *was, moſt probably,* the epiſtle from Laodicea, *mentioned* Col. iv. 16.

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THE two things, which we are here to ſhow, are, I. That this was not *an epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*. And II. That it was, moſt probably, *the epiſtle from Laodicea*, mentioned *Col.* iv. 16. which was, perhaps, a ſort of general epiſtle, to ſuch *gentile* chriſtians, more eſpecially of *Aſia*, of whoſe converſion the APOSTLE had heard, but he had not viſited them. And it ſeems not to have been directed to any particular church; (like that to the *Coloſſians*;) though the original, or firſt copy, was ſent to *Laodicea*; and intended more immediately for their uſe. But the APOSTLE's deſign was, that other churches, alſo, ſhould have copies of this epiſtle, for their own, and the general, benefit.

That it was not *an epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*, ſeems very likely, if we conſider, (1.) That *Baſil the great*, in his ſecond book againſt *Eunomius*, did not read the words [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, in *Epheſus*, ver. 1.] upon the faith of ſome more antient fathers, and of ſome old MSS. According to that reading, the epiſtle was directed, not *to the Epheſians*; but to chriſtians at large; that is, "To the ſaints, and to them that were faithful in CHRIST JESUS[a]." And, if *Epheſus* was not mentioned, in the firſt verſe; there is nothing like it, to be found, in the reſt of the *epiſtle*. (2.) St. PAUL never refers to his haveing been, among the perſons, to whom he wrote this *epiſtle*. Whereas; it was an uſual thing, with him, to make ſuch references;

[a] See Dr. *Mill* on *Eph.* i. 1. and in the *prolegom.* 73; 809. See, alſo, *Ludolf Kuſter*, in the præface to his edition of *Mill's new teſtament*. *Mr. Peirce's advertiſement, at the end of his paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to the Philippians.*

In the literary journal for April, May, and June, 1731. Article xx. there are ſome critical remarks, in *latin*, which have been aſcribed to the late Mr. *Wetſtein*. And that author ſuppoſed, that *Baſil*, *Jerome*, *Marcion*, and *Tertullian*, all of them, had copies of the epiſtle, with this title præfixed, *The epiſtle of Paul the apoſtle to the Epheſians*. But that, in none of their copies, the words [*in Epheſus*,] were in the text; but onely [*To thoſe that are ſaints; and faithful in Chriſt Jeſus.*]

ces; as appears, from all the *epiſtles*, which were unqueſtionably writen to the *churches* of his own planting. We find, that he had been at *Epheſus*, twice, before this[b]; and that he had reſided there, for almoſt three years. There he confered the *holy ſpirit*, upon twelve, who had been *John the baptiſt's diſciples*. There, he taught *chriſtianity*, in the *jewiſh ſynagogue*, for three months; and, afterwards, in the ſchool of *Tyrannus*, for about two years. So that all the inhabitants of the *proconſular Aſia* heard the *chriſtian doctrine*, both *jews* and *gentiles*. There, he worked uncommon miracles. For the handkerchiefs, or aprons, which he had touched, cured diſeaſed perſons, at a diſtance; when applied to their bodies[c]. There, the *exorciſt jews* were remarkably baffled; when they attempted to caſt out *dæmons*, in the name of JESUS, whom PAUL preached. Which was a great honor to the APOSTLE, and to the *chriſtian religion*. For the ſtory quickly ſpread, through all the city. At *Epheſus*, ſome of St. PAUL's *converts* burnt their magical books, which were valued at fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver[d]. And, from that city, he was driven away, by the riot, raiſed by *Demetrius*, and his company of *ſilverſmiths*. And, when he himſelf was thus forced away, from *Epheſus*, and went into *Macedonia*, he left his beloved *Timothy*, there, to ordain the *elders* of *that church* to be *biſhops* and *deacons*. And, accordingly, we find, [*Acts* xx. 17, *and* 28, *compared*] that he calls ſuch of their *elders*, as met him, at *Miletus*, *biſhops*; and intimateth, that the *holy ſpirit* had conſtituted them ſuch; *that is*, that they were pointed out, for that office, by the *ſpirit of prophecie*.—Can St. PAUL, after all theſe things, be ſuppoſed to write an *epiſtle* to them; and yet to take no notice of any one of theſe particulars; nor make the moſt diſtant and oblique reference to them?—No! not ſo much as to ſalute any of his friends and acquaintance, at *Epheſus*; where he had ſeveral very affectionate friends?—View the *epiſtles* to the *churches* of his own planting; and ſee whether any other ſuch inſtance can be found, among them all. At *Philippi*, the *church* was ſettled with fixed officers, before he wrote. And, therefore, he directs his *epiſtle*, not onely to the *chriſtians* in general, there; but to the *biſhops* and *deacons*. But there is no ſuch thing here. Though the *church* of *Epheſus* had evidently ſuch officers, before the writeing of *this epiſtle*. And I may add, that *Timothy* was with St. PAUL, at

An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29.



[b] Acts xviii. 19, &c. *and* xix. 1. [c] Acts xix. 8; 10. *and* xx. 31. [d] See the value of this money, on Acts xix. 19.

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at *Epheſus*; and not onely helped him to plant *that church*; but was left behind him, to ordain, among them, *biſhops* and *deacons*. Whereas; *Timothy*'s name is not mentioned, in the introduction to *this epiſtle*; though it is found, in the begining of the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*, and of that to *Philemon*; which were both ſent, along with *this epiſtle*. I ſuppoſe, therefore, that *Timothy* was unknown to moſt, or all, of the *churches*, to whom *this epiſtle* was writen. And, therefore, he joined not with the APOSTLE, in the writeing of it. (3.) It is remarkable, that the very ſtyle, and manner, of *this epiſtle* is excedeing like that of the *epiſtle to the Coloſſians*; which was, confeſſedly, writen to a *church*, that had never ſeen the APOSTLE. [*Col.* ii. 1.] For [*Eph.* i. 15. and *Col.* i. 4.] he intimateth, "that he had [onely] heard of their faith in CHRIST, and of their "love to all the *chriſtians*." It is true, he uſes the ſame expreſſions, in writeing to *Philemon*. [ver. 5.] But, it is not certain, that he himſelf had converted *Philemon*, immediately. And, if he did it, by any of his *aſſiſtents*; the argument remains in it's full force. Again, he not onely mentioneth his *hearing* of *their faith in* CHRIST; but, [*Eph.* iii. 1; 2.] he ſpeaks, "as if he was dubious, whether "they had ever heard of his being the APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. "Or, at the moſt, they had onely *heard* of that; and of the "*extraordinary revelations*, which he had received from heaven: "particularly, concerning the *grand myſtery* of calling in the *gen-* "*tiles*, (ſuch as they, in general, ſeem to have been,) without any "ſubjection to the *law of Moſes*. And, *verſes* 3, 4. he intimateth, "that, if they had never heard of theſe things before, they might "underſtand them, from the brief hints, which he had given them, "in *this epiſtle*." Is this like St. PAUL's *ſtyle* to the *churches* of his own planting? Could the *Epheſians* queſtion, whether he was the APOSTLE *of the gentiles?* Or be ignorant of his underſtanding the *myſtery* of GOD's calling the *gentiles* into the *chriſtian church?* Or could a few lines, or even a larger *epiſtle* than this, have given them ſo clear a knowlege of St. PAUL's *illumination*; as their hearing him preach a thouſand times? For, had he not been among them, for "about the ſpace of three years; warning every one of them, "night and day, with tears?" Doeth not he himſelf declare, "that "he had kept back nothing, which could be profitable for them; "but had taught them publicly, and from houſe to houſe?" And, what one thing was there, which he more frequently inſiſted upon, in the *gentile churches*, than that of their being equally accepted with the *jewiſh converts*; and that without any ſubjection to the *law*

*of*

*of Moſes?* His *firſt epiſtle to Timothy*, though directed onely to that *evangeliſt*, when he reſided at *Epheſus*, doeth, nevertheleſſe, planely appear to have been writen with a view to the *church* there; and is full of this ſubject. As, indeed, moſt of St. PAUL's *epiſtles* are. Beſides; St. PAUL praiſeth and commendeth the *chriſtians*, to whom he wrote *this epiſtle*; and never once reproveth them. Whereas; if we look into the *two epiſtles* to *Timothy*, we ſhall find, that the *chriſtians*, at *Epheſus*, deſerved reproof; and could not be univerſally commended. I am ſenſible that the expreſſions, from which I have here argued, have been interpreted in a different ſenſe; and ſo, as to make them ſute the *chriſtian church*, at *Epheſus*. But they do not appear, to me, fairly to admit of ſuch an interpretation. For, why ſhould we give them one turn, in the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*; and another, in *this epiſtle?* Unleſſe it be, to ſerve an *hypotheſis?* And an *hypotheſis*, which, from the arguments alleged, appeareth to me to be not well-grounded?

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As, therefore, there is ſo much reaſon to ſuſpect that *this epiſtle* was not writen, originally, to the *Epheſians*; let us procede,

II. To inquire, "What evidence there is, that it was the *epiſtle* from *Laodicea*, mentioned, *Col.* iv. 16?" And,

*Firſt*, It is plane, from St. PAUL's own words, [*Col.* ii. 1.] that he had never ſeen the *chriſtians*, at *Laodicea*. All the expreſſions, therefore, from which we have argued, that it could not be originally writen to the *church* at *Epheſus*, (a *church*, which he himſelf had planted, and with whom he had ſo long reſided,) will perfectly well agree with the circumſtances of the *Laodiceans*; though they were utterly inconſiſtent with thoſe of the *Epheſians*. But this alone will not prove that it was writen to *Laodicea*, rather than to any other *church*, where the APOSTLE had never been. Whereas;

*Secondly*. If we carefully conſider St. PAUL's direction, *Col.* iv. 16. we ſhall be inclined to fix upon *Laodicea*, in particular; as the place, to which he firſt ſent *this epiſtle*. The *direction* to the *Coloſſians* runs thus: "When you have read *the epiſtle*, [which I have "ſent to you,] take care that it be read, in the *church* of the *Laodiceans*; and that you, alſo, read *the epiſtle from Laodicea*." Τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας. This laſt ſentence hath had four interpretations. (1.) Some have conjectured, that, "by [*the epiſtle from Laodicea*,] "the APOSTLE meant the *firſt epiſtle to Timothy*; which he himſelf "had writen, from *Laodicea*, to *Timothy*, who was then at *Epheſus*." But, that the APOSTLE could not have writen any *epiſtle*, before this, from *Laodicea*, is evident; in that he ſaith, "The *Laodiceans* had

"never

An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29.

never yet ſeen his face." [*Col.* ii. 1.] (2.) Others have phanſied, that, "by [*the epiſtle from Laodicea,*] the APOSTLE meant an *epiſtle*, which the *church of Laodicea* had written to him." But this appears very unlikely. For the APOSTLE put the *two epiſtles* on a level with one another; and ordered that they ſhould be both read, publicly, in both the *churches*. We find, indeed, that St. *Paul*, in ſome of his *epiſtles*, doeth refer to what he himſelf had ſaid in others; and that he gave orders for their being publicly read, in the *churches*. And St. PETER, likewiſe, mentions the *epiſtles* of his *beloved brother* PAUL, with great reſpect; and ſets them on a level with his own. But, where do we find, that *an epiſtle*, written, by a *chriſtian church*, to an APOSTLE, was ever ſet upon a level with *an epiſtle*, written by an APOSTLE himſelf? The *chriſtians* at *Corinth*, wrote a *letter*, to St. PAUL, in which they deſired a ſolution of many difficulties. But we find no order, from the APOSTLE, that *their epiſtle* ſhould be read publicly, in any of the *chriſtian churches*. Nor can any inſtance of that nature be produced. Beſides; what weight and authority could *an epiſtle*, written by a *neighboring church*, have had, among the *chriſtians*, at *Coloſſe*? Or, what light and inſtruction could they have received, from thoſe, who had been brought over to *chriſtianity*, as late as themſelves; and who knew no more, very probably, of the *goſpel-doctrine*, than they did? (3.) Some, again, have underſtood "that expreſſion, "[*the epiſtle from Laodicea,*] of *an epiſtle* written, by St. PAUL, which "was loſt, in the early ages of the *chriſtian church*." And the *papiſts* have, thereupon, been ready to triumph; as if it planely followed, from thence, "that *the church* had the power to decree what "ſhould be *canonical ſcripture*; and to throw out, or take in, what "they thought proper." Others, to ſupply that great loſſe, have produced *an epiſtle*, compoſed of ſcraps, and incoherent ſentences, taken out of St. PAUL's *genuine epiſtles*. But the *impoſtor* hath diſcovered himſelf, by his awkward forgery. Not to mention, that the *ſpurious epiſtle* wants the atteſtation of the moſt *early fathers*. (4, *and laſtly,*) That expreſſion, [*the epiſtle from Laodicea,*] hath, by others, been interpreted to ſignifie, "that, which is commonly "called *the epiſtle to the Epheſians*; which St. PAUL is reckoned to "have written, originally, to *the chriſtians at Laodicea*. And, from "thence, the *Coloſſians* were to get it; and to read it, in *their church*; "as well as to communicate *their epiſtle* to them." And this is the *interpretation*, which ſeems to me, to give the onely natural and genuine ſenſe of the words.—*Tychicus*, I ſuppoſe, did, according to the

the APOSTLE's order, go firſt to *Coloſſe*; where (after ſome time) he left *Oneſimus*, and the *letter* to the *Coloſſians*. Then he went on, to *Laodicea*, and delivered the APOSTLE's *letter* to them; ordering them to get it tranſcribed, before the *meſſengers*, from the *church* of *Coloſſe*, came; who were to bring them a copy of the APOSTLE's *letter*; and to carry back a copy of the other, from *Laodicea*. And hence it was, that the APOSTLE called it [*the epiſtle from Laodicea.*] An Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29.

A *third argument*, which may incline us to think that this was *the epiſtle from Laodicea*, mentioned *Col.* iv. 16. is, not onely, that they were ſent, at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſon; but the remarkable ſimilitude, which there is, between the *two epiſtles*. They planely appear to have been *twin-epiſtles*; conceived, and brought forth, almoſt at the ſame time. So that, while the form, matter, ſenſe, and expreſſions, of the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*, were freſh in the APOSTLE's mind, he ſate down and wrote the *other epiſtle*. And it was with great propriety, that he gave orders for the reading of both the *epiſtles*, in both the *churches*. (1.) As there is ſuch an uncommon ſimilitude between them. So that the reading *the ſecond* would, in either *church*, confirm what they had already read in *the firſt*. And, (2.) As the *epiſtle* to *Laodicea* contains ſeveral of the ſame things, in a more diffuſed, but more ſublime, ſtyle. And there are, likewiſe, ſome things added, which are not in the *epiſtle to the Coloſſians*. On the contrary, many of the ſame things, which are ſaid in ſo elevated and ſublime a manner, in *the epiſtle to the Laodiceans*, are ſaid in a more plane and ſimple ſtyle, in the *epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*. And, it likewiſe containeth ſome cautions of moment, which are not mentioned in the *other epiſtle*: Such as "the warning them againſt the worſhip of angels, and the "*jewiſh* diſtinction of meats and drinks, and ſome voluntary mor-"tifications of the body; which are reckoned to have been more "peculiar to the *ſect* of the *Eſſenes*; ſome of whom are ſaid to "have lived in thoſe parts of *Aſia minor*." Where the *two epiſtles* treated of the ſame ſubject, they were like a *comment* upon each other. And, where they treated of different ſubjects, the one of them might inſtruct them, in ſuch things, as were not contained in the other.

*Fourthly*. *Marcion*, who floriſhed in the begining of the *ſecond century*, and who lived at *Sinope*, in *Paphlagonia*, which was in *Aſia minor*, as well as *Laodicea*, affirmed, "that that, which we commonly call *the epiſtle to the Epheſians*, was actually *an epiſtle to the La-*

An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29.

*Laodiceans*[e]." Moſt probably, he had heard ſo, from ſuch as knew the fact, and could inform him; or rather, had ſeen ſome of the *manuſcripts*, which gave it *that title*.

It is true, *Marcion* was a *noted hæretic*; and the teſtimony of ſuch a perſon is not eaſily credited. Indeed, if calling this *the epiſtle to the Laodiceans*, had any way favored his peculiar tenets, I think there would have been ſome reaſon to ſuſpect his teſtimony, and to have been jealous of it's being a wilful miſrepreſentation; becauſe I find that all parties have been too guilty of *that horrid wickedneſſe*, which hath been often called by the ſoft name of *pious frauds*. But (as Dr. *Mill* well obſerveth) there is nothing of *hæretical pravity*, in this aſſertion of *Marcion*; whatever his other ſentiments were. And, I confeſſe, I can ſee no reaſon why his word ſhould not be taken, in a matter of fact; and where he could have no temptation to falſifie.

How it came to have the *title*, of *the epiſtle to the Epheſians*; which it ſeems to have had, very early: or how the words [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, *in Epheſus*,] got into the firſt verſe, cannot now be determined, with any certainty. Perhaps, through the violent perſecutions, which the *chriſtians* underwent, in the *ſecond century*, the *copies* might grow ſcarce. And the begining of the *manuſcripts*, from which they afterwards took many of the *copies*, about *Rome*, might be defective; and be ſupplied by the *tranſcribers*, in the beſt manner they could. Or St. PAUL might order *Tychicus* to deliver *a copy* of that *epiſtle, to the church at Epheſus*, as he returned from *Laodicea*, in his way to *Rome* again. And they (as ambitious of being reckoned among the *chriſtians*, whom the APOSTLE accounted *faithful*; or out of a vane glorious deſire of haveing it thought, that the APOSTLE had writen ſuch a long and noble *epiſtle* to them) might, poſſibly, intitle it *the epiſtle of* PAUL *to the Epheſians*. From whence, others might venture to inſert the words, [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, *in Epheſus*,] in the firſt verſe. Not that I think this change of the *title* was made, by St PAUL's order; ſuppoſeing he did direct *Tychicus* to carry a *copy* of it to *Epheſus*. For he knew, very well, that the main tenor of the *epiſtle*, and ſeveral particulars in it, could not agree to *that title*. But the weaker, and more zeleous *chriſtians*, at *Epheſus*, might not attend to that. And, therefore, venture upon ſuch an alteration.

It

[e] Tertull. *adverſ. Marcion*, l. 5. c. 11. p. 476, *A.* & c. 17. p. 481, *B. C. edit. Rigaltii, Paris.* 1675.

It is certain, that conſiderable facts, in *profane hiſtory*, have been miſrepreſented; concerning which, we cannot, now, give ſo probable an account, of the firſt occaſion of the miſtake, or forgery. By theſe, therefore, or ſome ſuch, means, the alteration might be made. And, when *Marcion* (who had lived more out of the way, dureing the violent perſecutions) brought them a *more correct copy*, to *Rome*, it is probable enough, that ſuch, as diſliked his other ſentiments; and would have nothing to do with him, or his party; might diſregard his teſtimony; and rather be more tenacious of calling it *The epiſtle of* PAUL *to the Epheſians*, through their zeleous oppoſition to *ſo notorious an hæretic*. An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VII. Acts xxviii. 29.

[*Concerning this ſubject, the reader may ſee more, in the letter to the author, at the end of this ſecond volume; and in the third volume*, or *appendix*, N°. V.]

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## CHAP. X. SECT. VIII.

### *The* Hiſtory *and* ſynopſis *of St.* PAUL's epiſtle *to the* Laodiceans; *which is commonly called the* epiſtle to the Epheſians.

" HAVEING heard that there were *chriſtian churches*, planted, at *Laodicea*, *Hierapolis*, *Coloſſe*, and other places; St. PAUL wrote *this* " *letter*; the original copy of which he ſent to *Laodicea*; but deſigned that " it ſhould be tranſcribed, for the uſe of other churches. And he wrote " it, onely in his own name; becauſe *Timothy* (perhaps) was not known to " the *chriſtians*, to whom he wrote. There were multitudes of *jews*, and " *judaizeing chriſtians*, in *Aſia minor*. And, therefore, he not onely be- " gineth the *epiſtle*, with aſſerting his *apoſtolic character*, PAUL, *an* APOSTLE " *of* JESUS CHRIST, &c. to ſuch *chriſtians*, as are faithful, and retain the " purity of the *goſpel*;" but he wrote the whole of it, chiefly with a view to preſerve them, in the pure, unmixed, *chriſtian doctrine*; againſt all the arts and deluſions of *judaizeing* oppoſers; who (as he was afraid) would be apt, now he was in confinement, to take that opportunity to unſettle the minds of the *gentile converts*, by attempting to bring them into ſubjection to the *law of Moſes*.

*Writen from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.

It is obſervable, that the *ſtyle* of *this epiſtle* is more rapturous, and ſublime, than that of many others. So elevated was the APOSTLE, in conſidering the goodneſſe of GOD, which was manifeſted, in takeing ſuch a number of *gentiles* into the *church*, under the *goſpel diſpenſation*!

" After his uſual *benediction*, of wiſhing them all happineſſe, from GOD,
" and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; he proceedes to praiſe GOD, for his
Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29. " great goodneſſe, manifeſted in his calling the *gentiles* into *his church*,
" under the *goſpel*. Though it was nothing, but what he had deſigned, for
" many ages; even before the giveing of the *law of Moſes*. And the end
" of his chooſeing the *gentiles*, to be *his people*, under the *goſpel*, was, that
" they ſhould live holy lives; in expectation of pardon, and acceptance
" with GOD, through JESUS CHRIST. This *myſtery*, or GOD's calling the
" *uncircumciſed gentiles* into the *chriſtian church*, and adding them to the *jew-*
" *iſh converts*, was reveled to the APOSTLE more clearly, than ever it had
" been to the *antient prophets*. And all the difference, was, that the *jews*
" had the firſt offers; and the *gentiles*, the laſt.

" The *Laodiceans*, and other *gentiles*, in that neighborhood, whom he
" had never ſeen, had imbraced the *chriſtian faith*. And the APOSTLE ac-
" quaints them that he had, dureing his preſent confinement, heard of
" their *converſion* to *chriſtianity*, and of their love to all the *chriſtians*. For
" which he praiſed GOD; as well as prayed earneſtly, that they might in-
" creaſe in the knowlege of the *chriſtian doctrine*; and of the love, which
" GOD had manifeſted, to the *converts*, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*,
" through JESUS CHRIST; who is conſtituted *the head of the church*; which
" is made up of all *believers*, wherever diſperſed; whether they were for-
" merly *jews* or *gentiles*.

*Ch.* II. " The APOSTLE compareth the *converſion* of the *idolatrous gentiles* to the
" raiſeing of the dead. For they had been dead in ſin, and were now
" raiſed to holineſſe of life, by JESUS CHRIST; by whom, if they perſe-
" vered in holineſſe, they would finally be exalted to perfect glory and
" happineſſe. But, he letteth them know, that they, by their former con-
" duct, had by no means merited ſuch a favor. No! it proceded wholly
" from the free grace, and unmerited goodneſſe, of GOD; in which he
" had ſurprized them, by his kindneſſe, when their works deſerved other
" ſort of treatment. But, as he had ſent the *goſpel* among them, accord-
" ing to his antient purpoſe; he expected that they ſhould forſake their
" wicked courſes, and live virtuouſly; always remembering GOD's graci-
" ous treatment of them, who had now broke down the partition-wall, of
" the *ceremonial law*, which formerly ſeparated between the *jews* and *gen-*
" *tiles*; and had united them into *one church*, or ſpiritual building. And
" all this was effected, not by an obſervation of the *law of Moſes*, but by
" the death of CHRIST; by which, he had aboliſhed that former *diſpenſa-*
" *tion*, and introduced a better. And into this laſt diſpenſation he had
" taken the *gentiles*; who, as a part of this *ſpiritual temple*, are built up-
" on the foundation of the APOSTLES and *prophets*, JESUS CHRIST himſelf

" being

"being the chief corner-stone, which unites and supports the whole "building.

*Writen from Rome.* An. Christ. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29. *Ch.* III.

"As, therefore, GOD had accepted the *gentiles*, into *his church*, and as "*his people*, equally with the *jewish converts*; the APOSTLE *of the gentiles* "now writes, to these new converts, as part of his care; and doubted "not but they would regard what he said, if they had heard of his being "the APOSTLE *of the gentiles*, and of the abundant *revelations*, which he "had received; (though, if they had not heard of them, they might, in "part, collect his knowlege of the *christian doctrine*, from what he had "already said, in this *epistle*;) particularly, concerning the *mystery* of GOD's "calling in the *uncircumcised* and *idolatrous gentiles*, without any subjection "to the *law of Moses*; which was first, and most clearly, reveled to St. "PAUL; who, as he had once persecuted *the church*, looked upon him-"self as the least of all *christians*, and one that deserved no such favor. "Notwithstanding which, GOD, in great goodnesse, did communicate this "knowlege to him; that he might manifest it to mankind. He was, in-"deed, under confinement, for preaching that very *doctrine*. But his suf-"fering was a proof of his sincerity: and the *gentile christians* had reason "to glory in it. However; confined as he was, he prayed that the GOD "and *father* of all would confirm them, in the *true doctrine*, and in the "practice, of *christianity*; that they might share in the privileges and "blessings of the people of GOD.

*Ch.* IV.

"The *idolatrous gentiles* were very ignorant and wicked. And, there-"fore, there was great occasion for the APOSTLE to presse such, as had "been lately converted, from among them, to live as became the *gospel*; "in humility, patience, and charity. They were to consider, that all "*christians* were like the members of *one* and the same *body*, animated by "one and the same *spirit*; believeing in one GOD, and one LORD JESUS "CHRIST, from whom they derived their *spiritual gifts*; who first died, "and then rose again, and ascended into heaven. And the *spiritual gifts*, "which he communicated to men, soon after his ascension, were such as "qualified some to be APOSTLES; others, to be *prophets*; some, *evange-"lists*; others, *pastors* and *teachers*; with a view to instruct mankind in "the *christian doctrine*, and to gather a complete and well-formed *church*, "from among both *jews* and *gentiles*. If this *church* be compared to the "human body, CHRIST is the head, and *his disciples* the members; who "are firmly united, with various joints and ligaments, to him, and to one "another; and are to grow up, to perfection, by their union with him. "But they could never maintain this union with CHRIST; unlesse they for-"sook those vices, which the other *gentiles* persisted in, while they wan-"dered after *idols*, and refused to receive and obey the *gospel*. If the *christi-"ans*, to whom he wrote, had had a full account of the nature of *christianity*, "he intimates that they would clearly see the necessity of changeing their "course of life; and of abstaining from lying, malice, theft, and idle-"nesse; obscene discourse, violent and railing speeches, and all passion "and bitternesse of spirit: and of practiseing the contrary virtues, both

*Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29. *Chap.* V.

Ch. VI.

" towards their *neighbors*, and in their own more private conduct. For this " was what became the children of GOD.

" So important a matter did St. PAUL reckon it, that *chriſtians* ſhould " live pious, and virtuous lives, that he repeats the injunctions again and again, " commending mutual love among *chriſtians*, from the love, which " CHRIST had manifeſted to them all. But (as the *idolatrous gentiles* were " ſo much addicted to *uncleanneſſe*, and thought ſome *ſpecies* of it re- " minal;) he again acquaints the *chriſtians*, that all *uncleanneſſe* is hippiſh and " minal; and that even obſcene converſation was unbecoming ſuch as had " imbraced the *goſpel:* That all ſuch as indulged themſelves in ſenſual and " bodily luſts, muſt not expect to inherit the *kingdom of GOD*; but would, " certainly, fall under the divine diſpleaſure. And that ſuch crimes would " be more aggravated in *chriſtians*, becauſe of their ſuperior knowlege. " Nay; he intimates, that the ignorant world was guilty of them, to ſuch " a degree, as a *chriſtian* would bluſh to ſpeak of.——Inſtead of drinking " to exceſſe, and entertaining one another with wanton ſongs, he recom- " mended it to ſuch of them, as had the *gifts of the ſpirit*, to entertain " one another, with ſinging pſalms, and hymns, and ſongs of the *ſpirit*; " accompanied with the melody of the heart, which was moſt acceptable " to GOD.

" *Chriſtianity* altered nothing, in their civil rights, or ſocial duties. And " therefore, he ordered *chriſtian* wives to be in ſubjection to their own " huſbands; as the *church* is ſubject to CHRIST. On the other hand, " *chriſtian* huſbands are obliged to love their own wives; as CHRIST hath, " alſo, loved *his church*. For which, he condeſcended to lay down his " life: and which he purifieth; that it may be, at the laſt, perfect, glo- " rious, and happy. *Chriſtian* children are to obey their parents. For ſo " the *law of Moſes* required; and ſo doeth *chriſtianity*, and the *law of na-* " *ture* require. And *chriſtian* parents ſhould, on the other hand, deal " tenderly and affectionately with their children; and be more careful, " than others, to give them a pious and virtuous education. *Chriſtian* " ſlaves (for ſuch their *ſervants* were, commonly, in thoſe days) continued " under obligations to ſerve their own maſters, faithfully and conſcienti- " ouſly; as depending upon it, that they, who behaved well, would, at " the laſt day, be rewarded by CHRIST; whether they have been ſlaves, " or free-men. And *chriſtian* maſters were bound to treat their ſlaves with " tenderneſſe and humanity: as remembering that they had a maſter, in " heaven; to whom they were accountable, and with whom there will be " no reſpecting of perſons. And, all theſe duties, huſbands and wives, " parents and children, maſters and ſervants, were obliged to perform, " ſince their imbraceing the *goſpel*;—whether the perſons, to whom they " owed them, were *chriſtians*, or no.

" Conſidering the temptations, which the late *converts* to *chriſtianity* " would meet with, while they lived among their old acquaintance and " *heathen* neighbors; he recommendeth *watchfulneſſe* and *prayer*, under the " figure of *chriſtian armor*; which was able to defend them, at all points.

And

" And then he begs that they would pray for all *chriſtians*; and for him *Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.
" particularly, who was now in confinement: that he might have reſoluti-
" on ſtill to promote *chriſtianity*, notwithſtanding his preſent diſcourageing
" circumſtances. He letteth them know, that he had ſent *Tychicus*, to
" acquaint them with his affairs; and to learn how things went among
" them.—And, after a general *ſalutation* of all the *chriſtians*, he conclu-
" deth, with a view peculiarly to the fierce oppoſition, and corrupt doc-
" trines, of the *judaizers*; May the divine favor be with all them, who love
" the LORD JESUS CHRIST in *incorruption!* Amen!" Book III. Ch. X. Sect. VIII. Acts xxviii. 29.

## CHAP. X. SECT. IX.

### *The* Hiſtory *and* ſynopſis *of St.* PAUL's epiſtle *to the* Coloſſians.

*Coloſſe* was a populous, wealthy, and large, city of *Phrygia major*, built upon the river *Lycus*; and equally diſtant from *Laodicea*, on one ſide, and *Hierapolis* on the other. There was a *chriſtian church* planted; but, by whom, doeth not now appear. That St. PAUL did not plant it, is, I think, unqueſtionable; [from *chap.* ii. 1.] where he ſaith, that " neither the *Coloſſians*, nor *Laodiceans*, had then ſeen his face in the fleſh." Though I think it highly probable, that ſome of St. PAUL's *converts* had planted a *chriſtian church*, at *Coloſſe*, as well as *Laodicea:* becauſe they were ſo well eſtabliſhed in the true *goſpel-doctrine*; and, particularly, with reſpect to the liberty of the *gentile converts*; which was what St. PAUL, of all the APOSTLES, moſt clearly underſtood, and moſt earneſtly maintained, againſt all oppoſers.

I ſhould, indeed, have thought that *Epaphras* had converted the *Coloſſians*; if he had not been ſent, by *that church*, to the APOSTLE, as their meſſenger; to acquaint him with their affairs, and to inquire after his welfare. But I can hardly think they would ſend away the *founder* of *their church*, whileſt the *church* was in it's young and tender ſtate: Whoever converted them; the APOSTLE *of the gentiles* was highly concerned for them, as ſoon as he heard of their having

An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IX. Acts xxviii. 29.

haveing imbraced *chriſtianity*. And, therefore, he reſolved to take the firſt opportunity to write to them.

He was now *in bonds*, for maintaining the freedom of the *gentile converts* from all ſubjection to the *law of Moſes*. And, for fear the *judaizers* ſhould take this opportunity to pervert the *gentile churches*, he wrote ſeveral *epiſtles*; to reprove the guilty, to ſettle the wavering, and to commend ſuch as remained ſtedfaſt. And he heard, with pleaſure, from *Epaphras*, that the *Coloſſians* were of the number of thoſe, who continued firm in the *true chriſtian doctrine*. But, as the *jews* and *judaizeing chriſtians* abounded in *Aſia minor*, and there was danger of the *Coloſſians* being infected by them; he took pains to obviate ſuch difficulties, as they might be apt to throw in the way of the lately converted *gentiles*. And, particularly, to guard againſt the doctrine of the *Eſſenes*; who paid a great veneration to *angels*; and were peculiar, in their waſhings, meats, and bodily exerciſes. And it deſerves to be taken notice of, that, excepting this place, there are few, or no, references to the *ſect* of the *Eſſenes*, throughout the new teſtament. Though *Joſephus* is very particular, and expreſſe, in his account of them; and repreſenteth them, as a *ſect*, which was very remarkable; and pretty numerous, and well-known, before and in his own days; *that* is, in and about the the time of the miniſtry of CHRIST, and his APOSTLES. But they lived very retired; converſeing onely with *their own ſect*: and, probably, very few of them imbraced *chriſtianity*.

What hath been hinted, of the affinity between *this* and *the epiſtle to the Laodiceans*, muſt be viſible to every one, who ſtudies, or carefully compares, the *two epiſtles*. The ſame run of thoughts, and frequently the ſame expreſſions, which he had uſed, in writeing to the *Laodiceans*, ſeem planely to have been freſh in the APOSTLE's mind, when he ſate down to write this *epiſtle to the Coloſſians*. And, though that to the *Philippians*, which was writen not long after theſe two, may be, to great advantage, compared with them, in order to underſtand all the three; yet the reſemblance between the two former is much more remarkable.

Some time after *this chriſtian church* was planted, ſome difficulties ſeem to have riſen among them. And, therefore, they ſent away *Epaphras*, to *Rome*; to acquaint the APOSTLE with their converſion to *chriſtianity*, and with the ſtate of their affairs. But to the great grief of the APOSTLE, it happened that *Epaphras* was apprehended, in that *imperial city*, and put in cuſtody: I ſuppoſe, for preaching the *goſpel* there. [*See Philemon*, ver. 23.] He, therefore, could not

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ſend him back to *Coloſſe*. But he ſent *Tychicus* and *Oneſimus*. And, by their hands, conveyed *this epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*.

" AS the *judaizeing chriſtians* abounded in thoſe parts, he begins with *Written from Rome*, An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IX. Acts xxviii. 29. *Chap. I.*
" aſſerting his *apoſtolic authority*; PAUL, *an* APOSTLE *of* JESUS " CHRIST," &c. And he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of " his beloved *Timothy*; becauſe ſeveral of the *Coloſſians* might, very pro- " bably, know *Timothy*; though the *Laodiceans* did not. He directs *this* " *letter*, To the *faithful chriſtian brethren, at Coloſſe*, in particular; *that is*, " to ſuch, there, as retained the *pure goſpel-doctrine*, and would not regard " the *judaizers*. And (after wiſhing them all poſſible happineſſe, from GOD, " and the LORD JESUS CHRIST) he goeth on, thus: I thank GOD, for the " account, which I have received from *Epaphras*, of your converſion to " *chriſtianity*; and that you expreſſe ſo much love to all the *chriſtians*; as " well as behave, in other reſpects, becomeing the *goſpel*. And, ever ſince " he brought me this good news, I have heartily prayed, that you may " increaſe in the knowlege of the *chriſtian doctrine*, and live piouſly and " virtuouſly; as it requires you ſhould: particularly, that you may bear, " with patience, any perſecutions, or diſcouragements, to which your re- " gard to the *goſpel* may expoſe you. Conſidering you were lately *idolatrous* " *gentiles*, how much ought you to praiſe GOD; who hath tranſlated you, " out of that kingdom of darkneſſe, into CHRIST's *kingdom*, which is a " kingdom of light? For it is oweing to his death, that you are brought " into the *church* of GOD, and may hope for the remiſſion of your ſins. " The *jews*, and *judaizeing chriſtians*, and particularly ſome of the *ſect* of " the *Eſſenes*, pretend a great veneration for *angels*. But JESUS CHRIST, " who hath admitted you into the number of his people, is much ſuperior " to all the *angels*. For he is the image of the inviſible GOD, and the firſt- " borne of every creature. Nay; by him, GOD at firſt created, and now " governs, all things. But he is, more particularly, *the head of the church*; " and was the firſt, who roſe from the dead, never to die any more. In " one word, it hath pleaſed the father, that, in him, ſhould all fulneſſe " dwell. And, (what deſerveth the peculiar regard of the *gentile chriſtians*) " by his death, the *ceremonial law* is aboliſhed; that wall of partition bro- " ken down, which formerly excluded the *gentiles* from being of his *church* " and people. But now he hath reconciled, or admitted, them; in order " to their being virtuous and holy, and retaining the purity of the *chriſtian* " *doctrine*; which is preached to all mankind; and particularly by me, " the APOSTLE *of the gentiles*. I am, it is true, *in bonds*, at preſent; for " preaching to the *gentiles*, and ſtanding up for the *unmixed goſpel*. But I " am not diſcouraged thereby. For the *myſtery*, communicated to me, by " CHRIST, I have made known, and will again make known; that, by " my means, a large number of *gentiles* may be ſaved, in *the day of the* " LORD. I am, more particularly, anxious for you, at *Coloſſe*, and *Laodi-* *Ch. II.*
" *cea*, and the other *gentile churches*, which have never ſeen me; that you

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Written from Rome, An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. IX. Acts xxviii. 29.

" may be rightly inſtructed in the *chriſtian doctrine*, as well as ſupported
" under perſecution; and may not regard the inſinuations of ſuch, as
" would tempt you to pay worſhip to *angels*, or comply with other *jewiſh*
" *cuſtoms*. For the *chriſtian religion*, alone and of itſelf, is ſufficient to in-
" ſtruct and ſave you. And, therefore, I beſeech you, to continue ſted-
" faſt in the truth and purity of it. Regard not their ſubtile and vane
" philoſophy. Mind not their antient traditions, nor comply with their
" rites and ceremonial obſervations. *Chriſtianity* will afford you more uſe-
" ful and ſubſtantial knowlege, and make you complete, and acceptable,
" in the ſight of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST; who is above the *angels*,
" as well as above all *mankind*. Your *chriſtian baptiſm*, by which you were
" initiated into the *goſpel-kingdom*, rendereth the *circumciſion of the fleſh* in-
" tirely needleſſe; if you take care (as it directs and requires of you) to
" die unto ſin, and riſe again unto holineſſe. The *judaizers* do, very un-
" juſtly, inſiſt upon your complying with the *ceremonial law*, in order to
" your acceptance with GOD:—Seeing CHRIST hath ſtruck a nail through
" that writeing; as men do, when they aboliſh *a law*; and hath faſtened
" it to the croſſe; haveing intirely vacated it, by his death. Yea; and the
" *angels* likewiſe, whom the *Eſſenes* name with ſuch reverence, and to
" whom they would tempt you to pay homage; even theſe very *angels* are
" now all *miniſtring ſpirits*, ſubjected to CHRIST, (ſince his death and ex-
" altation) as their *head and* LORD. Let no man, therefore, tempt you to
" diſtinguiſh between days and meats, as the *jews* do. For that ſhadowy
" diſpenſation is aboliſhed by *chriſtianity*, which is the ſubſtance. And
" never give into the worſhip of *angels*, or the pretended purity of the *Eſ-*
" *ſenes*; which conſiſts in bodily exerciſes, and voluntary mortifications.
" For, if you do, you forfeit your reward, as *chriſtians*; and reject CHRIST,
" *the head*; to whom all true *chriſtians*, like the ſeveral members of the
" ſame body, are firmly united; and in whom alone, they can finally be
" made happy. You have not been *baptized* into the *jewiſh religion*, or in
" the name of *angels*; but in the name of CHRIST. You have, therefore,
" nothing to do with the *jewiſh religion*; or with the tenets of the *Eſſenes*,
" which are mere *human doctrines*; but may lawfully uſe all ſorts of whole-
" ſome food; and are not obliged to ſuch ſevere mortifications, or bodily
" exerciſes; which onely carry a ſhow of piety; but are of no moment,
Ch. III. " in compariſon to real virtue and true goodneſſe. Laying aſide, there-
" fore, theſe human inventions, and earthly, temporal, inſtitutions; you
" are to raiſe your minds to heaven, and to the purity and happineſſe of
" that bleſſed place; where CHRIST is exalted, at the right-hand of GOD.
" For you, *chriſtians*, are, by your *baptiſm*, dead, both to thoſe carnal
" ordinances, and to the vices of the *idolatrous* parts of the world; and
" expect to be glorified, when CHRIST ſhall appear, as univerſal judge.
" But, as he will glorifie none, but the pious, and virtuous; you muſt
" not indulge yourſelves, either in impurity, or malice. Theſe are the
" vices, for which a wicked world will be condemned. And you your-
" ſelves were once guilty of them. But, now, all paſſion, malice, railing,

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" or obſcene ſpeeches, are juſtly abhorred by you. And, ſince your con- *Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.
" verſion to *chriſtianity*, you know that lying, as well as uncleanneſſe, and
" all other vices, cannot but be odious to a GOD of truth and purity. He
" doeth, indeed, under the *goſpel*, moſt graciouſly admit both *jews* and
" *gentiles*; perſons of all nations and conditions; into *his church*; without
" difference or diſtinction. But then, as he hath choſen to take you *gen-*
" *tiles*, as well as the *believeing jews*, into *his church*; he expects that you
" ſhould behave accordingly: that you ſhould abound in meekneſſe and
" charity; that you ſhould patiently bear injuries, and readily forgive ſuch
" as have offended you; as readily, as CHRIST will forgive you, when pe-
" nitent. But, again, I recommend *charity*, as the brighteſt of the *chriſtian*
" *virtues*; and hope, that you will be particularly careful, to maintain
" peace and union one with another. Be frequently diſcourſing together,
" about the *chriſtian doctrine*. For this will inſtruct and admoniſh you.
" And, when you would entertain one another; let it not be, as the *hea-*
" *thens* do; who drink to exceſſe, and then ſing leud and wanton ſongs.
" But do you teach and admoniſh one another, in pſalms, and hymns, and
" ſpiritual ſongs; chiefly regarding the melody of the heart. Let CHRIST,
" and the *true goſpel-doctrine*, be magnified and promoted, in whatever you
" do. You are under the ſame, or ſtronger, obligations to *ſocial duties*,
" ſince you became *chriſtians:* (though you are freed from *idolatry*, and
" are under no obligation to obſerve the *ceremonial law of Moſes.*) Parti-
" cularly; wives ſhould obey their own huſbands, and huſbands love their
" own wives; and not behave with paſſion, or bitterneſſe, towards them.
" Children muſt obey their parents, in all their lawful commands. For ſo
" the *chriſtian law* requires. And parents muſt not needleſsly provoke, or
" diſcourage, their children. Slaves ſhould obey their maſters, out of con-
" ſcience; as remembering they are accountable to GOD; and as hopeing
" for a reward from their great maſter, CHRIST. And all theſe duties,
" the *chriſtians* are to perform; whether the perſons, to whom they are
" due, be *chriſtians*, or no. If you do not perform them, you muſt ex-
" pect to be puniſhed, (whatever your ſtations are,) by that righteous judge,
" with whom is no reſpect of perſons.

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" As the ſlaves, who had imbraced *chriſtianity*, were to be faithful; ſo *Ch.* IV.
" *chriſtian maſters* were to be juſt, and compaſſionate, towards their *ſlaves*;
" as conſidering that they had a *maſter*, even CHRIST, to whom they were
" accountable. He recommends to them the great duties of *prayer* and
" *praiſe*; and deſires that they would particularly pray for him; that, (not-
" withſtanding his preſent confinement) he might preach the *true goſpel-*
" *doctrine*. He exhorts them to a peaceable behavior; leſt they ſhould,
" otherwiſe, provoke any to perſecute them: and to be, likewiſe, prudent
" and virtuous, in their ſpeech and converſation. *Tychicus*, ſaith he, who
" is a *true chriſtian*; and one, for whom I have a very great reſpect, will
" acquaint you with all my affairs. And, therefore, I will not write a-
" bout them; but refer you to his account. My deſign, in ſending him,
" is, that you may acquaint him with the affairs of *your church*; and that

*Written from Rome.* An. Chriſt 63. Nero. 9. Book III Ch. X. Sect. IX. Acts xxviii. 29.

" he may comfort you, under any diſcourageing circumſtances. Along " with him, I have ſent *Oneſimus*, who is a *Coloſſian*.—He is become a *true* " *chriſtian*, and is much in my favor. Of him you may, likewiſe, inquire; " and he will confirm *Tychicus* his account. *Ariſtarchus*, the *Macedonian*, " who went with me, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*; and who is now under con- " finement, for preaching the *goſpel*, in this city; deſireth me to ſend his " *ſalutations* to you. As doeth, likewiſe, *John Mark*; who deſigneth to " viſit you ſhortly. I hope you will treat him with the reſpect, which he " deſerves. And *Jeſus*, ſurnamed *Juſtus*, ſends his *ſalutations* to you. " Theſe are all *jewiſh chriſtians*; and yet they have been very ſerviceable, " to me, in my preſent confinement; and have greatly promoted the *true* " *goſpel-doctrine*. Your meſſenger, *Epaphras*, ſends his *ſalutations*; and " prays, moſt earneſtly, that you may continue *good chriſtians*. Nay; I " muſt farther acquaint you, that he is very much concerned for the wel- " fare of *your church*; and of the *chriſtians*, at *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. " *Luke*, the *phyſician*, for whom I have a particular affection and value, ſa- " luteth you. And ſo doeth *Demas*, alſo. I deſire you would, in my " name, ſalute the *chriſtians* at *Laodicea*: and, particularly, *Nymphas*; " and the *church* in his houſe. When you have read *this epiſtle*, publicly, " in *your church*, ſend it to *Laodicea*, that it may be read in the *church* " there; and get the *epiſtle* from *Laodicea*, and read it alſo in *your church*. " Put *Archippus* in mind of his duty, as a miniſter of CHRIST; that he " may be faithful. I, PAUL, have wrote *my ſalutation* of you all, with " my own hand. Pray for me, who am *in chains*. I wiſh you the divine " favor. *Amen!*"

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## CHAP. X. SECT. X.

### *The hiſtory of St.* PAUL's *writeing the* epiſtle *to* Philemon.

COLOSSE was a city of *Phrygia major*, built upon the river *Lycus*, about ſixteen miles eaſt from *Hierapolis*, and about twenty-eight miles almoſt eaſtward from *Laodicea*; which laſt was built upon the banks of the ſame river, *Lycus* [a]. At *Coloſſe* lived *Philemon*; who was, very probably, a native of that country. For *Philemon* was a common name among the *Phrygians*.

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[a] See *the Letter*, at the end of this *ſecond* volume.

The nation of *Phrygia* was proverbial for being of a ſlaveiſh and intractable diſpoſition. And ſome have alleged, that *Philemon* might be of the ſame rough and intractable diſpoſition; which might occaſion the apoſtle's taking ſo much pains to obtain *Oneſimus* his pardon, and procure a thorough reconciliation. But ſuch things ſhould not, I think, be ſaid from mere conjecture: eſpecially as the apoſtle has inſinuated the contrary; and, in other places, commended *Philemon*'s benevolence and charity. The truth of the matter is: the provocation was very great; and *Philemon* had reaſon to be much diſpleaſed with *Oneſimus*. He had robbed him; and run away from him, as far as *Rome*. That would have exaſperated any man of ſpirit.—*Grotius* obſerves "that maſters had a power to torture their "ſlaves, who behaved ill, and even to put them to death, without "applying to the magiſtrate: and that this was agreeable, not onely "to the *roman*, but alſo to the *græcian*, law." *Oneſimus*, therefore, might well be afraid of returning to his maſter again, without ſome great and powerful interceſſion, in his favor. And the apoſtle might very reaſonably labor the point, as he does, with great earneſtneſſe and addreſſe.

*Written from Rome*, An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

That *Philemon* lived at *Coloſſe*, may appear from Col. iv. 9. where (writeing to the *Coloſſians*) the apoſtle calls *Oneſimus*, *one of them*. And from his ſaluteing *Archippus*, in this letter to *Philemon*, [ver. 2.] who appears to have been a miniſter of the church at *Coloſſe*. [Col. iv. 17.]

*Theodoret* is reckoned to have floriſhed about the begining of the fifth century. And yet, in his præface to this epiſtle, he ſais, "that *Philemon*'s houſe remained at *Coloſſe* unto his time;" *that is*, above three hundred years after the writeing of this epiſtle.

The keeping one or more ſlaves; the haveing a church, or number of chriſtians, in his own houſe; the refreſhing of the bowels of the ſaints, and provideing lodgings for the apoſtle; are proofs that *Philemon* was a man of ſome diſtinction, and of a conſiderable eſtate. This ſeems confirmed by the polite and reſpectful manner, with which the apoſtle addreſſes him.

He was converted, moſt probably, from an idolatrous gentile, to the chriſtian faith. From ver. 19. ſome have been inclined to think that St. PAUL converted him. But, ver. 5. the apoſtle ſais, "he had [onely] *heard*, of *Philemon's* faith in Chriſt, &c." which was the phraſe made uſe of, when he wrote to the chriſtians, whom he had never ſeen. [Eph. i. 15. and iii. 2, &c. Col. i. 4. and ii. 1.] I, therefore, incline to think, that, dureing his long ſtay at *Epheſus*,

*Writen from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.

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ſome of the *Coloſſians* had gone to *Epheſus*, and there heard him preach the chriſtian doctrine [Acts xix. 10. and xx. 31.] Or that the apoſtle ſent out ſome of his aſſiſtents, and planted the goſpel at *Coloſſe*: and that *Philemon* received the goſpel, from ſome of the apoſtle's converts, or aſſiſtents; perhaps *Timothy*, or ſome of thoſe mentioned, Col. iv. 10, &c. Philem. ver. 23, &c. If the apoſtle had not come into thoſe parts, preaching the goſpel to the gentiles, *Philemon* had (very likely) never become a chriſtian. And, therefore, well might the apoſtle ſay, "that *Philemon* owed unto him, himſelf, or his own "ſoul."

This *Philemon* had formerly a ſlave, called *Oneſimus*, who had robbed him, and then run away from him, as far as *Rome*. Whether he repented of what he had done, and voluntarily went to the apoſtle; or how they came to meet there, is not ſaid. But the apoſtle, dureing his confinement, in his own hired houſe, in that imperial city, converted him to the chriſtian faith, baptized him; and kept him, for ſome time, to wait upon himſelf; 'till, by his conduct, he had confirmed the truth and ſincerity of his converſion. And, when *Oneſimus* was determined to return to his maſter again, the apoſtle wrote this letter in his behalf. The deſign of it, was, to beg of *Philemon* to forgive him, and take him into his family and favor again. For he was become a good chriſtian, and would be a better ſervant than ever.

This epiſtle was writen, dureing the apoſtle's firſt confinement at *Rome*; [Acts xxviii. 30.] and, according to the beſt chronologers, about the year of *the vulgar Æra*, 63. *of Nero*, 9. From ver. 22. of *this epiſtle to Philemon*, it appears that the apoſtle had expectations of being ſet at liberty. And, therefore, it is probable that this epiſtle was writen towards the concluſion of thoſe two years confinement.

The epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, (commonly called the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*) and the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, were writen, about the ſame time, and ſent by the ſame perſons. Accordingly; we find ſalutations from, and to, ſeveral of the ſame perſons. [Compare Philem. ver. 23, 24. with Col. iv. 10; 12; 14. and Philem. ver. 2. with Col. iv. 17.] "*Tychicus* onely had the charge of the epiſtle to the "*Laodiceans*, *Oneſimus*, of this to *Philemon*. And they were both "joined in the delivery of that to the church of *Coloſſe*. In their "paſſge from *Rome*, they landed at the moſt convenient port, they "could, for their journey towards *Coloſſe*; whither, it is likely, they "went firſt. For what St. *Paul* writes to *Timothy*, [*Tychicus have I*

*ſent*

" *ſent to Epheſus*, 2 Tim. iv. 12.] muſt relate to another journey, " long after this; that epiſtle to *Timothy* being of a later date, by " ſome years. Upon their arriveal at *Coloſſe*, the immediate buſi- " neſſe of *Oneſimus*, was, to deliver the epiſtle, ſent to *Philemon*; " which ſo nearly concerned himſelf. For the apoſtle could never " have recommended him, in ſuch ſtrong terms, to the church at " *Coloſſe*, (as he does, Col. iv. 9.) but upon a ſuppoſition that his " maſter, *Philemon*, would, upon reading that letter, be reconciled " to him. In order to this, *Oneſimus* muſt firſt wait upon his " maſter, and make his ſubmiſſion to him. — This reconciliation, " therefore, was probably effected, before the apoſtle's letter to the " church, at *Coloſſe*, was publicly read among them. After the af- " fair of *Oneſimus* was over, the epiſtle to the church at *Coloſſe* was " to be delivered; in which, both *Tychicus* and *Oneſimus* were jointly " concerned. And, when this was done, *Oneſimus* had no farther " orders, from the apoſtle. But *Tychicus* was to carry the epiſtle to " the *Laodiceans*, by himſelf. For which reaſon, his name onely is " mentioned in it. [Eph. vi. 21.] However; *Tychicus* did not im- " mediately leave *Coloſſe*, after the delivery of the letter to that " church: but ſtayed ſome time, to acquaint them with the ſtate " of St. *Paul*'s affairs; and, likewiſe, to inform himſelf of their " circumſtances, to make a report at his return. [Col. iv. 7, 8.] " He then proceded, with the remaining letter, to *Laodicea*; ac- " quainted them with his haveing been at *Coloſſe*; that they were to " expect a copy of the apoſtle's letter to that church, from thence; " and that the meſſenger, who ſhould bring it, was to carry back " a copy of the letter, which had been ſent to them; agreeably to " St. *Paul*'s direction, Col. iv. 16." [See *the Letter* at the end of *this ſecond volume*.]

*Writen from Rome*, An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

" Some have called this *a private letter*, and would not have had " it inſerted among *the apoſtolic epiſtles*."—Undoubtedly; the apoſtles might, upon ſome occaſions, write *private letters*, as well as other men. Suppoſe this was onely a private letter, nothing gives one a better idea of a man's character than his letters to his private friends. And, in this letter, we have the picture of a wiſe and good man, and a zeleous, generous friend; who knew how to condeſcend to men of low eſtate, and promote their temporal and ſpiritual welfare.—But there is no reaſon for looking upon this, as *a mere private letter*. For it was all writen with the apoſtle's own hand; which was much more than that which he called *the token in all his epiſtles*. [2 Theſſ. iii. 17.] It was received, by the primitive chriſtians, as a

part.

*Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9.

Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

part of *ſacred ſcripture:* and, accordingly, read in the churches. [But, as to the teſtimonies of *the fathers*, at large, ſee Dr. *Lardner's credibility*, &c. part 2d.] The argument is not mean, nor any part of this epiſtle unworthy the great apoſtle of the gentiles.—

Whoever will carefully ſtudy it, will diſcern a great number of the doctrines and precepts of chriſtianity, expreſſed or inſinuated. *For inſtance*, (1.) In the religious view, or upon a ſpiritual account, all chriſtians are upon a level. *Oneſimus*, the ſlave, upon becoming a chriſtian, is the apoſtle's dear ſon, and *Philemon*'s brother. (2.) Chriſtianity makes no alteration in men's civil affairs. By chriſtian baptiſm, a ſlave did not become a freedman. His temporal eſtate, or condition, was ſtill the ſame. And, though *Oneſimus* was the apoſtle's ſon, and *Philemon*'s brother, upon a religious account; yet he was obliged to be *Philemon's ſlave for ever*; unleſſe his maſter voluntarily gave him his freedom. (3.) Servants ſhould not be taken, or detained, from their own maſters, without their maſters conſent. [See ver. 13, 14.] (4.) We ſhould love, and do good unto, all men. We ſhould not contemn perſons of low eſtate; nor diſdain to help the meaneſt ſlave, when it is in our power. *The apoſtle* has here ſet us an example of benevolence, condeſcenſion, and chriſtian charity; which it well becomes us to follow. He took pains with, and converted, a ſlave; and, in a moſt affectionate and earneſt manner, interceded, with his maſter, for his pardon. (5.) We ſhould not utterly deſpair of thoſe who are wicked, but ſhould uſe our beſt indeavors to reclame them. Though *Oneſimus* had robbed his maſter, and run away from him, the apoſtle attempted his converſion, among others; and ſucceded therein. (6.) Reſtitution is due, where an injury has been done; unleſſe the injured party freely forgive. Accordingly; the apoſtle *Paul* gives a promiſe, under his own hand, for *Oneſimus* his makeing reſtitution, as a matter of juſtice, if *Philemon* inſiſted upon it. (7.) We ſhould be grateful to our benefactors. This St. *Paul* touches upon, very gently, ver. 19. where he intimates to *Philemon*, that he owed unto him *himſelf* alſo. And, therefore, in point of gratitude, he was obliged to grant his requeſt. (8.) We ſhould forgive the penitent, and be heartily reconciled to them. (9.) *The apoſtle*'s example teaches us to do all we can, to make up quarrels and differences, and reconcile thoſe who are at variance. (10.) A wiſe man chooſes, ſometimes, to addreſſe in a ſoft and obligeing manner, even in caſes where there is authority to command. (11.) The biſhops and paſtors of the chriſtian church, and all teachers of religion, have here the moſt glorious example

ample, ſet before them, to induce them to have a moſt tender regard to the ſouls of men of all ranks and conditions; and to indeavor to convert a ſlave, as well as well as the rich and great, and honorable of the earth. He, who diſdained not to teach a ſlave, a fugitive, and a thief; but preached the doctrine of ſalvation to him; and took pains with him, 'till he had reſtored him, to his maſter, an honeſt, worthy man;— how diſintereſted muſt he have been? To whom would he not condeſcend? Or whoſe ſalvation and happineſſe would he not indeavor to promote? Would to God there was the ſame ſpirit, in all the teachers of chriſtianity, at all times, and in all places! (12.) Here is a moſt glorious proof of the good effects of chriſtianity, where it is rightly underſtood, and ſincerely imbraced. It transforms a worthleſſe ſlave and thief, into a pious, virtuous, amiable, and uſeful, man; makes him not onely happier and better in himſelf; but a better ſervant, and better in all relations and circumſtances whatever.

*Writen from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

Shall an epiſtle, ſo full of uſeful and excellent inſtructions, be rejected for it's brevity? or becauſe the occaſion required that it ſhould be writen, concerning one particular perſon? or addreſſed to a private man? Men would do well to examine it carefully, before they reject it, or ſpeak of it ſo ſlightly.

In this epiſtle, there are ſome of the fineſt ſtrokes of true rhetoric; ſo that, I think, it may be called *The polite epiſtle.* Such deference and reſpect to *Philemon*, ſuch affection and concern for *Oneſimus*, ſuch diſtant but juſt inſinuations, ſuch a genteel and fine addreſſe, run through the epiſtle; that it alone might be ſufficient to convince us, that St. *Paul* was not unacquainted with the world; nor that weak, viſionary enthuſiaſt, which the enemies of revelation have ſometimes repreſented him. [*But of this, ſee more in the appendix to the paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to Philemon.*]

I ſhould think it a very agreeable piece of hiſtory, to know the ſucceſſe, which this letter met with; even though the perſons concerned have been ſo many hundreds of years in their graves. However; the primitive chriſtians preſerveing this letter, and placeing it in the ſacred canon, are ſtrong arguments to induce us to believe that *Philemon* granted the apoſtle's requeſt, and received *Oneſimus* into his houſe and favor again.

" St.

*Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. X. Acts xxviii. 29.

" ST. PAUL wrote, in his own name, and in the name of *Timothy*, to *Philemon* and his family, wiſhing them all happineſſe, from GOD and " the LORD JESUS CHRIST. He thanks GOD, that *Philemon* had imbraced " the chriſtian faith, and behaved in ſo generous a manner to all chriſti- " ans; — at which he greatly rejoiced.

" As an apoſtle of CHRIST, he could have commanded *Philemon* to " have done what was proper: but he rather choſe, as the priſoner of " CHRIST, to beſeech him to receive his beloved ſon, *Oneſimus*, whom he " had converted to chriſtianity, dureing his confinement. He confeſſes, he " had formerly not behaved well: but of late he was become another " man; and had been ſo uſeful to the apoſtle, in his confinement, that he " would have kept him; if *Philemon* had known of it, and conſented to " it. The providence of GOD had turned his ſhort departure, into the " means of his reformation; that his maſter might receive him, improv- " ed, and for life. He, therefore, intreats *Philemon* to receive him as a " chriſtian brother; or as he would have received the apoſtle himſelf, who " ingaged to pay whatever *Oneſimus* had wronged his maſter of; if *Phile-* " *mon*, who owed himſelf unto the apoſtle, ſhould inſiſt upon it. But he " hoped *Philemon* would do more than he had requeſted of him.

" He deſires *Philemon* would provide him a lodgeing, as hopeing that " he ſhould be ſet at liberty. He ſends ſalutations from ſeveral of his fel- " low-laborers. And concludes with wiſhing *Philemon*'s family the favor " of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. *Amen!*"

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## CHAP. X. SECT. XI.

### *The* hiſtory *of St.* PAUL's epiſtle *to the* Philippians.

IT hath already been obſerved, in the courſe of *this hiſtory*, that St. PAUL planted a *chriſtian church*, at *Philippi*; by converting *Lydia*, at the *proſeucha*; and, afterwards, the *jaylor* and his family, in the priſon, or jaylor's houſe. There he cured the *lunatic* damſel, who had pretended to *augury*, or divination; and was treated in a cruel manner, by her maſters, and the raſh *magiſtrates* of that *roman colony*. Afterwards, he viſited the *chriſtians*, at *Philippi*, once or twice; and farther inſtructed, and confirmed, them.

Of all the *churches*, of St. PAUL's planting, that at *Philippi* ſeemeth to have had the moſt tender concern for him. And, though they

they appear to have been but a *ſmall Church*, yet they were peculiarly generous towards him. For, when *chriſtianity* was firſt planted, in *Macedonia*, no other *church* contributed any thing, towards the ſupport of the APOSTLE, but the *Philippians* onely. Nay; when he was at *Theſſalonica*, the *metropolis* of *Macedonia*, they ſent him preſents, once and again, from *Philippi*; that he might not be deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, whileſt he planted the *goſpel*, in that city. [See *Phil* iv. 15, 16.] When they heard that St. PAUL was now under confinement, at *Rome*, they ſhowed the ſame affectionate concern for him, which they had always manifeſted; and ſent *Epaphroditus*, to him, with a preſent; leſt he ſhould want neceſſaries, dureing his confinement. From *Epaphroditus*, the APOSTLE learned the preſent ſtate of *that church*. And by him, when he returned home, he ſent them *this epiſtle:* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI. Acts xxviii. 29.

" Which he wrote, in his own name, and in the name of his beloved *Ti-* Ch. I.
" *mothy*; who was with him, when he founded the *church*, at *Philippi*. As,
" alſo, perhaps, when he viſited them, afterwards. [*Acts* xx. 3, 4.]

" As their affection and liberality was ſo great; and they continued ſo
" ſtedfaſt, in the *true goſpel-doctrine*; St. PAUL, in writeing to them, would
" not aſſume his *apoſtolic character*; nor ſay any thing, which would intimate his haveing a right to the kindneſſe, which they had ſhown him.
" And, therefore, he begins, " PAUL and *Timothy*, *the ſervants of* JESUS
" CHRIST." And he directs the *epiſtle* to all the *chriſtians* of that *church*;
" together with their *biſhops* and *deacons*. For that *church* of *Philippi* was
" ſettled with fixed officers; though few, if any, other of the *churches* were
" ſo ſettled, when St. PAUL wrote *his epiſtles* to them.

" After wiſhing the *Philippians* the favor of GOD and of CHRIST JESUS;
" and intimateing that he prayed for them, conſtantly; the APOSTLE tells
" them, that he had given thanks to GOD, for their converſion to *chriſtia-*
" *nity*, ever ſince they had imbraced the *goſpel*. For he was ſatisfied they
" would perſevere. Which was a comfort to him, now, in his confine-
" ment; as it was always. Yea; nothing could yield him more joy, than
" the love, which they expreſſed. And he prayed, that they might be
" rewarded in the day of the LORD. And, to that end, that their virtue
" and piety might abound more and more.

" They were much concerned, to hear of the APOSTLE's *confinement*.
" And, very probably, had ſent him an account of that, by *Epaphroditus*. —
" In anſwer to which, he intimated, that they had no reaſon to be ſo much
" affected. For his confinement had turned to the advancement of the
" *goſpel*; and made *chriſtianity* ſpread, even in the *emperor*'s family, as well
" as through the city of *Rome*: and that other *chriſtians* took courage,
" from his ſucceſſe, in his confinement, and preached the *chriſtian doctrine*
" the more. Some of the wicked *judaizers* did ſo, out of a ſpirit of op-

*Writen from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI. Acts xxviii. 29.

" poſition; in hopes of makeing the APOSTLE to be confined more ſtrict-
" ly, and to ſuffer more; as being a leading man among the *chriſtians.*
" But others, of a better ſpirit, did it, to aſſiſt the APOSTLE; looking
" upon him as the grand defender of the faith; and one, whom it would
" be right to aſſiſt, as much as they could. The APOSTLE rejoiced in the
" attempts of both. For he foreſaw that *chriſtianity* would ſpread the
" more; and that, in the event, he ſhould be the ſooner releaſed, the more
" it was known what *true chriſtianity* was. He, indeed, was reſigned; and
" without either to live, or to die; ſo as might moſt promote the ſpread-
" ing of the *goſpel.* If he lived, he would preach it himſelf. And, if he
" died, as a *martyr* for *chriſtianity*, his death would greatly promote the
" ſpread of it. Upon theſe proſpects, he ſcarce knew which to wiſh for.
" As for his own part, he was rather inclined to die, and to be with
" CHRIST; as what was much preferable to this mortal life. But, his
" liveing longer, would be of more advantage to the *chriſtians.* And he
" was ſatisfied that GOD would, therefore, ſpare his life, for the benefit of
" the *churches*; and, particularly, that he would gratifie the *Philippians*,
" with the ſight of him, again. But (ſaith he) whether I come, or no;
" do you live as *chriſtians.* Retain, ſtedfaſtly, the *pure chriſtian doctrine*,
" againſt all the wiles and threats of adverſaries. For you have been ho-
" nored, not onely in becomeing the diſciples of CHRIST; but in haveing,
" already, ſuffered perſecution for *your religion.*

Ch. II. " In the next place, the APOSTLE recommendeth mutual love and
" union; and excites them to *humility*, from the moſt perfect example of
" CHRIST; who, though he might, without robbery, or uſurpation, have
" continued in the form of a GOD, yet left his ſtate of glory, emptied him-
" ſelf, and took upon him a body; appearing, upon earth, in the hum-
" ble form of a ſervant; and becomeing obedient to the painful and igno-
" minious death of the croſſe. For which condeſcenſion, and amazeing
" humility, GOD hath exalted him to the throne of univerſal dominion;
" that all creatures might be ſubject to him, to the glory of GOD *the*
" *father.*

" The *Philippians* had been obedient to the *goſpel*, when St. PAUL was
" among them. He hoped that, much more in his abſence, they would
" promote each other's happineſſe. For GOD was working among them,
" that they might both will and act from a principle of benevolence. A
" peaceable temper was becomeing chriſtians: who were to behave like
" the children of GOD, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the wicked
" world around them. If they retained the purity of the *goſpel*, he inti-
" mateth that he ſhould not look upon his labor, among them, as loſt.
" As for his part, he could chearfully lay down his life for them. And
" he believed they had as ſincere a concern for him; and would be
" as ready to rejoice in his welfare, as he was in theirs. Being very de-
" ſireous to comfort and eſtabliſh them, he hoped to ſend *Timothy* to them,
" in a little time; a perſon of the moſt excellent character, and well-
" known to them! And the APOSTLE was in great expectation of ſhort-

" ly

" ly being ſet at liberty; and of following *Timothy*, to *Philippi*. But, *Written from Rome*, An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI. Acts xxviii. 29. Ch. III.
" before his releaſe, or even before he could ſend *Timothy*, he thought it
" proper to ſend away *Epaphroditus*, with *this epiſtle*. For, he had been
" ſick, ſince he came to *Rome*, and in great danger of his life: and the
" *Philippians* had, with much concern, heard of his ſickneſſe. As ſoon
" as ever therefore, he recovered, the APOSTLE ſent him away, to *Philip-*
" *pi*; that the *chriſtians*, there, might rejoice, to ſee him in health again.
" And he exhorts them to eſteem ſuch a perſon, as *Epaphroditus*; who
" was more concerned for the ſpread of the *goſpel*, than for his own life.

" As the *judaizers* abounded, in *Macedonia*, as well as in *Aſia minor*;
" and ſome of them had either attempted to taint the *Philippians*, or were
" likely to indeavor to ſeduce them, and bring them into ſubjection to
" the *law of Moſes*; as if *chriſtianity*, alone, had been inſufficient to juſ-
" tifie and ſave them: — With a view, I ſay, to the attempts of the *ju-*
" *daizers*, the APOSTLE cautions them, to beware of thoſe wicked ſe-
" ducers. For *true chriſtians* are *the circumciſion*, or the *true people of* GOD;
" and not thoſe, who place their confidence in their conformity to the
" *law of Moſes*. If the *law of Moſes* could have given grounds for hope,
" and glorying, St. PAUL had as good pretenſions as any of thoſe *ju-*
" *daizers*. For he was deſcended from parents, who were both *hebrew*
" *jews*. He was *circumciſed*, on the very day appointed in *the law*. He
" had been a moſt zeleous *phariſee*, and had once perſecuted the *chriſ-*
" *tians*; and conformed to *the law*, in the ſtricteſt manner. But all theſe
" things he now ſaw could not avail, to *juſtification*. The *chriſtian method*,
" alone, was ſufficient for that. And, therefore, he moſt carefully com-
" plied with the *goſpel*; in hopes of the happineſſe, which it propoſes to
" ſuch, as perſevere in a courſe of virtue and piety. And this method
" he recommendeth; as that, to which all ſhould conform, who under-
" ſtand the *chriſtian doctrine*.

" The *judaizers* betrayed, by their practice, that they were enemies to
" the *true doctrine*, and croſſe, of CHRIST. For, they were not onely
" drunkards, and gluttons; but they gloried in their ſhame; and their
" chief perſuit was temporal things. Whereas; St. PAUL, the *true*
" APOSTLE, had his converſation in *heaven*. From which heavenly con-
" verſation, he was led to look for JESUS to come again, as his ſavior,
" and judge; to raiſe him to glory, and an happy immortality. And,
" as the *Philippians* had the ſame proſpect; he recommendeth it to them,
" to perſevere in the *true goſpel doctrine*, and in a ſuteable practice.

" In the next place, he recommends kindneſſe aud mutual aſſiſtence, Ch. IV.
" to ſome particular perſons, in *that church*. One of whom was *Clemens*.
" The APOSTLE ſpeaks of him with great reſpect. And he is generally
" thought to have been *Clemens*, biſhop of *Rome*; one of *the apoſtolic*
" *fathers*; who wrote that excellent and golden remain, of the *epiſtle to*
" *the Corinthians*. There is a *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Corinthians* aſcribed
" to him, by ſome; and by the late Mr. *Wetſtein*, a *third* and *fourth*:
" but the three laſt are reckoned, by the beſt judges, not to be genſuine.

*Written from Rome,* An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. XI. Acts xxviii. 29.

" The APOSTLE adviſeth the *whole church*, at *Philippi*, to rejoice in " the LORD, and not be too anxious about temporal things; but commit " them, by prayer, and with reſignation, to the divine diſpoſeal. *Chriſ-* " *tians* are not onely to do what is ſtrictly juſt; but whatever is amiable, " and can recommend *chriſtianity*. For all ſuch things the APOSTLE had " taught the *Philippians*; and nothing could be more pleaſeing to GOD, " than ſuch a practice. He thanks them, in the moſt modeſt, agreeable, " and grateful manner, for their kindneſſe to him; intimateing, that he " had an equal and contented mind; præpared to ſuffer want, if called " to it. But he was not inſenſible, either of their former, or late, favors; " though he was much more pleaſed with their preſents, as they brought " honor to GOD; and teſtified the good influence, which *chriſtianity* had " upon their minds; than as they ſupplied his wants. And he doubted " not, but GOD would amply reward them. He ſalutes the *church* at *Phi-* " *lippi*; and ſends *ſalutations* from the *chriſtians*: particularly, from the " *chriſtians* in *Nero*'s family. And then concludeth, as uſual: The favor " of the LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you all. *Amen!*"

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## CHAP. X. SECT. XII.

### *The CONCLUSION.*

Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

THUS did St. PAUL ſpend his time, for the two years, in which he lived, in his own hired houſe, at *Rome*; always in the cuſtody of a ſoldier, and frequently chained to him: —receiveing all that would come and hear him; and often diſcourſeing, concerning the life, doctrine, miracles, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, of the BLESSED JESUS: — pointing out, both to *jews* and *gentiles*, the nature of the *kingdom of* GOD; which he was then erecting, under the *meſſiah*, his *anointed ſon*: and proveing, both from *antient prophecies*, and the *miraculous gifts*; which were conferred, ſince the pouring out of the *ſpirit*; that *chriſtianity* had all the *evidences* of a *divine original*; which men could reaſonably expect, upon the publiſhing of a *true revelation*. — By ſuch *diſcourſes*, as well as by the *miracles*, which he worked; and, by the laying on of his hands, inabled others to work; he not onely confirmed ſuch, as had already imbraced the *chriſtian religion*; but brought in numbers of *new converts*; makeing ſeveral *proſelytes* in *Cæſar*'s *court*; as well as in the camp, and in the city.

But

But the APOSTLE's care was not confined to *Rome* alone. For he received meſſages, from ſeveral of the *chriſtian churches*, in diſtant countries; and ſent *letters* and *meſſengers* to the diſtant *churches*, where he thought there was moſt occaſion. And, in one word, he made it his ſtudy and buſineſſe to promote the ſpreading of the *goſpel*. And he did it with all openneſſe, and *fortitude*; though he was already *in chains*, upon that account. However; notwithſtanding his zele and diligence, no-body forbade him. For the *romans* had not yet made any *laws*, againſt the *diſciples* of JESUS; and it was within the firſt ten years of the reign of *Nero*, and before his cruelty broke out, againſt the *chriſtians*. An. Chriſt. 63. Nero. 9. Book III. Ch. X. Sect. ult. Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

Thus far did St. LUKE, the *ſacred hiſtorian*, procede, in writeing the *hiſtory of the firſt planting of the* chriſtian religion. And, as I am come to the *concluſion of his book*, which is commonly called, *The* ACTS *of the* APOSTLES; I have finiſhed my preſent deſign; and ſhall here, therefore, put an end to *my hiſtory*: — After I have returned my moſt humble and hearty thanks to *almighty* GOD; who, out of his abundant mercy and goodneſſe, hath ſpared my life, and granted me health and leiſure thus to complete it.

To *his glory* I devote it; heartily praying, that it may advance the intereſt of *truth* and *peace*, *virtue* and *liberty!* Amen!

The end of the *hiſtory*.

A DIS-

A

# DISSERTATION;

In which it is ſhown,

That St. LUKE wrote the *Acts of the* APOSTLES: And that, as the *Acts* contain a *true hiſtory*, CHRISTIANITY muſt be true.

The deſign of this DISSERTATION, is, (1.) To ſhow that the *Acts of the* APOSTLES were writen by St. LUKE. And (2.) To point out the proofs, which *that hiſtory* affords, of the *truth of the chriſtian religion.*

## PART I. SECT. I.

IN conſidering the firſt, it will be proper to inquire, who St. LUKE was; and what evidences there are (either *internal*, or *external*) of the *truth* of *his hiſtory?*

According to the beſt lights, which I have been able to get, from the *ſcriptures*, and the *antient chriſtian writers*, "St. LUKE was a native of *Antioch* in *Syria*; and was bred a *phyſician*[a]." That he was not a *jew*, borne in *Judæa*, or *Galilee*, ſeemeth highly probable, from his ſpeaking of *the field*, which the *jews* bought, with the money, that *Judas the traitor* had returned. For he ſais, that, in *their own proper dialect*, it was called *Hakeldama*[b]; whereby he ſeems to intimate that it was not *his dialect*, though it was the *dialect* of the *jews*. But, that he was a native of *Antioch* in *Syria*, is what ſome of the *antient chriſtians* have poſitively aſſerted[c]. There is, likewiſe, a *reading* in the *Cambridge*

[a] Col. iv. 14. [b] Acts i. 18, 19. See the note there.
[c] *Euſeb.* hiſt. eccleſ. l. 3. c. 4. *Hieron.* de viris illuſtr. in Luc. & præfat. in comment. ad Matt.

*bridge manuſcript*, Acts xi. 28[d]. which intimates, that the firſt time, he is mentioned, in the *ſcripture*, he was at *Antioch* in *Syria*. That manuſcript is reckoned very antient. But I lay no ſtreſs upon it; any farther than that the *reading* agrees with the moſt early and moſt authentic accounts of St. LUKE. That he was not a *jew*, but an *uncircumciſed gentile*, doeth farther and more plainly appear, from *Col.* iv. 10, 11. compared with *ver.* 12; 14. For, when the APOSTLE had reckoned up ſuch of his fellow-laborers of the *circumciſion*, as were then, at *Rome*, with him; he afterwards mentioned St. LUKE, and ſome others, who were alſo with him, at that time: intimateing, that the laſt were not *jewiſh converts*; though the firſt-mentioned were all ſuch. And ſome have thought it a confirmation of his being a *gentile*, that he wrote purer *greek*, than the other three *evangeliſts*; who were all *jews*. And, though that, alone, would not have proved him to have been a *gentile*; becauſe one *jew* might have underſtood *greek*, better than another; yet (as far as the obſervation is juſt and well-grounded) it may be a confirming evidence, when joined to the other proofs, which have been alleged. For *Antioch* was, then, a place famous for the *greek learning*; and for *rhetoric* and *eloquence*. I take St. LUKE to have been a *devout gentile*, or *proſelyte of the gate*; who (though he continued *uncircumciſed*, yet) had forſaken *idolatry*, and was a *worſhiper* of the *true* GOD; and one, who attended upon the ſervice of the *ſynagogue*, before *chriſtianity* was preached to *any gentile*. For the *chriſtian church*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, was collected from among ſuch. And, if the *reading* of the *Cambridge manuſcript*, which has been taken notice of, *Acts* xi. 28. be genuine: St. LUKE was a convert to *chriſtianity*, before the *goſpel* was preached to *one idolatrous gentile*. — Conſidering theſe things, I cannot allow him to have been one of the *ſeventy diſciples*, whom OUR LORD ſent forth, before his death; becauſe I do not find that OUR LORD, dureing his own perſonal miniſtry, here, upon earth, preached to any *uncircumciſed gentile*. [For, though he preached to *ſamaritanes*, as well as *jews*; yet, at that time, the *ſamaritanes*, in general, were *circumciſed*; as well as the *jews*, and *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*. And, generally, in all things, except as to the place of worſhip, held the law of *Moſes* for the rule of their religion.] And, as our LORD did not, then, admit the *gentiles* to be *his diſciples*; much leſſe did he then chooſe any *uncircumciſed gentile*, to go and preach

[d] See the note on Acts xi. 28.

preach in his name. For, 'till the harveſt of the *jews* was gathered in, (which was not, 'till ſeveral years after CHRIST's *aſcenſion*,) we do not find that any *gentile* was preached to; or received, as *a diſciple*, into the *chriſtian church*. And, after that, it was ſome time, before any of them were appointed to preach the *goſpel* to others. Again: —That St. LUKE was not one of the *ſeventy diſciples*, may be gathered, from his own words, in the introduction to *his goſpel*; where he plainly intimates, that he himſelf had not been, from the *beginning*, an *eye-witneſſe and miniſter of the word*; but had had his intelligence, from others, of the *facts*, which he recorded in *his goſpel*. Whereas; in the latter part of *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, he frequently ſpeaks of himſelf, as one that was perſonally preſent, and concerned in the things which he has related. He was, very probably, converted to *chriſtianity*, by PAUL and BARNABAS; when theſe two labored together, a whole year, as *chriſtian prophets*, in planting, and watering, the *goſpel-doctrine*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*. [*Acts* xi. 26.] And, after he had been a *chriſtian* about eight years, he became *an evangeliſt*; travelling generally, along with St. PAUL; to aſſiſt him, in the work of the *goſpel*. The firſt time he joined the APOSTLE, with that view, was, when St. PAUL, in *his ſecond apoſtolic journey*, had got as far as *Troas*. For there, St. LUKE (in the *hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES) begins to ſpeak in *the firſt perſon plural*; and to uſe the words *we*, and *us*; giveing the reader to underſtand, that he was, from that time, one of the APOSTLE's company. [Acts xvi. 8, &c.] From *Troas*, they went, together, to *Philippi*. And (though I do not find that he was with St. PAUL, 'till that APOSTLE returned to *Philippi*; yet) there they joined company again; and went up, together, to *Jeruſalem*; to carry the generous, charitable, collection; which the *gentile churches* had made, for the uſe of the poor *chriſtians* in *Judæa*. [Acts xx. 6, &c.] When St. PAUL was carried in chains, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*, St. LUKE accompanied him, in his voyage; [Acts xxvii. 1, &c.] and continued with him, whileſt he was confined, in his own hired houſe, in that magnificent city. And, accordingly, we find him particularly mentioned, in two of the *epiſtles*, which the APOSTLE wrote, from thence, dureing his firſt confinement there. [See *Col.* iv. 14. *Philem.* ver. 24.] He is once more mentioned, in St. PAUL's *epiſtles*; namely, 2 *Tim.* iv. 11. For I take St. LUKE, *the evangeliſt*, to have been the perſon there intended; though ſome have queſtioned it. And, if he was the perſon there deſigned; he was with St. PAUL, dureing that APOSTLE's ſecond confinement,

at

at *Rome*; and the onely companion, who dared to tarry with the APOSTLE, after he had made *his firſt apologie*, and was likely to ſuffer *martyrdom*.

St. LUKE could, very likely, have carried down *his hiſtory*, to the death of St. PAUL. But, I ſuppoſe, he had publiſhed *his goſpel*, and *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, ſome years before that. And did not ſee proper to add any thing, to what he had ſaid already. For, in ſtudying brevity, he conſulted the general good. And, in what he has left us, he has given us a ſufficient account of the *chriſtian doctrine*, and of it's grand evidences. [What hath been ſaid, by the *writers* of later ages, concerning the place, time, and manner, of his death; and what the *church of Rome* hath reported, concerning his ſkill in *painting*, appears to me to be not ſufficiently ſupported, to deſerve any regard.] — Beſides his acquaintance with St. PAUL, St. LUKE was, very likely, acquainted with moſt of the APOSTLES *of the circumciſion*[e]. For we find, that St. PETER went down to *Antioch*[f], before St. LUKE went out, from thence, as *an evangeliſt*; and that St. LUKE, himſelf, was once at *Jeruſalem*[g]; where he ſaw, and converſed with, the APOSTLE JAMES, as well as with the *chriſtian elders* of that city. It is poſſible, he might be at *Jeruſalem*, more than once; or might meet with other of the APOSTLES, in other places.

## SECT. II.

FROM his long and intimate acquaintance with St. PAUL, who had received the knowlege of the *goſpel*, by *immediate revelation*; and, from converſeing with ſeveral others, who *had ſeen the* LORD *in the fleſh*, and known the things, which had ſince happened; it appears, that St. LUKE was ſufficiently qualified to write the former part of *this hiſtory*. And, as to the latter part of it, he had (beſides the advantages already mentioned) the opportunity of being perſonally preſent; and of ſeeing, with his own eyes, many of the things, which he has recorded. But, as the truth and authenticneſſe of any *hiſtory*, is *a fact*; we ought not onely to conſider the capacity and opportunity of *the author*, to whom it is



[e] *Euſeb.* eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. c. 4. *Hieron.* de vir. illuſtr. in Luc. [f] Gal. ii. 11. [g] Acts xxi. 17.

aſcribed; but, likewiſe, inquire, "What *teſtimonies* there remain, "of ſuch as lived in, or near, the time, in which it is ſaid to have "been writen?" For, if *they*, (who had a fair and ſufficient opportunity to know *the fact*) acknowleged St. LUKE to have been the author of the *book*, which we call *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; and that the things, related in it, were true and genuine; we cannot, with any reaſon, reject it: eſpecially, as there are no internal marks, or characters, to induce us to exclude it; but many (on the contrary) which may induce us to receive, and eſteem, it.

There are two different opinions, as to the time, in which St. LUKE wrote, and publiſhed, *his goſpel*. The one would fix it in the fifteenth year after CHRIST's *aſcenſion*; that is, about *the year of* CHRIST 47, or 48. The other is for dateing it after St. MARK wrote *his goſpel*; that is, about the year 63. or thirty years after *the aſcenſion of* CHRIST. Upon examining the grounds and reaſons of theſe two accounts, I prefer the latter [h]. For I apprehend that St. LUKE wrote, both *his goſpel*, and *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, in *one book*; and divided it into *two parts*; as we commonly do, with *hiſtories*, and other ſingle *volumes*. The tranſition, *Acts* i. 1. agrees with this account. For the *Acts* are *the ſecond part* of *the book* [i], or *hiſtory*, of which he himſelf has called *his goſpel*, *the firſt part* [k]. The *latter* is inſcribed to *Theophilus*, as well as the *former*. And (which is very remarkable) there is not *the author's name* præfixed, to *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; as there is, to St. LUKE's *goſpel*. And yet *the author* of the *Acts of the* APOSTLES is not diſputed: (as *the author* of the *epiſtle to the hebrews* has been; becauſe he hath not præfixed *his name*.) For, when the *goſpel* and the *Acts*, were one continued *book*; and St. LUKE's *name* præfixed to *the former*; there was no occaſion to repete it, before the *ſecond part* of his work. We have, indeed, ſeparated St. LUKE's *goſpel*, and *the Acts*, by putting St. JOHN's *goſpel* between them. But the reaſon of that, is, that we may have *the four goſpels* placed together; and St. JOHN is put the laſt, as haveing been writen long after the other three. It is evident, that the *Acts of the* APOSTLES could not have been finiſhed, 'till *the year of* OUR LORD 62, or 63. of *Nero* 9. becauſe *the hiſtory of the chriſtian church* is there brought down ſo low. Now, that agrees, very well, with the latter account

[h] Inſtead of repeteing the arguments, for the one opinion, or the other; I would refer the reader to what Mr. *Jones* hath ſaid, on this ſubject, *Vol.* III. *p.* 113, &c. of his *new method of ſettling the canon of the new teſtament.*

[i] Δεύτερον λόγον. [k] Τὸν πρῶτον λόγον. Acts i. 1.

count of the time of St. LUKE's publiſhing *his goſpel*. And, when he had finiſhed *his hiſtory*, it is very likely that he would ſoon publiſh it; for the benefit of the *chriſtian church*, and of mankind.

That St. LUKE, who wrote *the goſpel*, which goeth under his name, did alſo write *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, appears, from the general conſent of the *antient chriſtian writers*. I ſhall, firſt, give ſome account of the *perſons*; and, then, of their *teſtimonies*.

(1.) *Irenæus* is ſo early a witneſſe, that, as he himſelf tells us, in his youth he ſaw and heard *Polycarp*, who had been taught by the APOSTLES; — converſed with many, who had ſeen CHRIST; — and was, alſo, by the APOSTLES, appointed *biſhop of the church of Smyrna*, in *Aſia*[l]. *Irenæus* was firſt a *preſbyter*, and afterwards *biſhop, of Lyons*, in *France*; and is reckoned to have floriſhed about *the year of* OUR LORD 178. He hath, in ſeveral parts of his works, aſcribed *this hiſtory* to St. LUKE, as *it's author*. *For inſtance*, citeing the *hiſtory*, Acts viii. 9, *&c.* he introduceth it thus: "*Simon the* "*ſamaritane*, who was one of the *magi*; of whom LUKE, the "diſciple and follower of the APOSTLES, ſaith, But a certain "man, *Simon*, by name, *&c.*[m]." In another place, citeing *Acts* xv. 39, &c. he ſais, "That LUKE was inſeparable from PAUL; "and his fellow-worker in the *goſpel*, he himſelf ſhows, by re-"lateing the contention between PAUL and BARNABAS, concern-"ing *John Mark*; — and, by his ſpeaking in the *firſt perſon plu-*"*ral*, Acts xvi. 10. *We* indeavored to go into *Macedonia*; *ver.* 11, "*We* looſed, and came with a ſtraight courſe; *ver.* 12. *We* con-"tinued at *Philippi*, ſeveral days; *ver.* 13. *We* ſate down, and "ſpoke to the women, who reſorted to the *proſeucha*. And a-"gain, he ſais, *Acts* xx. 6. And *we* ſailed away, from *Philippi*, "after the days of unleavened bread, and came to *Troas*; where "*we* abode ſeven days. And other things, he [*that is*, LUKE] re-"lates, whileſt he was with PAUL; mentioning exactly the places, "and cities, and number of days, until they went up to *Jeruſalem*: "and what things happened there, to PAUL; how he was ſent "bound, to *Rome*; and the name of the *centurion*, that took charge "of him; and the *ſigns of the ſhip*: how they were ſhipwrecked, "and in what *iſland* they were ſaved, and how courteouſly they



[l] *Iren.* adverſ. *hæreſ.* l. 3. c. 3. § 4. & apud *Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt.* l. 4. c. 14. & l. 5. c. 20. [m] *Simon* enim *ſamarites*, *magus* ille, de quo, diſcipulus & ſectator APOSTOLORUM, *Lucas*, ait, "*Vir quidam, autem, nomine Simon*, &c." adverſ. *hæreſ.* l. 1, c. 23. [*alias* c. 20.] § 1.

"were received, PAUL healing the chief-man of the *iſland*; and "how they ſailed, from thence, to *Puteoli*; and, from thence, ar- "rived at *Rome*; and how long they ſtayed at *Rome*. At all which "things he was preſent, and relates them with fidelity, and with- "out oſtentation: — And that he was not onely a companion, but "alſo a fellow-laborer, of the APOSTLES; and eſpecially of PAUL; "PAUL himſelf has declared, in *his epiſtles*[n]." For this, *Irenæus* quotes the words of 2 *Tim.* iv. 9, 10, 11. and *Col.* iv. 14. And, preſently after, he quotes, alſo, *Acts* xx. 25, &c. Again; quoteing part of St. STEPHEN's *ſpeech*, Acts vii. he ſais, "LUKE hath wrote, that *Stephen* ſpoke thus, *&c.*[o]" Theſe are ſome of the many places, in *Irenæus*; where the *Acts of the* APOSTLES are aſcribed to St. LUKE, as *their author*. But it would be tedious, to put down all the places, where he has quoted, or alluded to, *that hiſtory*. For there are few things, recorded in *the Acts*, which have not been mentioned by *Irenæus*.

(2.) *Clemens*, who lived at *Alexandria*, and is reckoned to have floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 194; quoteing St. PAUL's *ſpeech*, at *Athens*, Acts xvii. 22, *&c.* introduces it thus: "And LUKE, in *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, relates that PAUL ſaid," *&c*[p].

(3.) *Tertullian* is generally reckoned to be the moſt antient *latin* father now remaining. He was a *preſbyter* of *Carthage*, the capital city of *Africa*; and is reckoned to have floriſhed, about *the year of* OUR LORD 200. He cites ſeveral places, out of *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; which he, in one place, calls *the commentary of* LUKE[q].

(4.) *Origen*, a *preſbyter* of *Alexandria*, who was the ſcholar of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and who is reckoned to have floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 230; aſcribes *the Acts of the* APOSTLES to St. LUKE[r]. (5.) *Euſebius*, the *eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian*, who was borne at *Cæſarea*, in *Palæſtine*, and ſurnamed *Pamphilus*, from the name of his friend, *Pamphilus the martyr*; — floriſhed about the year 315. and was moſt diligent and indefatigable, in his inquiries into *chriſtian*

[n] Iren. l. 3. c. 14. [o] *Lucas* autem *Stephanum* — ſic dixiſſe de *Moſe* ſcripſit; Iren. l. 4. c. 29. [p] Καθὸ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύε τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα. *Strom.* l. 5. p. 588. edit. Sylburg. p. 996. edit. Potter. Vid. etiam *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 6. c. 14. [q] Porro, cum in eodem *commentario Lucæ*, &c. Lib. de jejun. adv. *pſych.* c. 10. p. 549. *B.* edit. Rigaltii.

[r] Λουκᾶς, ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις, apud *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 6. c. 25. Some may perhaps, queſtion whether theſe are the words of *Origen*, or of *Euſebius* himſelf. But, ſuppoſeing they ſhould be aſcribed to the *latter*; they may be looked upon as a *teſtimony*, though not ſo antient. However; I look upon them as the words of *Origen*.

*tian antiquity.* — He, who made ſo diligent and curious a ſearch, expreſly aſcribes *the Acts of the* APOSTLES to St. LUKE; ſaying, that "LUKE, a native of *Antioch*, and by profeſſion a *phyſician*, did, "for the moſt part, accompany PAUL; and, being diligently con-"verſant with *the other* APOSTLES, he hath left us, in *two in-"ſpired books*, leſſons, which are *medicinal* for our ſouls: — The "one is *the goſpel*, : — the other is *the Acts of the* APOSTLES," &c[r]. (6.) *Jerome*, who floriſhed towards the end of the *fourth century*, aſſerts *the Acts of the* APOSTLES to have been *the compoſure of St.* LUKE[t]. (7.) Several *antient greek manuſcripts*, of the *new teſtament*, have the name of St. LUKE præfixed to *this hiſtory*[u]. As hath, alſo, *the old ſyriac verſion.* — From all theſe *teſtimonies*, the *author* of the *Acts of the* APOSTLES is fully determined. Eſpecially, as there is nothing, which can, with any color of reaſon, or probability, be objected againſt *their teſtimonies.*

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## SECT. III.

AS we have found out *the author* of the *Acts of the* APOSTLES; and the time, in, or about which, they were writen; it may be of ſervice, farther, and more particularly, to conſider, what regard the *primitive chriſtians* paid to *that hiſtory.*

I. The *hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES is found in *thirteen catalogues of the books of the new teſtament*; which are the *principal catalogues* of thoſe *ſacred books*, in the writeings of the *fathers*, for the *four firſt centuries*[a].

II. The

[r] *Euſeb.* hiſt. eccleſ. l. 3. c. 4.

[t] *Hieron.* de vir. illuſt. in *Joan.* "*Acta* APOSTOLORUM, ſicut viderat, compoſuit." Vid. etiam *Epiſt. ad Paulin.* vers. fin.

[u] See *F. Simon's critical hiſtory of the text of the new teſtament*, part 1. c. 14.

[a] The *catalogues*, which I refer to, are, (1.) That of *Origen*; *Comment. in Matt.* apud *Euſeb.* H. E. l. 6. c. 25. & l. 5. *Expoſit. in Joan.* ibid. (2.) *Euſebius Pamphilus*; whoſe *catalogue* of the *books of the new teſtament* is to be found, *Hiſt. eccleſ.* l. 3. c. 25. (3.) *Athanaſius, biſhop of Alexandria in Ægypt*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 315. and hath left us a *catalogue of the books of the new teſtament.* Fragment. Epiſt. Teſtal. *tom.* 2. & in Synopſi, *tom.* 1. (4.) *Cyril, biſhop of Jeruſalem*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 340. His *catalogue* is in *catech.* 4. § ult. p. 101. (5.) The *biſhops*, aſſembled in the *council* of *Laodicea*, in *the year of* CHRIST 364. have given us *their catalogue*; Canon 59. And it ought to

II. The *Acts of the* APOSTLES ought to be looked upon, as a *true hiſtory*, and as writen about the time, which we contend for; becauſe they are cited, or alluded to, in the *writeings of the primitive chriſtians*. As will appear, by the following inſtances.

(1.) The *antient epiſtle*, aſcribed to BARNABAS, which is thought to have been writen about *the year of* CHRIST 71. ſeems to allude to *Acts* x. 42. For, ſpeaking of CHRIST, whom he calls *the ſon of* GOD; who is alſo LORD; the author of that epiſtle ſaith, "He ſhall judge the quick and the dead [b]."

(2.) *Clemens* is mentioned, with great reſpect, by St. PAUL. *Phil.* iv. 3. He was *biſhop of Rome*. And, therefore, commonly called *Clemens Romanus*. He wrote *an excellent epiſtle*, to the *chriſtian church* at *Corinth*, about *the year of* CHRIST 96. which is extant at this day; and is looked upon, as one of *the moſt valuable remains* of *chriſtian antiquity*. In *that epiſtle*, he alludes to *Acts* xiii. 22. His words are: "And what ſhall we ſay of *David*, ſo highly teſ-"tified of: to whom GOD ſaid, I have found a man *after my own* "*heart*; *David*, the ſon of *Jeſſe*; with holy oil have I anointed "him [c]?" St. PAUL doeth, indeed, cite theſe words from *Pſal.* lxxxix. 20. But, as they are introduced, by *Clemens*, with the ſame, or like, form of *quotation*, with that in *the Acts*; and theſe words, [*after*

to be obſerved, that the *canons* of *this council* were, not long after, received into the body of the *canons of the univerſal church*. (6.) *Epiphanius*, *biſhop of Salamis*, in *Cyprus*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 370. His *catalogue* is, *hæreſ.* 76. contra Anom. *p.* 399. (7.) *Gregory Nazianzen*, *biſhop of Conſtantinople*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 375. and has left us a *catalogue* of the *books of the new teſtament*. Carm. de veris & genuin. ſcriptur. (8.) *Philaſtrius*, *biſhop of Brixia*, in *Venice*, floriſhed about *the year of* OUR LORD 380. His *catalogue* is to be found, *Lib. de hæreſ.* num. 87. (9.) *Jerome*, who floriſhed about *the year* 382. has given us a *catalogue* of *the books of the new teſtament*. Epiſt. ad Paulin. 83. tract. 6. p. 2. Which *epiſtle* is alſo, commonly, prefixed to the *latin bible*, *vulgat. edit.* (10.) *Ruffinus*, *preſbyter of Aquilejium*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 390. You may find *his catalogue*, Expoſit. in ſymbol. *apoſt.* § 36. inter ep. *Hieron.* part. 1. tract. 3. p. 110. & inter opera *Cyprian.* p. 575. (11.) *Auſtin*, *biſhop of Hippo*, in *Africa*, floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 394. His *catalogue* remains; — *de doctrin. Chriſt.* l. 2. c. 8. tom. operum 3. p. 25. (12.) The *forty-four biſhops*, aſſembled in the *third council of Carthage*, (of whom *Auſtin* was one) have given us *their catalogue*. Canon 47. & cap. ult. (13.) The *anonymous author* of the work, under the name of *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, who is thought to have floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 390. has confirmed *the above-mentioned catalogues*. Lib. de *hierarch. eccleſ.* c. 3. p. 3. All *theſe catalogues*, unanimouſly, and with one conſent, reckon *the Acts*, among the *ſacred books of the new teſtament*. See Mr. *Jones* his *new and full method of ſettling the canonical books of the new teſtament*, vol. 1. p. 73, &c.

[b] Vid. *epiſt. Barnab. cap.* 7. Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὢν Κύριος, καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

[c] Vid. *Clem. roman. epiſt.* ad *Corinth.* c. 18.

[*after my own heart,*] are not in the *pſalm*; but the expreſſion of St. PAUL, recorded onely in the *Acts*; it is rather probable, that *Clemens* alluded to what he had read, in *the Acts*. Nor is there any reaſon to object, that, "perhaps, they both cited according to the *ſeptuagint*." For there are no ſuch words, in any of the copies of the *ſeptuagint*; nor any various *readings*, like it, to be found. Again: there is an alluſion, in the *ſame epiſtle*, to *Acts* xx. 35. where *Clemens* is commending the *Corinthians*, for their former behavior; and ſais, among other things, that "they were more willing to give, than to receive [d]."

(3.) *Hermas* (who is reckoned to be the perſon, ſaluted by St. PAUL, *Rom.* xvi. 14. and to have wrote the *antient book*, called *the paſtor*, or *ſhepherd*, about *the year of* OUR LORD 100,) ſeems to allude to *Acts* v. 41. His words are: "But you, who ſuffer death "for his name, ought to honor the LORD; that the LORD accounts "you worthy to bear his name [e]."

(4.) *Ignatius* was *biſhop of the chriſtian church*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, the latter part of the *firſt*, and the begining of the *ſecond*, *century*; and is reckoned to have been intimately acquainted with ſeveral of the APOSTLES *of* OUR LORD. It is ſaid, that he was ſent, from *Syria*, to *Rome*, about *the year* 107, to be devoured by wild beaſts, for *the teſtimony of* CHRIST; and that, as he went, through *Aſia*, under a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, he confirmed the *chriſtian churches*, in every city, by his diſcourſe; and wrote *ſeven epiſtles*, which are ſtill extant. In that to the *church* at *Smyrna*, there is an alluſion to *Acts* x. 41. The words are; "But, after his "reſurrection, he did eat and drink with them. [f]"

(5.) *Polycarp* was ſo early a *father*, that he was not onely *taught by the* APOSTLES, and had converſed with many, who had ſeen CHRIST; but was alſo, by the APOSTLES, appointed *biſhop of the church of Smyrna*, in *Aſia*. And he is thought, by many, *to have been the angel of the church of Smyrna* [g], to whom the *epiſtle*, in the *Revelation*, was ſent. He lived a long time; and, in his old age, ſuffered *a glorious and ſplendid martyrdom*. But, before he was crowned with *martyrdom*, he wrote *a moſt excellent and uſeful epiſtle*, to the *Philippians*, about *the year of* CHRIST, 108. which is ſtill extant. In that *epiſtle*, he has repeted *Acts* ii. 24. with the variation of onely one ſingle word. For, ſpeaking of CHRIST, he ſais,

[d] *Clem. Roman. epiſt. ad Corinth.* c. 2. Μᾶλλον δίδοντες ἢ λαμβανόντες. [e] Vid. *lib.* 3. *ſimil.* 9. § 28. [f] Vid. *epiſt.* ad *Smyrn.* § 3. [g] See *Rev.* ii. 8.

ſais, "Whom GOD hath raiſed up; haveing looſed the pains of "*hades*; that is, of the *grave*, or of *the inviſible world*[h]." By which, he, very probably, meant *death*; as St. PETER has expreſſed it.

As theſe five were *apoſtolic fathers*, I was willing to mention ſuch of their *expreſſions*, as are moſt like to thoſe of the *Acts*; becauſe they converſed with the APOSTLES; and, very probably, with St. LUKE himſelf. And, therefore, their repeteing his words, or alludeing to them, muſt be a very great confirmation to the truth and genuineneſſe of *his hiſtory*. Though they have not, formally, quoted them from him; nor aſcribed them to St. LUKE, as words taken out of *his hiſtory*. For that was not ſo common, in the *apoſtolic age*[i].

We now procede to other *teſtimonies*, and *confirmations*, of the truth of St. LUKE's *hiſtory*. Among which, we ſhall find many *expreſſe quotations*, acknowleged to be taken out of *the Acts of the* APOSTLES. (1.) *Papias*, *biſhop of Hierapolis*, in *Aſia*, who was a companion of *Polycarp*, and floriſhed about *the year of* CHRIST 116. has given ſome confirmation to *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, in what he ſais of *Philip*; but, eſpecially, in what he ſais of *Juſtus*, called *Barſabas*. For he intimates, that he had ſeen, and talked with, *Philip's daughters*; who are mentioned, *Acts* xxi. 9. And, of *Juſtus*, called *Barſabas*; for the deſcription of whom he [or *Euſebius*] refers to Acts i. 23. Of that *Juſtus*, I ſay, he relates *this miracle:* "That he drank deadly poiſon; and, by the grace of the LORD, ſuffered no harm[k]."

(2.) *Juſtin Martyr* was borne at *Sichem*[l], which ſtood nigh *mount Gerizim*, and was the head city of the *ſamaritane ſect*. He was early a lover of truth, and had ſtudied *philoſophy*, under ſeveral maſters, of different *ſects*; but prefered the ſentiments of *Plato*, 'till he became acquainted with *chriſtianity*; which he then imbraced, as *the onely certain and uſeful philoſophy*[m]. His converſion is dated about

[h] *Polycarp.* epiſt. ad *Philipp.* § 1.

[i] Suppoſeing the *paſſages*, which we have quoted, from the *apoſtolic fathers*, were not taken from St. LUKE, or any other *chriſtian writer*; but were expreſſions, common among the *firſt chriſtians:* — Even then, they are confirmations of St. LUKE's writeing in the *apoſtolic age*; in as much as they ſhow him to have been acquainted with the *phraſes* then in uſe. But, as the words, in ſeveral of the above-cited *paſſages*, are ſo like St. LUKE's; it is more probable, I think, that they alluded to what he had ſaid. And, what may confirm this, is, that they allude to ſome paſſages in the old teſtament, much in the ſame manner; *that is*, without quoteing *the author*, or repeteing the words exactly.

[k] *Euſeb.* hiſt. eccleſ. l. 3. c. 39.

[l] It is called *Sichar*, John iv. 5.

[m] Dial. cum *Trypho*, p. 225. *C.* edit. Pariſ. 1636.

about *the year* of CHRIST 133. when he himſelf is reckoned to have been about thirty years of age. In the begining of the reign of *Antonine the pious*, he came to *Rome*; and, in the year 140, preſented *his firſt apologie*, to *that emperor*. Afterwards, he went into *Aſia*; and, particularly, to *Epheſus*; where he had *the celebrated conference*, with *Trypho, the jew*. Then he returned, again, to *Rome*; where he wrote *his ſecond apologie*, inſcribed to *Mark Antonine the philoſopher*. And, it is thought, he ſuffered *martyrdom*, about the year 164. — *Juſtin* ſhows that he had read *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, by the following expreſſions. "*Moſes* was thought worthy to partake "of all the learning of the *Ægyptians*[n]:" Which ſeems to be a plane alluſion to *Acts* vii. 22. Again, he, in another place of *his writeings*, ſaith; "For the *jews*, who had the *prophecies*, and al-"ways expected the comeing of the CHRIST, knew him not. And, "not onely ſo, but even killed him. But the *gentiles*, who had "never heard of CHRIST, 'till the APOSTLES, ſetting out, from "*Jeruſalem*, taught them the things concerning him; being filled "with joy, and faith, they forſook their *idols*, and gave themſelves "up to *the unbegotten* GOD, through JESUS CHRIST[o]." In which, he appears to have given the ſenſe of *Acts* xiii. 27. and to have had a reference to *the hiſtory*, recorded in the ſame *chapter*; from *ver.* 44, to the end. And, finally, in *his dialogue* with *Trypho, the jew*, he ſais: "Though it had been obſcurely declared, by the *prophets*, "*that* CHRIST *ſhould ſuffer*; and, after that, *be* LORD *of all*," &c. In which, he hath given us the ſenſe, and ſome of the words, recorded by St. LUKE, *Acts* xxvi. 22, 23[p]. And, that he took them, not from the expreſſions, which were then common among *chriſtians*, but from *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; appears highly probable, in that he mentions *memoirs, commentaries*, or *records*, writen by the APOSTLES, and their *companions*: refering to the *writeings* of St. MARK and St. LUKE, as well as of the APOSTLES themſelves.

(3.) In the ſeventeenth year of *Mark Antonine*, and the hundred ſeventy-ſeventh of CHRIST, the *chriſtians* in *France* ſuffered *a very great perſecution*; undergoing exquiſite torments, with amazeing patience[q]. Among others, *Pothinus, biſhop of Lyons*, then above ninety years of age, was apprehended, and carried before the *governor*. By whom, he was examined; and before whom, he made a



[n] Cohort. ad Græc. p. 11, *B.* edit. Pariſ. 1636.
[o] Apol. 1. p. 85, *A.*
[p] *Dialog. cum Trypho*, p. 302. *A.* παθητὸς — ὁ Χριστὸς.
[q] *Euſeb.* hiſt. eccleſ. l. 5. *proæm.* & c. 1, &c.

generous confeſſion of the *chriſtian religion*. And, haveing ſuffered many indignities, he was ſent to priſon; where he ſoon expired.

The *churches* of *Lyons* and *Vienne* ſent a *relation* of the ſufferings of their *martyrs*, in a *letter* to the *churches* of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*; a large part of which is ſtill extant[q]. And it is the fineſt thing, of the kind, in *all antiquity*. Some think that it was compoſed by *Irenæus*. *That letter* affords a conſiderable teſtimony to the *books of the new teſtament*; and, particularly, to *the Acts of the* APOSTLES. And how valuable their teſtimony muſt be, is manifeſt, from what hath been ſaid of them; and that they had, for their *biſhop*, *Pothinus*; who dyed, aged above ninety, in the year 177. and was borne, therefore, about the 87th year of OUR LORD. The words of *that letter*, which refer to *the hiſtory of the Acts*, are theſe: "They prayed for "thoſe, from whom they ſuffered hard things; as did the perfect "*martyr*, *Stephen*; "LORD, *lay not this ſin to their charge*. And, "if he prayed for thoſe who ſtoned him; how much more ought "we to pray for *the brethren*[r]?"

(4.) *Irenæus* (of whom I have given a particular account above; as being firſt a *preſbyter*, under *Pothinus*; and then ſuccedeing him, as *biſhop of Lyons*, in *France*; and who is reckoned to have floriſhed about the year of CHRIST, 178. He, I ſay,) hath, very frequently, quoted the *Acts of the* APOSTLES, as "writen by LUKE, the diſciple and companion of the APOSTLES." There are few things, recorded in *that book*, which have not been mentioned by *Irenæus*. I have already put down *one paſſage*, giveing a general account of all the latter part of *the Acts of the* APOSTLES. But, beſides that, and many other things, in behalf of St. LUKE; *Irenæus* argues with thoſe, who diſowned the authority of PAUL, and yet owned LUKE's *goſpel*: that "they muſt, of neceſſity, own *the Acts*; and, conſequently, PAUL's *authority*."

I will here put down *another paſſage*, wherein *Irenæus* bears teſtimony to St. LUKE's *hiſtory*. "Nor can they (ſais he) pretend "that PAUL is not an APOSTLE, when he was choſen to this end; "nor can they ſhow that LUKE is not to be credited, who has re-"lated to us the truth, with the greateſt exactneſſe[s]." [He refers to *Acts* ix. 5; 15, 16. containing an account of PAUL's *converſion*, and *vocation*; which he had juſt before quoted expreſly, and argued from. After which, he procedes:] "And, poſſibly, GOD has, for this

[q] *Euſebius*; as in the præcedeing note. [r] *Euſeb.* hiſtor. eccleſ. l. 5. c. 2.
[s] *Iren.* adverſ. *hæreſ.* l. 3. c. 15. *init.* And Dr. *Lardner's credibility of the goſpel hiſtory, part* 2. *vol.* i. *pag.* 363, &c.

" this reaſon, ſo ordered, that many parts of the *goſpel* ſhould be " declared to us, by LUKE; which all are under a neceſſity of re- " ceiveing [t]: that ſo all might receive, likewiſe, his ſubſequent teſ- " timony, which he hath given, concerning the *Acts*, and *doctrine*, " *of the* APOSTLES; and might have a ſincere and uncorrupted " relation of truth, and be ſaved. Therefore, *his teſtimony* is " true; and the *doctrine* of the APOSTLES is manifeſt and uniform, " without any deceit; hideing nothing from men; nor teaching " one thing in private, and another in public."

As *Irenæus* hath, ſo frequently, quoted *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, I ſhall not put down any more *paſſages* from him; but paſſe on to other of the *fathers:* after I have informed my reader, that I have, upon examination, found above thirty places, in the *works of that father*, (and the *index*, to Dr. *Grabe*'s *edition*, has taken notice of, as many more,) where *the book of the Acts* is quoted. In ſeveral of which, St. LUKE is named, as *the author*. And the credit of *that evangeliſt*, and the uſefulneſſe of *his writeings*, is aſſerted, and defended.

(5.) *Titus Flavius Clemens* was a *preſbyter* of the *church*, at *Alexandria*; and *author* of ſeveral *books*, relateing to *chriſtianity*. Such of them, as are ſtill extant, he is reckoned to have wrote, about *the year of* CHRIST 194. And, in them, he acknowleges, and frequently quotes, *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; aſcribeing them to LUKE, (who wrote one of *the four goſpels*) as *their author*. Mr. *Jones* has refered to ſeven places, where *the Acts* of the APOSTLES are quoted by *Clemens*. In ſome of which, the *quotations* are of a conſiderable length [u].

(6.) *Tertullian* is, generally, reckoned the moſt antient *latin father*, now remaining. He was borne at *Carthage*; not long after the midle of the *ſecond century*. And is reckoned to have floriſhed, about *the year of* CHRIST, 200. He has made very numerous appeals to, and quotations from, *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, in ſuch of *his works*, as are ſtill extant; aſcribeing them to St. LUKE, as their *author*. And (as I have already obſerved) he calls them LUKE's *commentary*. In one place, ſais he, " We find, in *the* " *Acts of the* APOSTLES, that they, who had *John*'s *baptiſm*, had " not received the *holy ſpirit*; nor ſo much as heard, whether there

 " was

[t] The *hæretics*, with whom *Irenæus* is there diſputeing, owned a part, or the whole, of St. LUKE's *goſpel*; though they rejected the *other three goſpels*.

[u] See *Jones* his new and full method of ſettling the canonical authority of the new teſtament, *vol.* iii. *p.* 163.

" was any." In which words, he planely refers to *Acts* xix. 1, 2, 3. In another part of *his works*, he takes notice, that, " truely " he, that is, [CHRIST] fulfilled the promiſe, which he had made; " [*of ſending the ſpirit, which ſhould lead the diſciples into all* " *truth:*] *the Acts of the* APOSTLES atteſting the deſcent of the *ho-* " *ly ſpirit. Which ſcripture*, they, who do not receive, cannot be " of the *holy ſpirit*; nor can they prove the *holy ſpirit* to have been " ſent to the *diſciples*; nor can they defend the *church*. For as " much as they have nothing to ſhow, when, and with what be- " gining, the body was formed [y]." " This *paſſage* (as has been " well obſerved) ſhows the great authority and uſefulneſſe of *this* " *book*; and that *chriſtians* had not (at that time) any authentic " account of the firſt preaching, and progreſſe, of the *goſpel*, after " OUR SAVIOR'S *reſurrection*, beſides *this one book, of the Acts of the* " APOSTLES. Out of which, *Tertullian* hath quoted ſo many " paſſages; and which we ſtill have [z]."

I will not tire my reader, with any more *quotations*, from the *fathers*; becauſe, I think, theſe are abundantly ſufficient: eſpecially, when it is added, that " the *later fathers* cite *the Acts of the* APO- " STLES, continually; as *the onely authentic hiſtory*, which they had, " of the *primitive ſtate* of the *church* [a]."

I would onely obſerve, how unjuſtly it hath been aſſerted, " That " *the Acts of the* APOSTLES were not much known, nor much " regarded, in the *four firſt centuries*." (1.) Some have argued, for this, from a paſſage, in the *works* of *Chryſoſtome* [b]. But, ſuppoſeing that *Chryſoſtome* had directly aſſerted ſuch a thing, he would have deſerved no regard; becauſe the *teſtimonies*, already produced, are ſo many, and unqueſtionable. However; *Chryſoſtome* himſelf hath actually aſſerted the contrary, in ſuch of *his works*, as are unqueſtionable: " intimateing, that *the Acts of the* APOSTLES were " wont to be read, publicly, in their *churches*, after *eaſter*, and be- " fore *whitſontide* [c]." From whence, ſome have concluded, that neither *the other paſſage*, nor the *work*, in which it is found, ought to be aſcribed to *Chryſoſtome*. But Dr. *Lardner* has, with more probability, allowed the work to be *Chryſoſtome*'s: and ſuppoſes, " that

[x] *Tertullian.* de *baptiſmo*, c. 10. p. 228. *A. edit. Rigaltii.*

[y] De *præſcrip. hæret.* c. 22. p. 209, *D.*

[z] Dr. *Lardner*'s *credibility*, &c. part 2d. vol. 2d. p. 588, 589.

[a] Mr. *Jones on the canon*, &c. vol. 3d. p. 164.

[b] Vid. *Mill.* præfat. in *Act.* p. 254. & prolegom. 242. *F. Simon*'s *critical hiſtory of the text of the new teſtament*, part 1. chap. 14. and Mr. *Jones*, &c. vol. 3. p. 164, &c.

[c] Vid. *Fabric. præf.* in 2 tom. *cod. apocr.* N. T.

" that the expreſſions are onely oratorical, in which *Chryſoſtome*
" exaggerates extremely." And that his meaning [illegible] He wiſh-
" ed, *the Acts of the Apoſtles* were better known to his hearers:
" — and that he was grieved to think how little acquainted ſome
" were with that part of ſacred ſcripture [d]."

(2.) *Eraſmus* would infer the ſame thing, " from his finding
" *more various readings*, in *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, than in any
" other of the *ſacred books* of the *new teſtament* [e]." But ſurely, if the argument of that very learned man will prove any thing, it is the direct contrary. For the *more various readings* there are, in *any book*, the more frequently it has been tranſcribed. And, conſequently, the more it appears to have been in uſe.

As we have proved, that St. LUKE wrote *this book*; and that, while *the facts* were well known; and the *perſons* concerned were, many of them, alive, to bear *their teſtimony* to them: We now proceed to,

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## PART II.

*Namely*, " To point out the *proofs*, which *the Acts of the*
" APOSTLES afford, of *the truth of chriſtianity*."

AND theſe will appear to be ſtrong, and many. For,

1. " The *general doctrine* contains nothing abſurd, and unreaſonable." It teaches us, that there is one, onely, liveing, and true, GOD; who made heaven, and earth, and all things that are therein [a]. That *we men*, in particular, are his off-ſpring [b]. That *his providence* extends to all ages, and nations. For, he has never left himſelf without a witneſſe; in that he has given men rain from heaven, and fruitful ſeaſons; filling their hearts with joy and gladneſſe [c]. That this univerſal creator, and wiſe governor, cannot, poſſibly, be confined within ſuch narrow limits, as *temples*, built by men; nor be repreſented, by *any image*, or *picture*. For he is omnipreſent. And, in him, we live, move, and have our beings [d]. That, as he is infinite in wiſdom, and abundant in good-

[d] See *The credibility*, &c. part 2. vol. 10. p. 329, &c. [e] Vid. *Eraſmi annotat.* in *Act.* i. 1. [a] Acts xiv. 15. *and* xvii. 24. [b] Acts xvii. 26; 28, 29. [c] Acts xiv. 17. *and* xvii. 24; 26. [d] Acts vii. 47,—50. *and* xvii. 24, 25; 28, 29.

goodneſſe, [illegible] creatures, and is no reſpector of perſons; but, in every nation, he, that feareth GOD, and worketh righteouſneſſe, is accepted of him [e]. That he requires, of every man, onely according to his ability; and the opportunities, which he injoys. And, therefore, the times of former darkneſſe he winked at; and did not, then, expect ſo much knowlege and virtue, among men: becauſe they were placed in leſſe advantageous circumſtances [f]. But that, when the world was over-run with ignorance, *idolatry*, and the moſt amazeing wickedneſſe, GOD ſent down *his own ſon*, a perſon of the higheſt dignity, and greateſt purity, to call mankind to repentence [g]; and to aſſure them of mercy, if they did ſincerely repent [h]. That, as *the ſon of* GOD condeſcended ſo much, as to appear, in our nature; and to live among men, for a number of years, in order to inſtruct them, both by *his doctrine* and *example*; and even to lay down his life, for their redemption; — therefore, GOD hath raiſed him from the dead, and exalted him to his own right-hand; and made him CHRIST, or the *anointed king*, and LORD *over all* [i]. Haveing, alſo, conſtituted him *judge*, both of the liveing and of the dead [k]. In conſequence of which, men are commanded to invoke his ſacred name [l]: — to be *initiated* into *his religion*, by the plane and ſignificant rite of *baptiſm* [m]; which intitles them to all the privileges, and charges them with all the obligations, of the members of his *church* and *kingdom*. And, after that, they are frequently, and with great thankfulneſſe, to commemorate *his dying love*; *by eating bread*, and *drinking wine*, *in rememberance of him* [n]: thereby profeſſing themſelves *his diſciples*; and repeteing their reſolutions, to imitate and obey him.

THIS GLORIOUS PERSON converſed chiefly in *Judæa*, and *Galilee*; begining his reformation among *the jews*; who had, then, the ſoundeſt notions of GOD, and *religion* [o]: though they, alſo, were fallen into an amazeing degeneracy. After he had duely præpared the well-diſpoſed among the *jews*, he himſelf returned to heaven; and left the great work to be carried on, by perſons, whom he had inſtructed; and to whom he had not onely gave a commiſſion, but commu-

[e] Acts x. 34, 35. [f] Acts iii. 17, *and* xiv. 16. *and* xvii. 30. [g] Acts x. 36, 37, 38. *and* xvii. 30, 31. [h] Acts ii. 38, 39, 40. *and* iii. 19. *and* x. 43. *and* xiii. 38, 39. *and* xx. 21. [i] Acts ii. 22, 23, 24; 32; 36. *and* iii. 13,—18. *and* iv. 10. *and* v. 30, 31. *and* x. 37,—43. *and* xiii. 28, 29, 30. [k] Acts x. 42. *and* xvii. 31. [l] Acts ii. 21. *and* vii. 59. *and* ix. 14. [m] Acts ii. 38; 41. *and* viii. 38. *and* x. 47, 48. *and* xvi. 15; 33. [n] Acts ii. 42. *and* xx. 7. [o] Acts iii. 25, 26. *and* x. 36,—39.

communicated *a fulneſſe of the ſpirit* [p]. And when they had reaped the harveſt, of what he had ſown, among the [illegible]; they, according to his expreſſe order, addreſſed themſelves to the *gentiles:* teaching them the folly, and wickedneſſe, both of *idolatry*, and every vice [q]; and recommending it to all men, every where, to repent [r]. Towards GOD, they recommended the great duties of love and fear, adoration and obedience [s]: towards *men*, juſtice and charity, truth and ſincerity [t], love and beneficence: [u] and, as to *their own perſonal conduct*, ſobriety and temperance, chaſtity and univerſal purity [x]. Frequently inculcateing, upon their converts, the neceſſity of patience, and a contented mind; to get above this preſent world; and to have their affections ſo fixed on a better ſtate to come, that they might rather ſuffer difficulties, and perſecution, for the ſake of *their religion*, than betray, or give it up [y]. And all theſe excellent rules, they inforced, by the weighty argument of *a righteous judgment to come:* when the *ſon of* GOD ſhall deſcend, as univerſal judge, and raiſe all mankind out of their graves; and will ſhow the higheſt favor to ſincere penitents, and the prevailingly good; but will puniſh the wicked, with a dreadful and exemplary deſtruction [z]. — Is there any thing, in *this doctrine*, abſurd and unreaſonable? Any thing, but what is highly worthy of GOD, and admirably ſuted to the preſent ſtate of *men?* Such is it's intrinſic worth and excellence, that one would be ready to aſk; "What need could there be of *miracles*, to "propagate *a doctrine*, which is, in itſelf, ſo *reaſonable* and *good?* "Would it not have been ſufficient, barely to have propoſed it; and "then left it to recommend itſelf, by it's own worth, and beauty?" — But, if we take a cloſer view of the præjudices of mankind; of the difficulty of breaking off wicked and inveterate habits; and of men's fondneſſe for *the religion*, in which they have been educated; as well as of their love of pomp and pleaſure; and what ſtrikes upon the ſenſes; more than of ſuch a ſimple *doctrine*, as that of the *goſpel*; though founded upon the moſt ſolid truth; and recommending the pureſt, nobleſt, virtue: — we ſhall no longer wonder, that *infinite*

*wiſdom*

[p] Acts ii. 22, 23; 33,—36. *and* iii. 13, 14, 15; 17. *and* xiii. 27,—32.
[q] Acts i. 8. *and* x. 15, *&c.* *and* xiii, 46, *&c.* [r] Acts ii. 38. *and* iii. 19; 26. *and* viii. 22. *and* xvii. 30. *and* xx. 21. *and* xxvi. 20. [s] Acts ii. 40. *and* iii. 23. *and* iv. 19, 20; 24, *&c.* *and* v. 11; 29. *and* xii. 22, 23. *and* xiv. 17.
[t] Acts v. 1,—11. *and* xiii. 10, 11. [u] Acts ii. 44, *&c.* *and* iv, 32, *&c.* *and* vii. 60. *and* xi. 29, 30. [x] Acts xxiv. 25. [y] Acts iv. 19, 20. *and* v. 29; 41, 42. *and* vii. 59, 60. *and* xii. 2, *&c.* *and* xiv. 19,—22. *and* xvi. 23, *&c.* *and* xx. 23, 24. *and* xxi. 13. [z] Acts ii. 40. *and* iii. 19, 20; 23. *and* xvii. 30, 31. *and* xxiv. 15; 25.

*wiſdom* ſhould approve the *power* of working *miracles*, and the atteſtation of *the gift of the ſpirit*, to propagate *a doctrine*, which is, in itſelf, ſo excellent and good.

2. "The *particular doctrines*, taught by the APOSTLES, were, "with great propriety and wiſdom, ſuted to the ſtate of the per- "ſons, to whom they preached." The *jews* did, already, believe in *the one true* GOD. And, therefore, they proceeded, directly, to prove to them, that JESUS was the CHRIST: that they might believe, and obey, him, whom GOD had ſent. — The *proſelytes of the gate* had forſaken *idolatry*, and believed *in the one, true* GOD. And, therefore, they, likewiſe, were exhorted to believe in CHRIST, and imbrace *his religion*; as highly conducive to their increaſe in virtue and piety here, and to their being meet for the happineſſe of the world to come. But, as the *idolatrous gentiles* truſted in *falſe gods*; and did not acknowlege *the one, onely, liveing and true* GOD; they began with perſuadeing them to forſake their *idolatry*; and believe in him, who is GOD alone. And, when they had perſuaded them, to turn from *dead idols*, unto *the liveing and true* GOD; — they then, and not 'till then, laid before them the evidences for believeing alſo, in JESUS, whom GOD had ſent, as the *great prophet* and *ſavior* of the world.

The APOSTLES never attempted to ſet men *free* from *ſocial duties*, or to *abridge* them of any of their *civil rights* and *privileges*. No! though they brought them over to a *new religion*, yet they often intimated that *chriſtianity* alters nothing in men's *civil affairs*. The *chriſtian converts*, therefore, continued under the ſame obligations, as formerly, to obey *the laws* of the *ſeveral countries*, where they lived; and had as good a claim, as ever, to all the privileges and advantages of *civil ſociety*. The *moral law* is of everlaſting obligation; and cannot, poſſibly, be aboliſhed. But *chriſtians* are obliged to obey the *moral law*; not onely from the fitneſſe of things; but as it is adopted into the *chriſtian law*, and inforced by *goſpel-motives*. — The *ceremonial law* of the *jews* was aboliſhed, or vacated, by the *death* of CHRIST, and the ſetting up of *his religion* in the world. For, as it was deſigned to promote virtue and piety, among the *jews*, onely 'till the time of *reformation*, by the *goſpel*. And, as the *goſpel* promotes theſe things, after a nobler, and more effectual, manner; the *ceremonial law* was laid aſide, as no longer of any uſe. However; ſuch of the *jewiſh chriſtians*, as could not ſhake off their fondneſſe for it, were indulged in the obſervation of it. Though they, who underſtood, and were convinced of, their *chriſtian liberty*, were no longer

longer in ſubjection to it. But the *gentile converts* were warned, not to ſubmit to that yoke of bondage. For they could plead no præjudice, in favor of it. They, therefore, were aſſured, that if *they* added the obſervation of the *law of Moſes*, to that of the *goſpel*, as neceſſary to their ſalvation; they would caſt the higheſt contempt on the *goſpel*, and render it to them of none effect.

3. "The *proofs* and *evidences*, which the APOSTLES gave, of *their* "*miſſion and doctrine*, were abundantly ſufficient; both as to their "ſtrength, and number." Beſides the *reaſonableneſſe* of what they advanced, they appealed to *prophecies* and *miracles*, and *the various gifts of the ſpirit*. They did, indeed, always found *their doctrine* upon *facts*. But *prophecie* was a confirming evidence; both among the *jews*, and *proſelytes of the gate*.

As to the argument, drawn from *antient prophecie*, I would obſerve, that ſome of the *prophecies*, mentioned in *the Acts*, and other books of the new teſtament, were *expreſſe prædictions*; and have been ſhown, by many writers, to have been *literally* accompliſhed [a]. And, ſuppoſeing other *paſſages*, which have, ſometimes, been taken for *prophecies*, were no more than the APOSTLES applying a general rule, or ſaying, to a particular caſe; juſt as we ſay, upon ſeveral occaſions, "The old proverb is made good." Or, "The old ſaying is verified." Or their argueing from a ſimilar caſe; or uſeing the words of ſome of the *antient prophets*, by way of *accommodation*; and to expreſſe themſelves in *phraſes*, that were familiar among the *jews*; — that will not, in the leaſt, invalidate the argument, from *real prædictions*. And, upon examining the particular places, I am well ſatisfied, that all the *paſſages*, taken from the *antient prophets*, may be fairly reduced to one or other of theſe heads. — As the *jews*, and *proſelytes of the gate*, were acquainted with the *ſcriptures of the old teſtament*, and acknowleged *their authority*; when the APOSTLES preached among them, they argued from the *antient prophecies*. But, in converting *idolatrous gentiles*, they took another method; argueing, for the *being* and *perfections* of the *true* GOD, from the *works of creation and providence*; and appealing to *miracles*, and other facts, for the proof of JESUS his being the *great prophet and ſavior of mankind*. And, in this, as well as in all other things, they acted with *great propriety*. For, it would have been abſurd, to have argued, from *antient prophe-*



[a] See Dr. *Sykes*, Mr. *Chandler*, Biſhop *Chandler*, Mr. *Jeffries*, Dr. *Bullock*; and ſeveral other *anſwers* to *Collins his grounds and reaſons*, &c.

cies; among perſons who were either ignorant of them, or diſbelieved them.

As to *miracles*, and the *various gifts of the ſpirit:* — it ſeems clear and evident, to me, that there was nothing unbecomeing the *divine wiſdom*, in granting men ſuch *ſupernatural aids*; when they were ſent, by him, to attempt an *univerſal reformation*. And the *evidences* have been ſhown to be ſo full, and ſo many, that no man could reaſonably have expected more; even upon ſo great, and uncommon, an occaſion. Let us now, in the

4th, *and laſt place*, Summ up the whole argument. As both the *general*, and *particular*, *doctrines*, contained in *the Acts of the* APOSTLES, are ſo *reaſonable*; and the *proofs* and *evidences* were ſo many, and ſtrong; as well as wiſely ſuted to all ſorts of perſons: — Certainly, *chriſtianity*; *pure*, *primitive*, *original chriſtianity was true*; and ſufficiently atteſted to have come from GOD. And, "if it was once "true; what pretence can any man now have, for rejecting it?" Will he allege, "*that he cannot believe the hiſtory?*" But, "for what "reaſon will he allege ſuch a thing? It is mere perverſeneſſe, to re-"ject any *hiſtory*, without ſome ſufficient objections againſt it's truth "and validity." "Are all *hiſtories* to be rejected? And no *facts* "credited; but what we ourſelves have ſeen, and been perſonally "acquainted with?" I never knew any man ſo hardy, as to aſſert this, and ſtand to it. And, if the *hiſtories*, of former ages, may be credible; why may not the *hiſtory* of *the Acts of the apoſtles* deſerve regard? Will it be objected, that, "it was writen by a friend to *chriſtianity*; and one that was, himſelf, a party concerned?" To this, I would reply; that it is hardly poſſible (nay, morally ſpeaking, it is not poſſible) that any man ſhould write ſuch an hiſtory, fairly and honeſtly, but a friend to *chriſtianity*. Can it be thought, that an enemy to *chriſtianity* (ſuppoſeing ſuch things to have really happened; and that he had been acquainted with them: — Can it be thought, I ſay, that an enemy to *chriſtianity*) would have given us *a faithful hiſtory* of ſuch remarkable and uncommon things; and yet continue *an enemy?* Would not the whole thread of ſuch an *hiſtory*, condemn ſuch a man? And would not all the world be ready to ſay, "Do you know *this doctine* to be ſo ex-"cellent; and that ſo many, and ſuch great and ſurprizeing, *mi-"racles* were worked, in confirmation of it? And yet, do you "yourſelf diſbelieve *this doctrine*; and deny the truth of *this reli-"gion?*" Surely! no man, that had any value for his reputation, would have wrote ſuch *an hiſtory*, to condemn himſelf of the greateſt

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nerverſeneſſe. And one, who had no value for his reputation, would certainly deſerve no credit, nor regard. But, ſuppoſeing a man, upon conſidering *chriſtianity*, together with *it's evidences*, had turned *chriſtian*; and, after that, wrote ſuch *an hiſtory*: — Why! then, he was a friend; and, in ſome meaſure, a party concerned, as well as St. LUKE. And, if a friend to *chriſtianity*, be the onely perſon, that can be reaſonably ſuppoſed to give a fair and full account of the *doctrine*, together with it's *grand atteſtations*; "who "could be more proper, than a *companion of the* APOSTLES? who "not onely converſed with thoſe, that were eye and ear-witneſſes of "the *facts*: but was perſonally concerned in many of the things, "which he relates?" There are few *hiſtorians*, ſo immediately acquainted with the *facts*, about which they write. And yet we, generally, give credit to their accounts: unleſſe we have ſome weighty reaſons to the contrary.

Show the *marks of forgery*, or the *antient and credible hiſtory*, which contradicts what is ſaid, in *the Acts of the* APOSTLES; and then you may, with ſome reaſon, talk of rejecting *that book*. There are no inconſiſtences, nor contradictions, in the *hiſtory itſelf*. Even the *miraculous and extraordinary facts*, there related, were not impoſſible to the *divine power*, to which they are conſtantly and uniformly aſcribed. Neither are they *improbable*: conſidering the *grand deſign* and *occaſion* of them. For, *planting a new religion* among men, in a time of ſuch *univerſal darkneſſe* and *degeneracy*, muſt have required an extraordinary, *divine*, *interpoſition*. And *great and ſtrikeing evidences* were, in a manner, neceſſary; to conquer men's great præjudices, and make them attentive. The planeneſſe and ſimplicity of the *narration*, are ſtrong circumſtances in it's favor. The *writer* appears to have been very honeſt, and impartial; and to have ſet down, very fairly, the *objections*, which were made to *chriſtianity*, both by *jews* and *heathens*; and the reflections, which enemies caſt upon it, and upon the *firſt preachers* of it. He has, likewiſe, with a juſt and honeſt freedom, mentioned the weakneſſe, faults, and præjudices, both of the APOSTLES, and *their converts*. There is a great and remarkable harmony between the occaſional hints, diſperſed up and down, in St. PAUL'S *epiſtles*; and the *facts*, recorded in *this hiſtory*. In ſo much as that it is generally acknowleged, that *the hiſtory of the Acts* is the beſt clue, to guide us, in the ſtudying of the *epiſtles*, writen by *that* APOSTLE. The other parts of the new teſtament do, like-

wiſe, agree with *this hiſtory*; and give great confirmation to it. For the *doctrines* and *principles* are, every where, uniformly the ſame. The concluſions of the *goſpels* contain a brief account of thoſe things, which are more particularly related, in the *begining of the Acts*. And there are frequent intimations, in other parts of the *goſpels*, that ſuch *an effuſion of the ſpirit* was expected; and that, with a view to the very deſign, which the APOSTLES and *primitive chriſtians* are ſaid to have carried on, by virtue of *that extraordinary effuſion*, which CHRIST poured out, upon his *diſciples*, after his aſcenſion. And, finally, the *epiſtles* of the *other* APOSTLES (as well as thoſe of St. PAUL) planely ſuppoſe ſuch things to have happened, as are related in *the Acts of the* APOSTLES. So that *the hiſtory of the Acts*, is one of the moſt important parts of the *ſacred hiſtory*. For neither *the goſpels*, nor *epiſtles*, could have been ſo clearly underſtood, without it. But, by the help of it, the *whole ſcheme* of the *chriſtian revelation* is ſet before us, in an eaſie and manifeſt view.

Even the *incidental things*, mentioned by St. LUKE, are ſo exactly agreeable to all the accounts, which remain, of the *beſt, antient hiſtorians*, among the *jews*, and *heathens*; that no perſon, who had forged *ſuch an hiſtory*, in later ages, could have had *that external confirmation:* but would have betrayed himſelf, by alluding to ſome cuſtoms, or opinions, ſince ſprung up; or by miſrepreſenting ſome circumſtance, or uſeing ſome phraſe, or expreſſion, not then in uſe. The *plea of forgery*, therefore, in later ages, cannot be allowed. And, for a man, to have publiſhed *an hiſtory* of ſuch things, ſo early, as St. LUKE wrote; (*that is*, while ſome of the APOSTLES, and many other perſons, were alive, who were concerned in the *tranſactions*, which he has recorded;) if his account had not been punctually true, could have been onely to have expoſed himſelf to an eaſie confutation, and certain infamy.

As, therefore, *the Acts of the* APOSTLES are, in themſelves, conſiſtent and uniform; — the *incidental things* agreeable to the *beſt, antient hiſtorians*, which have come down to us; — and the *main facts ſupported* and *confirmed*, by the *other books of the new teſtament*, and by the *unanimous teſtimony* of ſo many of the *antient fathers*: — We may, I think, very fairly, and with great juſtneſſe, conclude, that, if *any hiſtory* of former times deſerves credit, *the Acts of the* APOSTLES ought to be received, and credited,

dited. And, "if *the hiſtory of the Acts of the* APOSTLES be true, *chriſtianity* cannot be falſe." For a *doctrine*, ſo *good in itſelf*, and attended with ſo many *miraculous* and *divine teſtimonies*, has all the poſſible marks of a *true revelation.*

I will, therefore, conclude, with moſt earneſtly wiſhing, that *chriſtianity* were imbraced, by all mankind, according to it's *intrinſic worth*, and *abundant evidence!* — That the purity and ſimplicity of the *original inſtitution*, as it was left by CHRIST, and his APOSTLES, in the *ſcriptures*, were more attended to! — And that all, who believe *chriſtianity to be true*, would manifeſt it; by ſuch a virtuous, holy, life, as *that excellent religion* doeth, every where, *recommend!*

*The end of the* DISSERTATION.

A LET-

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# LETTER to the AUTHOR,

## CONCERNING

## The PERSONS to whom St. PAUL wrote what is *The epiſtle to the Epheſians*.

Reverend SIR,

*I HAVE, at your deſire, ſent you my thoughts, upon that queſtion, ſ employed the pens of ſeveral learned men of late years*, Whether t epiſtle to the Epheſians (*as it appears to have been called very e* writen, by him, to that church? *And I have done it, with more f ... becauſe I do not apprehend it can be any perſon's intereſt to determine this queſtion, one way or the other, but as the evidence appears to him. When you have peruſed what I have writen, I ſhall be glad of your opinion concerning it; and am*, &c.

SEVERAL reaſons have been offered by Doctor Mill to ſhow, that what is called *The epiſtle to the Epheſians*, was not writen by the apoſtle Paul to that church, but to the *Laodiceans* [a]. That it was not writen to the Epheſians, he endeavours to prove, not onely from the ſubject-matter of the epiſtle in general; but alſo from ſeveral particular expreſſions, which ſeem no ways ſuited to a church, with which the apoſtle had been converſant for *three years* [b], as he had with that at Epheſus, before this epiſtle was writen; but appear very proper in writeing to perſons, whom he had never ſeen, but only heard of, from the relation of others; which was the caſe of the Laodiceans. And, therefore, he very juſtly obſerves the ſimilitude of thoſe expreſſions with others in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, whom St. Paul had not ſeen, when he wrote to them. But what chiefly determined him to think that epiſtle was writen to the Laodiceans, was the direction given by the apoſtle near the cloſe of his epiſtle, which he wrote to the Coloſſians: *When this epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe that it be read alſo in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewiſe read the epiſtle from Laodicea* [c]. The Doctor's objections to Epheſus ſeem to carry great weight with them, which I ſhall not here repete; but what he has ſaid in favor of *Laodicea*, don't appear ſo convinc-

ing;

[a] *Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. p.* ix. *ed. Oxon.*

[b] *Acts* xx. 31.

[c] *Ch.* iv. 16.

ing: and I am rather inclined to think this was deſigned as a ſort of general epiſtle for the uſe of ſuch gentile chriſtians, more eſpecially thoſe of Aſia, of whoſe converſion the apoſtle had heard, but had not viſited them; than directed to any particular church (like that to the Coloſſians) though it was ſent firſt to Laodicea. What has led me into this ſentiment, I ſhall now endeavour to explain, with as much brevity, as the nature of the ſubject will permit.

The manner, in which I conceive this affair might be at firſt conducted, is as follows. It is pretty generally agreed, that this epiſtle was ſent by St. Paul, from Rome, at the ſame time with thoſe to the Coloſſians and Philemon. Tychicus only had the charge of the firſt, Oneſimus of that to Philemon, and they were both joined in the delivery of that to the church at Coloſs. In their paſſage from Rome they landed on the coaſt of Aſia, at the moſt convenient port they could, for their journey afterwards to Coloſs; whither, I ſuppoſe, they went firſt. For what St. Paul writes to Timothy: *Tychicus have I ſent to Epheſus:* muſt relate to another journey after this [c], that epiſtle to Timothy being of a later date by ſome years. Upon their arrival at Coloſs, the immediate buſineſs of Oneſimus was to deliver the epiſtle ſent to Philemon, which ſo nearly concerned himſelf. For the apoſtle could never have recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to the church at Coloſs, but upon a ſuppoſition that his maſter Philemon would very readily be reconciled to him, upon reading that letter. In order to this therefore Oneſimus muſt firſt wait upon his maſter, and make his ſubmiſſion to him, whoſe ſlave he had been, but had run from him, and conſequently was yet his property. This makes the apoſtle ſay in his epiſtle to Philemon, ſpeaking of Oneſimus: *Whom I would have retained with me — but without thy mind would I do nothing* [d]. And preſently after he deſires, that he would no longer treat him as a *ſervant* or *ſlave*, but as a chriſtian *brother* [e]. I preſume therefore, it can't well be doubted, but that his maſter ſoon manumited him; and, moſt probably, before the apoſtle's letter ſent to that church was publicly read among them. For 'till this was done, what the apoſtle ſais to the Coloſſians, in that letter, concerning Oneſimus, could not be applied to him in a civil ſenſe: *Who is one of you* [f]: for ſlaves were not conſidered as members of any civil communities. It was true indeed in a religious ſenſe, conſidering them as chriſtians, even while he continued a ſlave: for as he had told them before, with regard to the rights of chriſtianity, there is *neither bond nor free* [g], but all ſtand in an equal relation to Chriſt; and, as he ſais to the Corinthians, *are his freemen* [h]. But ſtill, his being firſt made free by his maſter would doubtleſs add a weight to the meſſage he was charged with, by St. Paul, and conciliate a greater regard to him in that church.

[c] 2 *Tim.* iv. 12.

[d] *V.* 13, 14.

[e] *Ver.* 16.

[f] *Ch.* iv. 9.

[g] *Chap.* iii. 11.

[h] 1 *Cor.* vii. 22.

After the affair of Oneſimus was over, the epiſtle to the church at Coloſs was to be delivered, in which both Tychicus and Oneſimus were jointly concerned. And when this was done, Oneſimus had no further orders from the apoſtle, but Tychicus was to carry the third epiſtle by himſelf; for which reaſon his name only is mentioned in it [i]. However, Tychicus did

[i] *Eph.* vi. 21.

did not immediately leave Coloſs, after the delivery of the letter to that church; but ſtayed ſome time there, to acquaint them with the ſtate of St. Paul's affairs, and likeviſe to inform himſelf of their circumſtances, in order to make a report to him at his return [k]. He then goes with the remaining letter to Laodicea, acquaints them with his having been at Coloſs, that they were to expect a copy of the apoſtle's letter to that church from thence, and that the meſſengers, who ſhould bring it, were to carry back a copy of the letter which had been ſent to them; agreeably to St. Paul's direction to the Coloſſians, which I have cited above.

[k] *Col.* iv. 7, 8.

Coloſs and Laodicea were, as Strabo ſais [l], two cities of *Phrygia major*, both of them upon the river *Lycus*. As they are placed by Cellarius in his map of *Aſia minor*, Coloſs appears to be the more weſterly; but Dr. Smith ſais, Laodicea lay weſtward of Coloſs [m]; and that, in his return to Smyrna, he travelled, from Coloſs to Laodicea, in about ſeven hours. However, as the diſtance between theſe two cities was no greater, according to the place where Tychicus and Oneſimus landed upon the coaſt, and the ſituation of the road afterwards, they might go conveniently enough to one or the other of them firſt. But as they were both obliged to go to Coloſs, and Oneſimus had no buſineſs at Laodicea, nor could appear at all with any character, 'till he had been with his maſter at Coloſs; theſe were ſufficient reaſons to determine their going thither firſt, though it was the farther place of the two. Beſides, had the epiſtle ſent to the Laodiceans been delivered firſt, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they would have been directed to carry a copy of it to Coloſs, and bring from thence a tranſcript of their letter; inſtead of the contrary orders given to the Coloſſians.

[l] *Lib.* xii.

[m] *Epiſtol. quat. p.* 149.

But the main difficulty is, how to account for the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, in the begining of the epiſtle I am now conſidering; for the removing of which ſeveral conjectures have been offered, by Dr. Mill, Mr. Peirce, and others. That which appears to me the moſt probable is, what I met with in a Latin Diſſertation upon this ſubject, publiſhed ſome years ago in the Literary Journal [n]; the ſubſtance of which I ſhall here endeavour to repreſent, together with ſome further conſiderations that have occurred to me ſince. Dr. Mill had obſerved, that Baſil, (who lived in the latter part of the fourth century) owns, that ſome antient copies of this epiſtle, writen before his time, had not the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the firſt verſe; and that Marcion having talked of a copy, in which were the words ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, and not ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, he was charged by Tertullian (who wrote againſt him in the begining of the third century) with having made that alteration. Tertullian's words are theſe: *Eccleſiae quidem veritate epiſtolam iſtam ad Epheſios habemus emiſſam, non ad Laodicenos. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare geſtiit, quaſi & in iſto diligentiſſimus explorator* [o]. The Doctor took this paſſage as a proof, that ſome copies, as old as Tertullian's time, had in them the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. And from an expreſſion in one of Ignatius's epiſtles (which I ſhall have occaſion to cite afterwards) he concludes he had ſuch a copy. But

[n] *Art.* xx. *for April, May, June,* 1731.

[o] *Lib.* v. *adverſ. Marcion. c.* 17.

the

the writer of the Diſſertation thinks it evident from the words of Tertullian, that by the *title* he meant the inſcription only; and that neither the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, nor ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, were inſerted into the text of the copies, on either ſide. For had Marcion's copy ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ in the text, Tertullian would not have charged him with altering the title, but the words of the epiſtle. And if the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ had been in Tertullian's own copy, he would not have endeavoured to ſupport that reading, from the authority or tradition of the church, but have appealed to the copy itſelf. But as he has done neither of theſe, it ſeems moſt natural from his way of reaſoning to underſtand this paſſage as refering onely to the title or inſcription; which might then differ, for a reaſon I ſhall have occaſion to mention preſently. And that Tertullian meant this, by the word *titulum*, and not the ſalutation, with which the apoſtle begins this epiſtle, ſeems farther confirmed, by what Baſil relates; who, though he ſais it was writen to the Epheſians, yet owns expreſly, that he had ſeen antient copies, which had not the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, nor any others in the room of them. I ſhall tranſcribe his own words: Τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων, ὡς γνησίως ἡνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι διὰ ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπών. Τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παρεδέδωκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν P. That is: "Writing to the Epheſians, as truly united to him, "who *is*, through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar ſenſe ſuch "*are*, ſaying: *To the ſaints who are, and the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus.* For "ſo thoſe before us have tranſmitted it, and we have found it in antient "copies." By the words τῷ ὄντι, *who is*, Baſil refers to the name of God, *I am*; by which he revealed himſelf to Moſes, and which the Septuagint tranſlate ὁ ὤν q. But his applying this to the words τοῖς οὖσι, as ſpoken of chriſtians, ſeems to be a very forced interpretation; and as the author of the Diſſertation well obſerves, by placing the point after ἁγίοις, inſtead of οὖσι, they will admit of an eaſier ſenſe, in this manner: *To the ſaints, who are alſo faithful in Chriſt Jeſus:* τοῖ ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς, *to the ſaints and faithful*, being alſo the characters in the ſalutation to thoſe of Coloſs. What Jerom ſais upon this ſubject is ſomewhat obſcure, whoſe words are theſe: *Quidam curioſius, quam neceſſe eſt, putant, ex eo quod Moyſi dictum ſit, Exod.* iii. Hæc dices filiis Iſrael, QUI EST, miſit me, *etiam eos, qui ſunt in Epheſo ſancti & fideles* eſſentiæ *vocabulo nuncupatos. Alii vero ſimpliciter non ad eos*, qui ſunt, *ſed qui Epheſi ſancti & fideles ſint, ſcriptum arbitrantur* r. By the expreſſion *alii arbitrantur*, as it ſtands in oppoſition to *quidam putant*, the writer of the Diſſertation ſuppoſes Jerom meant no more, than that ſome perſons *imagined* or *thought* that epiſtle was writen to *the ſaints and faithful at Epheſus*; and conſequently that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were not found in their copies, any more than they were in the copies of thoſe, who gave into the other interpretation.

P *Lib.* iii. *adverſ. Eunomium.*

q *Exod.* iii. 14.

r *Comment. in Epheſ. initio.*

From theſe conſiderations that author concludes, that this epiſtle was writen, by the apoſtle Paul, to no particular church; but to ſuch gentile churches and chriſtians, who, as he expreſſes himſelf in writing to the Coloſſians, *had not ſeen his face* s: tho' it was ſent firſt to Laodicea. And

s *Ch.* ii. 1.

further to confirm this opinion he obſerves, that the valediction at the end of the epiſtle runs in the ſame general terms, as were uſed at the beginning: *Peace be to the brethren*[t]. And again: *Grace be with all them, that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity*[u]. But in all the other epiſtles to particular churches, not only where the apoſtle had been converſant, but alſo in that to the Coloſſians, whom he had never viſited, the valediction is in the ſecond perſon: *Grace be with you*[x]. And 'tis obſervable, that the manner of expreſſion, *all them that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity*, anſwers very well to the character of *the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus*, at the begining of the epiſtle. Beſides, as he remarks, had this epiſtle been writen particularly to the Laodiceans; the apoſtle in mentioning it to the Coloſſians, would ſcarcely, as one may ſuppoſe, have directed them to read τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, *that from Laodicea*; but rather τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικείας, *that to the Laodiceans*. But conſidering it as a general epiſtle, only ſent firſt to the Laodiceans, the other expreſſion is very juſt, eſpecially as the Coloſſians were to fetch a copy from thence; for which reaſon likewiſe he orders them, with great propriety, to *ſalute the brethren in Laodicea*[y].

[t] *Ch.* vi. 23.
[u] *Ver.* 24.
[x] *Col.* iv. 18.
[y] *Col.* iv. 15.

To theſe obſervations of this learned writer, I may add, that in all St. Paul's epiſtles, writen to particular churches, there is ſome peculiar caſe mentioned reſpecting each church, that ſeems to have been one reaſon at leaſt for writing them; which is alſo obſerved in his epiſtle to the Coloſſians, whom he there cautions againſt the worſhip of angels. On the contrary, in this epiſtle we find nothing but ſuch general doctrines of chriſtianity, as equally concerned all the gentile churches, thro' the firſt three chapters, which end in a doxology, and make a ſeparate part; and in the three following chapters the directions relating to practice are laid down more at large, than in any of his other epiſtles: which method ſuits very well with the nature of a general epiſtle, being ſomewhat in the manner of an inſtitute. Beſides, what other probable reaſon can be given, why St. Paul did not join Timothy's name with his own in the begining of this epiſtle, as well as in thoſe to the Coloſſians and Philemon; but that he being eſpecially appointed the apoſtle of the Gentiles, might think proper in ſuch a general epiſtle, writen to the gentile chriſtians, to appear alone in that character? Had this epiſtle been writen particularly to the church of Laodicea, muſt it not have ſeemed ſtrange, when that to the Coloſſians and this came to be read together in both churches, that the name of Timothy, who was then at Rome with the apoſtle, ſhould be found in one of them, and not in the other? The difficulty is ſtill greater, ſuppoſing it was writen to the Epheſians. For can it be thought he would have omited him in writing to a church, where Timothy was ſo well known, and had been ſo ſerviceable[z]; and yet have mentioned him to ſtrangers? And it may perhaps deſerve a remark, that the general terms, in which he expreſſes his valediction, at the cloſe of the epiſtle, ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων, &c. ſeem to countenance the reading of the Alexandrian copy and ſome others, which add the word πᾶσι to ἁγίοις, at the begining of the epiſtle; ἁγίοις πᾶσι, &c. *to all the ſaints, who are alſo faithful in Chriſt Jeſus.*

[z] *1 Tim.* i. 3.

*Jeſus.* This renders the addreſs ſtill more general, and very well ſuits both the tenor of the epiſtle afterwards, and the valediction with which it concludes.

I am ſenſible it may be replied here, that, notwithſtanding ſuch general expreſſions, from the likeneſs of one or two paſſages in this epiſtle to others in that to the Coloſſians, it may ſeem probable they were both writen to particular churches. The places I refer to are theſe: *Wherefore I alſo, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the ſaints*[a]. Here the apoſtle ſpeaks to them in the ſecond perſon, as he does in almoſt the like terms to the Coloſſians: *Since we heard of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and of the love which ye have to all the ſaints*[b]. But it is obſervable, that altho' in our Engliſh verſion the words *your faith* are put in both places, yet they are not the ſame in the original. In the latter indeed it is πίστιν ὑμῶν, *your faith*; but in the former τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν, *the faith* that is *among you*; which ſeems to be a more indefinite expreſſion, and will very well ſuit a general epiſtle. The other paſſage is this, where, ſpeaking of Tychicus, the apoſtle ſais: *Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts*[c]. To the Coloſſians it is thus: *Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe, that he might know your eſtate, and comfort your hearts*[d]: but ſome copies read here likewiſe, *that ye might know our affairs, and that he might*, &c. Theſe words may ſeem to be ſpoken to ſome particular perſons, but ſtill they are applicable to any church indefinitely. And why may not Tychicus be ſuppoſed to have viſited ſome other churches in thoſe parts, and to have left with them copies of this epiſtle? Tho' whether he actually did ſo or not, ſuch proviſional expreſſions were very proper, in caſe he had opportunity for it. I can't perceive therefore, that this objection has really any force in it. But now there are ſome expreſſions in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, beſides the ſalutation to them by name, at the begining, which refer to them in particular, and could be applied to no other church. As where the apoſtle ſpeaking of Oneſimus, and afterwards of Epaphras, ſais: *Who is one of you*[e]. But nothing of this nature is found in the other epiſtle, that confines it to any ſingle church. So that there are no expreſſions, but what may ſuit a general epiſtle; and ſome which do not ſo well agree with a particular one.

[a] *Eph.* i. 15.
[b] *Ch.* i. 4.
[c] *Eph.* vi. 22.
[d] *Ch.* iv. 8.
[e] *Ch.* iv. 9, 12.

As to what has been ſaid of the different titles, which were antiently placed at the head of this epiſtle, that might probably happen by copies being afterwards diſperſed to different churches. The original, as has been ſaid, was ſent to Laodicea; which might be occaſioned partly from it's being ſo near to Coloſs, whither St. Paul then deſigning to ſend Tychicus, took the opportunity of that conveyance; and partly becauſe it was a large and populous city, from which copies might be conveyed moſt conveniently into other parts of the adjacent countries. For Apamea and Laodicea were, as Strabo informs us, the largeſt cities of *Phrygia*[f]. But Tychicus might be ordered in that journey to leave a copy at Epheſus, on his return: for I can't think he went thither firſt, conſidering the caſe of Oneſi-

[f] *Lib.* xii.

mus at that time, who was with him; and beſides, as the epiſtle ſeems to be addreſſed to ſuch gentile converts, whom St. Paul had not ſeen, one would ſuppoſe in propriety it ſhould firſt be delivered to ſome ſuch church. Now Epheſus being the moſt conſiderable city in all thoſe parts, and a ſea-port, more copies might afterwards be ſent from thence (weſtward eſpecially, and along the coaſt) than from Laodicea, which lay far up the country, and as the epiſtle had at firſt no inſcription to any particular church, this might in time occaſion ſuch a title, as we find now prefixed, Παύλε τῦ Ἀποσόλε ἡ πρὸς Ἐφεσίες ἐπισολή, *The Epiſtle of Paul the Apoſtle to the Epheſians*, to be writen upon ſome copies that came from Epheſus. And both Irenæus biſhop of Lyons, and Clement of Alexandria, who cite this epiſtle as writen to the Epheſians before Tertullian, might uſe ſuch copies [g]. But other copies again, for a like reaſon, might have Λαοδικέας, inſtead of Ἐφεσίες; and no more be deſigned by either, but to intimate the place from whence thoſe copies were received, or to which the epiſtle, as they thought, had firſt been ſent by the apoſtle; and not that it was writen by him to either of thoſe churches in particular. And according to Marcion, who lived ſome time at Sinope in Paphlagonia, nearer to Laodicea than Epheſus, coming afterwards to Rome, might bring with him a copy of this epiſtle, which had the words πρὸς Λαοδικέας in the title. For that Tertullian in his charge againſt him refered to the title, ſeems further evident from another paſſage, in which he ſais: *Praetereo hic et de alia epiſtola, quam nos ad Epheſios praeſcriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos* [h]. And as this might in it itſelf appear a novelty in thoſe weſtern parts, to ſuch who had always been accuſtomed to the Epheſian copies; ſo it would naturally be more ſuſpected, as coming from an heretic, and render perſons tenacious of the other title; 'till at length, the reaſon of the title being forgoten, occaſion was taken from thence to inſert the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ into the text. And in doing this they might alſo (as Dr. Mill remarks) imagine themſelves countenanced, from thoſe words of the apoſtle to Timothy: *Tychicus have I ſent to Epheſus:* not conſidering the diſtance of time between the writing thoſe two epiſtles, as was hinted above.

[g] *See Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Goſpel-Hiſtory, Part* II. *Vol.* I. *p.* 366. *and vol.* II. *p.* 498.

[h] *Lib.* v. *adverſ. Marcion. c.* 11.

But if it be true, as Dr. Mill thought, that Ignatius had a copy of this epiſtle, with the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the begining, that will entirely deſtroy this hypotheſis; tho the difficulty will ſtill remain, how to accommodate them to the whole ſcheme of the epiſtle. It may be worth while therefore to enquire a little into this matter. And for that purpoſe I ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage, as it ſtands in the ſmaller epiſtle of Ignatius to the Epheſians, to which the Doctor refers. He is there ſpeaking to them, and ſais: Παύλε συμμύσαι τῦ ἡγιασμένε, τῦ μεμαρτυρημένε, ἀξιομακαρίτε, ᾧ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη ἐυρεθῆναι, ὅτ' ἂν Θεῦ ἐπιτύχω, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπισολῇ μνημονέυει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριςῷ Ἰησῦ [i]. Which words, in the edition publiſhed by Ittigius, the Latin verſion expreſſes thus: *Pauli ſymmyſtae, qui ſanctificatus, martyrium conſecutus, et digne beatus eſt (ad cujus veſtigia contingat mihi ut inveniar, ubi Deo potitus fuero) qui tota epiſtola memor veſtri eſt in Chriſto Jeſu.* It is only the laſt clauſe of this ſentence, that has any relation to the preſent ſubject; which, accord-

[i] *Sect.* 12.

ing,

ing to the Latin version, may be thus rendered in English: *Who in an whole epistle is mindful of you in Christ Jesus*; the word *who* refering to *Paul*, mentioned before. But the proper sense of μνημονεύειν is *to mention*, or *make mention of*; and not barely *to retain in memory*. And so Ignatius himself elsewhere uses it: Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν [k]: which is there translated, *Sed absit a me, ut eorum mentionem faciam*: that is, *But far be it from me to mention them*. Tho' neither will this remove the difficulty. For who, if he designed to tell another, that a third person had writen a letter to him, would say, *He had made mention of him in an whole letter*: This passage therefore is more justly translated in an antient version of Ignatius's epistles, published by archbishop Usher, in this manner: *Qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri*: that is: *Who in every epistle makes mention of you*: refering *who* to *Paul*, as the other translation does. But tho' this version be right, the fact is not true. For St. Paul mentions the Ephesians in none of his epistles; nor so much as the place, except in both those to Timothy, and the former to the Corinthians, seting aside that in debate. I can't therefore but imagine, here must be a mistake in the Greek copies of Ignatius, which might probably have been occasioned in the following manner. After the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ came to be inserted in the epistle of St. Paul, which was now thought to have been writen to that church; some body imagining that Ignatius designed to signify as much in that passage, changed μνημονεύω into μνημονεύει. For if we read μνημονεύω, the relative ὃς will refer in the usual construction to the nearer antecedent μοὶ, and not to Παύλου, which is more remote. And therefore in the Latin version I have given above, of this whole sentence, that member, which stands immediately before the relative *qui*, is enclosed in a parenthesis, in order to refer *qui* to *Pauli*, in the preceding member. With this small alteration of ει into ω, the sense will be: *To me* [meaning himself] *who make mention of you in every epistle*. In the other sense of the words, Ignatius only tells the Ephesians, what they knew many years before, if that epistle of St. Paul was writen to them; but in this he acquaints them with what was new to them, and must have been highly pleasing to them to hear. And as this was very proper for him to say, and somewhat like St. Paul's manner, whose pattern he there desires to follow; so the truth of it is still evident, for *he does mention the Ephesians* in every one of his other five epistles to the churches. And these six epistles of Ignatius are all that are mentioned by Eusebius, except one to Polycarp [l]; which being of a more private nature, there is no mention in it of any church, or single person, but at Smyrna, where Polycarp was then bishop. I might add further, that had Ignatius designed the former sense, he would scarce have said ἐν πάσῃ, but ἐν ὅλῃ ἐπιστολῇ. For tho' πᾶς be sometimes used to denote an integral, and not an universal whole; yet 'tis of such things, of which there is but one of a sort, or at least where there can be no ambiguity; as πᾶσα Ἰουδαία, πᾶσα οἰκουμένη: which is not the case here: for who upon the first view of that passage would not be apt to interpret ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ *in every epistle*, rather than *in an whole epistle*? In the larger epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians,

[k] *Epist. ad Smyr.* §5.

[l] *Hist. Eccles. lib.* iii. *c.* 36.

pheſians, this paſſage is very differently expreſſed: ἓ γένοι τό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι, ἐν τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω, ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν[m]: *Who always makes mention of us in his prayers:* the relative *who* reſpecting *Jeſus Chriſt*, mentioned here in the preceding clauſe. What might occaſion this alteration, whether the impropriety of the former expreſſion in one ſenſe, or the inconſiſtency of it with truth in the other, or whatever other reaſon, I will not pretend to ſay. But the loſs of this paſſage, as a proof that St. Paul wrote his epiſtle to the Epheſians, is ſufficiently made up by another, that is not in the ſmaller epiſtle of Ignatius. The words are theſe: Καὶ ἐστὲ, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμῖν ἔγραφεν, ἓν σῶμα, καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα[n]: that is, *And ye,* [Epheſians] *are, as Paul wrote to you, one body, and one ſpirit.* The clauſe, *One body, and one ſpirit*, is taken from St. Paul's own epiſtle[o], and ſeems to me one plain inſtance, among others, that theſe larger epiſtles of Ignatius were written after the ſmaller. I have been the longer upon theſe paſſages of Ignatius, by reaſon of the weight his authority might juſtly claim in this caſe, was it certain that he had ſpoken of this epiſtle of the apoſtle Paul, as writen by him to the Epheſians. For if this epiſtle was writen in the ninth year of Nero, and that of Ignatius in the tenth of Trajan, as biſhop Pearſon places them[p], the diſtance of time will be but forty-five years; ſo that Ignatius, being then far advanced in age, could not well be ignorant of the truth of this matter. And beſides, Oneſimus was biſhop of Epheſus at the time Ignatius wrote his epiſtle to that church, is mentioned in it, and had lately made Ignatius a viſit; ſo that had there been then any doubt concerning this affair, he could eaſily have ſet him right. Upon the whole therefore, there ſeems to be no foundation, from the paſſage of Ignatius, refered to by Dr. Mill, to imagine, that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were at that time inſerted in St. Paul's epiſtle; ſince it is more reaſonable to think he ſpeaks there of his own epiſtles, and not of any particular one writen by that apoſtle: tho' ſome perſon afterwards, by the alteration of a ſingle letter, gave the ſentence that turn. Nor can I ſee any reaſon to conclude with the author of the Diſſertation, that Ignatius had a copy of St. Paul's epiſtle with the title πρὸς Ἐφεσίους: tho' was it true, it could make nothing againſt what has been offered above, upon that ſubject. And it ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, when he has endeavoured to prove, that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were unknown to Tertullian, that preſently after he ſhould ſeem at all to doubt, whether this inſertion was not made 'till after the time of Ignatius, *poſt Ignatii tempora demum*; that is, pretty early in the ſecond century. I am therefore at a loſs to reconcile the inference he draws from it with his reaſoning before, when he ſais: *Adeo ut etiam ex hoc exemplo pateat non temere Celſum ſecundo ſeculo quibuſdam Chriſtianis objeciſſe, Scripturae S. falſationem* binis, tribus, *imo pluribus vicibus factam.*

It may perhaps be objected to the emendation propoſed in the epiſtle of Ignatius, that ſome of his epiſtles were writen after that to the Epheſians; and therefore he could not then ſay, that he had made mention of them *in every epiſtle.* For according to Euſebius's account, Ignatius upon his arrival

[m] *Sect.* 12.

[n] *Sect.* 6.

[o] *Ch.* iv. 4.

[p] *An. Paul. Vind. Ignat. Par.* ii. *c.* 1.

arrival at Smyrna, in his journey to Rome, wrote his four epiſtles to the churches at Epheſus, Magneſia, Trallium, and Rome; and afterwards, when he came to Troas, the two others to the churches at Philadelphia and Smyrna, and that to Polycarp [q]. But this can't, I think, affect the emendation: for as Ignatius does mention the Epheſians in each of the three other epiſtles writen from Smyrna, this of itſelf is ſufficient to ſupport it; and his doing the ſame thing in the other two epiſtles afterwards, was only continuing to do, what he told the Epheſians he did at the time he wrote to them.

[q] *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* iii. *c.* 36.

I am ſenſible that conjectures are never applied to worſe purpoſe, than when they are made uſe of, to weaken the credit of the ſacred writings. But neither the divine authority of this epiſtle, nor the author of it, is here called in queſtion; the enquiry is only about the perſons to whom it was firſt writen. And tho' it has for ſo many ages paſt been received, as writen to the Epheſians; yet as we find this was not the general ſenſe of the earlieſt times, and by reading the epiſtle in this view the ſame propriety of expreſſion does not appear, as in all the other epiſtles of the ſame apoſtle; an attempt to remove theſe difficulties, modeſtly propoſed, cannot, I preſume, be juſtly thought blameable. The cauſe of chriſtianity may poſſibly be ſerved, but can no ways be diſſerved by it; and therefore whatever the ſucceſs be, the deſign muſt by all impartial judges be at leaſt eſteemed innocent.

*The end of the* SECOND VOLUME.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# FIRST PLANTING

OF THE

# CHRISTIAN RELIGION:

Taken from the

ACTS of the APOSTLES, and their EPISTLES, &c.

Being the

# APPENDIX;

OR,

VOLUME the THIRD.

---

By *GEORGE BENSON*, D. D.

---

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Printed and Sold by J. WAUGH and W. FENNER, at the *Turk's-Head*, in *Lombard-Street*.

CIↃ. IↃCC. LVII.

# THE PREFACE.

## To the SECOND EDITION.

*IN a bad ſtate of health; and in the midſt of various complaints, and diſtreſſes; I have, at length, finiſhed* a ſecond edition *of this large Work.*

*Beſides a careful reviſeal, and correction, of the former edition; there are the following* additions; *namely,*

Appendix, N°. I. *A diſſertation on* Acts iv. 4. *or, an inquiry, whether the* five thouſand *converts to* chriſtianity, *at* Jeruſalem, *included the former* three thouſand; *or were a diſtinct number? In this* diſſertation, *there is, alſo, an account of the reaſon for raiſeing the large, charitable fund; and how long that community of goods continued.*

N°. II. *An eſſay, concerning St.* Paul's *behavior, at* Athens. *And, more particularly, an inquiry,* "*Whether he worked any miracles there?*" Acts xvii. 15, *to the end of the chapter.*

N°. III. *A* diſſertation *on St.* Paul's *reproveing St.* Peter, *for his behavior, at* Antioch: *with a view, more particularly, to rectifie the miſtakes of Dr.* Conyers Middleton, *in his* curſory reflections *on* Galat. ii. 11. *&c.*

N°. IV. *A* diſſertation *on* John xix. 14. *to reconcile what St.* John *has, there, ſaid, of it's being the* ſixth hour, *when our lord ſtood before* Pontius Pilate, *with what the other* evangeliſts *have ſaid, of it's being the* third hour, *when he was crucified.*

N°. V. *A poſtſcript to the* letter, *at the end of the* ſecond volume *of this hiſtory, concerning the perſons, to whom St.* Paul *wrote, who is commonly called,* The epiſtle to the Epheſians.

VI. A map, *done upon a copper-plate; adapted to the whole work but more eſpecially, to St.* Paul's apoſtolic journeys.

*This map is of the ſame nature with that præfixed to the late* Lord Barrington's miſcellanea ſacra: *though the reader will find ſome few* additions, *and alterations.*

VII. *The contents of the whole work.*

VIII. *Five* indexes; *namely,* (1.) *of the* hebrew *words.* (2.) *of the* greek *words.* (3.) *of the* texts *differently read.* (4.) *of the* texts *occaſionally explaned.* (5.) *of the moſt material things.*

N. B. *The* additions *are printed ſeparately, for the uſe of ſuch as have the former edition; if any ſuch chooſe to buy them.*

*The* former edition *was printed, in* two volumes, quarto. *So is this* hiſtory, *now, printed again. The* diſſertation, *at the end of the* ſecond volume, *was, formerly, called an* appendix. *I have, now, called that,* a diſſertation; *and given, to the* additional *pieces, the title of* The appendix; *or,* vol. III^d. *Not that the* additions *are equal, in bulk, to another volume. But they are ſo intitled, to keep up, in the reader's mind, a clear and diſtinct idea of each part of the work: that, if there ſhould be occaſion, at any time, to make quotations from it, or references to it, it may eaſily be underſtood, whether the* firſt, *or* ſecond, *edition is intended; or what part of the work is quoted, or referred to.*

*My original plan is now executed. The* hiſtory *is brought down to the end of the* Acts of the apoſtles. *The* epiſtles, *which come within that period, are abridged. And I have lived to reviſe this work, and publiſh it again.*

If

*If any one, that comes after me, ſhould think fit to carry down the* ſacred hiſtory, *to the end of the firſt century, it would come into his ſcheme, to give the* hiſtory, *and abridgement, of the epiſtle to* Titus, *the epiſtle to the* hebrews, *and the ſecond epiſtle to* Timothy. *And to give ſome account of the goſpels of St.* Mark *and St.* Luke. *The* hiſtory, *and ſynopſis, of the* ſeven *(commonly called)* catholic epiſtles, *would come within that period. The time, alſo, of writeing the book of the* Revelation, *ought not to be omitted; nor the* grand deſign *of it. Which is finely repreſented, in Mr.* Lowman's *excellent* præface *to his* paraphraſe and notes on the book of the revelation. *And it might be highly proper to inquire, "Whether that ſacred book ought to be interpreted, by* ſynchroniſms, *or without them?"*

*And, finally, it would be right to give an account of the goſpel of St.* John; *the time of writeing it; and the view, which the* apoſtle *had, in committing it to writeing: particularly, his intention to leave, on record, ſome things, which the other three* evangeliſts *had not mentioned.*

*So far, would ſuch a* hiſtory *concern the books, that belong to the* ſacred canon. *A clear and faithful hiſtory of which, would be of unſpeakable advantage.*

*In ſuch a work, two of the* apoſtolic fathers *might be mentioned, and a ſhort account given of them*; namely, *the epiſtle, aſcribed to* Barnabas; *and the epiſtle of* Clemens romanus, *to the* Corinthians. *For theſe two come within this period: as the epiſtle aſcribed to* Barnabas, *is reckoned to have been writen, about the year of Chriſt* 71. *and* Clemens *his epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *about the year* 96. *Dr.* Lardner's credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory, part 11[d], *would be of great ſervice, in drawing up an account of theſe two* apoſtolic fathers, *and of their writeings.*

*If the* jewiſh *and* roman *hiſtory was carried on, from period to period, down to the end of the firſt century; then, thoſe very ſignal events, of the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem; *the demoliſhing the temple; the overthrow of the* jewiſh *polity; and the diſperſion of that once highly-favored nation; might be inlarged upon, with great propriety.* [c]

[c] *The reader, who would ſee, how remarkably the prædiction,* Matt. xxiv. 1, *&c. agreed with the events, related by the hiſtorians, may*

[d] *receive*

'*receive full ſatisfaction, from a peruſeal of archbiſhop* Tillotſon's ſer-
'mons *on that ſubject. Where he will obſerve the ſeveral particulars,*
'*prædicted, of the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem; *and the foregoing events,*
'*connected with it, corroborated, by the expreſſe teſtimonies of* Dion
'Caſſius, Tacitus, Joſephus, *and other hiſtorians.*

'*We need not refer to the teſtimony of hiſtory, to know wh*
'*ther the* jews *have been led captive, into all nations; as our ſav*
'*foretold. For the preſent ſtate of that* [*unhappy*] *nation, is as w*
'*known, as it is wonderful.*

'*And whoever would ſee the argument, which may be drawn fr*
'*it, in confirmation of* chriſtianity, *placed in the ſtrongeſt light, he will*
'*read, with pleaſure, the* french *author of the* Principes de la foi chré-
'tienne, *as quoted by* Gilbert Weſt, Eſq; *on the reſurrection of Chriſt,*
'*p.* 395.---409. — *The learned, (though almoſt forgoten) Dr.* Jack-
'ſon's *collections, relateing to the ſtate of the* jews, *compared with the*
'prophecies *concerning them,* [*do,*] *alſo, deſerve to be conſulted.*'*

*Theſe would be excellent helps. But an hiſtorian ſhould re-examine whatever he finds to his purpoſe; and digeſt it into one continued hiſtorical narration.*

*Such a* hiſtory, *well executed, would, among many other things, ſhow, that* Joſephus *and* Tacitus, *who have treated the chriſtians, with contempt, or great virulence, have, notwithſtanding, ſtrongly corroborated our lord's divine miſſion; by pointing out, how exactly the grand events tallied with the prædiction. For the teſtimony of enemies hath ever been reckoned of great importance.*

*It is not poſſible, at this diſtance of time and place, to conceive the force; which the prophecie of the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and the clear accompliſhment thereof, muſt have had, upon the minds of the chriſtians of that age; and upon numbers of ſober and attentive perſons; who were not profeſſed chriſtians. We may imagine ſomewhat of it, from the forcible manner, in which it would ſtrike the* proteſtant *world to behold the down fall of* popery, *according to the prædiction,* Rev. xviiith. chap.

*But theſe, and other reflections, I will not now, any longer, dwell upon.*

*I hope*

* See Mr. *Douglaſs his criterion, or miracles examined,* &c. p. 346.

*I hope my good-natured readers will indulge me, in ſaying,* " *that, in* " *what I have done, I have done it faithfully, and to the beſt of my* " *abilities.*

" *If I had believed* chriſtianity *to be falſe, no worldly conſiderations* " *whatever could have induced me to have wrote ſo much, to make the* " *world believe that it is true.* — *And, if it be true; it is not an* " *indifferent matter, whether men receive, or reject, it.*

" *As for my own part, I have ſtudied the books of* ſcripture; *and,* " *more eſpecially, the New Teſtament; for above thirty years. From* " *thence, I have taken my notions of* chriſtianity, *and of the evidence* " *of it. I have read the objections of the* infidels. *And have found,* " *that their acquaintance with the ſcriptures is but very ſuperficial:* " *that they have no ſteddy principles of their own: and that their de-* " *ſign is to pull down* chriſtianity, *without giveing the world any other* " *ſcheme of* religion, *or* morals, *inſtead of it.*

" *I am, indeed, convinced, that the* anti-revelationiſts *are, in ge-* " *neral, unfair writers; and have no good views; yet I am very* " *thankfull that this controverſie has broke out, and been carried on,* " *ſuch a length, in my time. Becauſe I ſhould, otherwiſe, never have* " *ſeen the* objections *placed in ſo ſtrong a light, nor cleared up ſo fully,* " *and to ſuch rational ſatisfaction. I ſhould never have underſtood* " *my* bible *ſo well; never have ſeen the arguments for the divine ori-* " *ginal of it, placed in ſuch a variety of views; nor have apprehended* " *the evidences to have been ſo very ſtrong, extenſive, and numerous.*

" *I have, with great pleaſure, obſerved, that many things, againſt* " *which, the enemies of revelation have objected, have, upon a more* " *narrow inſpection, turned out beauties, inſtead of blemiſhes; and ar-* " *guments in favor of* chriſtianity, *inſtead of objections againſt it.* " *And I am not without hope, that the writers, who have, of late, ſo* " *openly, and in ſuch great numbers, appeared, againſt* revelation, *are* " *paveing the way, for a more general and extenſive ſpread of it.* " *For, if* chriſtians, *of different denominations, would but give up,* " *what they cannot* rationally *defend; and return to the* ſcriptures, " *as the ſole ſtandard of* reveled *religion; then would* chriſtianity, " *pure, uncorrupted, chriſtianity, appear in it's genuine ſimplicity,* " *and native excellence.* Jews, heathens, *and* mahometans *would be* " *ſtruck with the amiable nature, and abundant evidence, of it; and* " *well-minded* deiſts *be induced to admire, and imbrace, it.* — *An*

" *event t*

" *event! devoutly to be wiſhed: but which could not, perhaps, be* " *brought about, by any other method. Though it would, in my ap-* " *prehenſion, be one of the moſt grand and deſireable of all events: and* " *make* chriſtianity *the glory, and the joy, of the whole earth.*

" *However ſo great and extenſive an affair may turn out:—After re-* " *peted examination, I am perſuaded, that the chriſtian religion, as it lies* " *uncorrupted, in the* ſcriptures, *is of divine original. And, the more* " *I have examined into the nature and evidence of it, the more I* " *am convinced of the divine miſſion of* Jeſus, *and of the truth of* " *his goſpel.*

" *I am apprehenſive that my glaſſe is, almoſt, run out. But I be-* " *lieve a future ſtate of exact retribution, according to every man's* " *real character.—And, in the view of that grand and intereſting* " *event, I have thought it my duty to live and act. — I am convinced,* " *that I muſt ſhortly die. But I know* that the ſouls of the righte- " ous are in the hands of GOD, and no torment ſhall touch them. " Being abſent from the body, they are present with the lord. " And, when they depart hence, they are with Chriſt; which is " far better. — *After a few years, or ages, (which are as nothing,* " *when compared to eternity,) I expect, alſo, that* Jeſus *will come* " *again, to this earth; but in quite a different form and manner,* " *and for intirely a different purpoſe, from his former appearence.* " *I depend upon his power, to raiſe me from the gloomy manſions of the* " *grave. I am not without hopes of being, then, approved by him.* " *And I would not part with the conſolation; which, in this reſpect,* " chriſtianity *affords me, for the whole world.*

" *With an heart warmed with ſuch ſentiments, I could ſincerely wiſh,* " *that all my readers were* chriſtians, *not onely in name and pro-* " *feſſion; but indeed, and in truth. Nay; I could, moſt heartily,* " *rejoice, in the knowlege, piety, and everlaſting happineſſe, of the* " *whole human race. And it gves me unſpeakable pleaſure, to think,* " *of the extenſive benevolence of the deity, who has declared,* that he " would have all men to be ſaved; and to come unto the knowlege " of the truth.

" *Towards the accompliſhing ſo great and good a work; I have* " *thrown in my mite. And humbly pray that it may be attended* " *with a divine bleſſing.* Amen!

Preſcot-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields,
London, September 1. 1755.

# APPENDIX

TO THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

## First planting of the Christian Religion.

### NUMB. I.

### A DISSERTATION ON

Acts IV. 4. *Howbeit, many of them, who heard the word, believed. And the number of the men was about five thousand.*

DR. *Lightfoot*, [*vol.* i. *of his works, p.* 760.] is clear in it, that these 5000 make up a sum intirely distinct from the 3000, mentioned chap. 2d. For (1.) This is a discourse concerning a miracle, done by *Peter* and *John*. And verse 1,—23. concerns that affair onely. And what reason can be alleged, why, in this sentence alone, the sacred historian should start from his main design? (2.) It is a manner of reckoning unusual in scripture, to mention five thousand, and to mean onely two thousand, without any intimation of such a meaning. (3.) *The number of the men was about* 5000. Of what men? *Of those, who heard the word, and believed.* What word did they hear and believe? The word preached by *Peter* and *John*, ver. 1. and not the word preached on the day of pentecost, by all the apostles. [*See, also, Dr.* Whitby *upon the place.*]

To this account, various things have been objected. As (1.) "Whereas the word [ἦν *was*,] is used, chap. i. 15. it is here ἐγενήθη,

" νήθη, and ought to have been rendered [*became.*]" *Anſwer.* The paſſages, where γίνομαι, or γίγνομαι, ſignifies [*to be,*] are ſo very numerous, that there is no need of pointing to any particular places. And the word ἐγενήθη might juſtly be tranſlated [*was,*] Rom. xvi. 2. 2 Cor. vii. 14. and is very properly ſo tranſlated, 1 Cor. x. 6. and xv. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 7. 1 Theſ. i. 5; 7.

However; the word, ἐγενήθη, may here ſignifie [*became*;] if the following interpretation be approved. " *Salvian*, preſbyter of *Mar-*
" *ſeilles*, who floriſhed about the year 440, ſuppoſeth the number
" of 5000, in this place, to be additional to the 3000, chap. ii. 41.
" makeing in all eight thouſand. Nevertheleſſe, that may not be
" the true ſenſe. Nor yet, that the number was now 5000, include-
" ing the 3000, converted by St. *Peter*'s firſt ſermon. For many
" of them had come, from divers and remote parts, to *Jeruſalem*,
" to be preſent, at the feaſt of pentecoſt. And, probably, when the
" feaſt was over, [or, at leaſt, before this time,] they returned to their
" ſeveral countries, and dwellings. Nor does St. *Luke* ſay, that now
" 5000 were added, to the apoſtles, or to the church. But he
" ſais, that, at this ſeaſon, *many of them, which heard the word, be-*
" *lieved*, or were converted. *And the number of the men was made,*
" ἐγενήθη, 5000. With the addition of converts, now made, the
" whole number of believers, at *Jeruſalem*, amounted to 5000.
" Many of the firſt 3000 were dead, or removed. But, from time
" to time, new converts had been made. And, at this ſeaſon, many
" believed. Whereby, the number of believers, at *Jeruſalem*, *be-*
" *came five thouſand*[a]."

*Objection ſecond*, " It is hardly to be thought (unleſſe it was ex-
" preſsly aſſerted) that *another day* ſhould be much more remarkable
" for it's *number of converts*, than that, on which the ſpirit de-
" ſcended." *Anſwer.* If the apoſtles continued to work a number of miracles, one after another, as we are aſſured they did, then the evidence of their divine miſſion and doctrine became clearer and ſtronger. And, conſequently, the number of converts might rationally be expected to be conſiderably augmented.

*Objection third.* " As for any argument, drawn from the proba-
" bility of more than 5000 being converted in a year's time, it is
" alleged that there is no proof at all, that this event was a year, or
" even a month, after the deſcent of the ſpirit. Nay; it ſeems
" highly improbable that the ſanhedrim ſhould ſuffer the apoſtles to
" go

[a] See Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility of the goſpel hiſtory, part 2. vol. xi. p. 201, 202.

" go on ſo long, unqueſtioned, in their public work. And to ſup-
" poſe that they did not teach publicly would be moſt abſurd." [*See Dr.* Dodderidge *upon the place.*] *Anſwer.* Suppoſe it was not a month after the deſcent of the ſpirit; then it muſt have been, moſt probably, dureing the feaſt of pentecoſt, which feaſt laſted onely ſeven days. For there ſeems no reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe numerous converts were, all, or moſt, of them, the ſtated inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*. And, after pentecoſt, it was ſome months before the approach of the next public feſtival, when all the males in *Iſrael* were obliged to go up to *Jeruſalem*. But how little this is favored, by the ſacred hiſtorian, may appear, even from a curſory view of ſeveral circumſtances. Three thouſand were converted, on the ever-memorable day of pentecoſt; that very day, on which the ſpirit was poured out. And thoſe three thouſand were baptized. After which, it is ſaid, [chap. ii. 42.] that they continued to attend upon the teaching of the apoſtles, and breaking of bread, and prayer. They, alſo, ſold their poſſeſſions and goods, and raiſed a common fund. Which appears to me to have been to ſupport the numerous converts, who came from diſtant countries, while they continued together, at *Jeruſalem*. For the converts, who were inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, were at home; and continued in their ſtated buſineſſe, and uſual methods of provideing for themſelves and their families. And thoſe jewiſh converts, who had come from diſtant countries, to celebrate that feſtival, at *Jeruſalem*, would, of courſe, be provided, for their ſubſiſtence, dureing the feſtival; and to bear the charges of their traveling home again. Very likely, ſome of them had more plenty than they themſelves wanted. And *that* they, moſt probably, threw into the common fund. And, indeed, it was very proper that they ſhould tarry together, ſome months, at *Jeruſalem*, 'till they had learned the ſcheme of chriſtianity, from the apoſtles. And, dureing the continuance of ſo many thouſands together, it was highly requiſite that they ſhould have a common bank; that none of them, in ſuch a ſituation, might want the common neceſſaries of life. — After theſe things, it is again obſerved [chap. ii. 47.] that there were added daily, unto the church, the ſaved, or reformed; or ſuch as were put into the ſure way to ſalvation. Now, to talk of a *daily* addition to the church, for part of one week, ſeems not ſo likely, as it would be, if that addition had been gradually going on, for the ſpace of ſome weeks, or months; 'till, after ſome time, the following miracles, added to all the former, increaſed the number of converts, in *Jeruſalem*, to five thouſand. Moreover; it appears probable to me that the

ſacred hiſtorian had quite done with the account of the three thouſand: and that the greateſt part of them, liveing in remote places, were gone back to their reſpective countries. Upon which, the community of goods might, poſſibly, ceaſe for a time. But was revived again, (as we ſhall ſee afterwards) upon this ſecond, and more numerous, converſion. At leaſt, there is nothing, that I know of, in the ſacred hiſtory, that contradicts any one of theſe particulars.

Haveing, therefore, quite finiſhed his account of the three thouſand, the ſacred hiſtorian ſeems to me to go on, and give the hiſtory of increaſeing the number of converts, in *Jeruſalem*, to five thouſand. Which was occaſioned by St. *Peter* and St. *John*'s going up to the temple, and cureing the lame man, who was laid at the beautiful gate, to beg alms for his ſubſiſtence. Indeed, it is not ſaid when this happened. It might be at the following feaſt of tabernacles, or at the next paſſover. For the numerous converſion renders it highly probable that it was at one of the three great feſtivals, when all the males in *Iſrael* were commanded to go up to *Jeruſalem*. — Upon this very numerous converſion, the two apoſtles are taken into private cuſtody; and examined, the next day, by the ſanhedrim. Before whom, *Peter* boldly aſſerted that, by a power, derived from *Jeſus of Nazareth*, they had cured that lame man: that ſame *Jeſus*, whom they had crucified, but whom God had raiſed from the dead. — Theſe things quite confounded the ſanhedrim. For the miracle was unqueſtionable. The man was ſtanding there, before them. He was well known in *Jeruſalem*, was forty years of age, and had been lame from his birth; and was now evidently and perfectly cured. *The ſanhedrim*, therefore, were quite at a loſſe what to do in the caſe. However; they called in the two apoſtles, and brow-beat them. And charged them to preach no more, in the name of *Jeſus*. Which charge they bravely refuſed to comply with. And, when the ſanhedrim had farther charged and threatened them, they diſmiſſed them. — Then the two apoſtles return to the chriſtian church. And, upon relateing how they had eſcaped, the church unanimouſly praiſed GOD for their deliverance; and prayed for farther ſupport and divine aſſiſtence. Upon which, the houſe was ſhaken; and they had a freſh effuſion of the ſpirit. And they preached the chriſtian doctrine with boldneſſe. And there was a common fund, again, raiſed for the ſupport of the chriſtians, while ſuch numbers continued together. And houſes and lands were ſold, to raiſe and ſupport that truely generous and charitable fund.

Now,

Now, what occaſion had St. *Luke*, whoſe hiſtory is ſo remarkably conciſe, to repete this, a ſecond time, of their haveing a common fund? If the fund had not been revived again, upon the converts then reſideing at *Jeruſalem*, amounting to five thouſand; as it had been firſt formed, upon the converſion of the three thouſand? This clearly accounts for the repetition, ſhows the reaſonableneſſe of ſuch a common bank, in thoſe peculiar circumſtances; and may as clearly teach us, that, in other circumſtances, there is no reaſon for ſuch a community of goods, among chriſtians. Nay; in moſt caſes, it would be highly improper, and attended with very bad conſequences. But, while the five thouſand continued together, at *Jeruſalem*, to learn the ſcheme of chriſtianity, from the apoſtles, that ſuch of them, as were not the ſtated inhabitants of that city, might carry it home, to their reſpective countries, ſuch a community of goods was of very great ſervice; and, in a manner, neceſſary.

That a large bank was not raiſed, with a view to have a conſtant community of goods, or a ſtated maintenance for the whole church, at *Jeruſalem*, down to the deſtruction of that city; may farther appear, from the chriſtian church at *Antioch*'s ſending a pretty large charitable contribution, not many years after this, for the ſupport of the chriſtians in *Judæa*, in a time of great ſcarcity. For it is well known that the church at *Jeruſalem* was the principal chriſtian church in *Judæa*. And accordingly, that charitable collection was ſent to the elders of the chriſtian church, at *Jeruſalem*, by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*. [See Acts xi. 27,—30.]

But ſtill it is objected, "That, as the apoſtles preached public-"ly, the *ſanhedrim* would not ſuffer them to go on, ſo long, un-"queſtioned." *Anſwer*. It is allowed that the apoſtles continued to preach publicly. But as to the ſanhedrim's not moleſting them ſooner; *that* might depend upon a variety of circumſtances. — The *jews* had not the power of life and death. That power was, then, in the hands of the *romans*. The reſurrection of Chriſt, after they had procured his crucifixion, had greatly diſconcerted the meaſures of the leading jews. And, for a while, they were confounded, and quite at a ſtand, when they ſaw that the apoſtles roſe up, preached, and worked numerous miracles, in the name of *Jeſus*. Our lord, himſelf, had gone about, preaching, for two (or three) years and an half, before they could get him apprehended; though they were very deſireous to have ſuppreſſed and deſtroyed him, much ſooner. Men may eagerly wiſh to cruſh their adverſaries; but, when their adverſaries have evidently truth and right on their ſide; and thoſe ſupported

by

by open and notorious facts; it is not an eaſie matter to cruſh them. And even to attempt it, muſt be very *unpopular*. A conſideration! which was of great weight with the leading men of the *jewiſh* nation. *The providence of God* would, very probably, exerciſe a watchful eye over the apoſtles and firſt diſciples, 'till chriſtianity had got a conſiderable footing, at *Jeruſalem*; and among the jews, who came thither, from various quarters. And one plane argument, whereby the ſanhedrim would be reſtrained, is hinted, Acts ii. 47, *namely*, that, as yet, the chriſtians *had favor with all the people*. The very reaſon, which is alleged, in the four goſpels, more than once, for the leading *jews* not apprehending, and putting to death, *our bleſſed lord*, much ſooner than they did. — Nay; we ſee, in the very caſe before us, that what the ſanhedrim did, was ſo flagrantly unjuſt, and ſo very unpopular, that they dared not to venture to put the two apoſtles to death, or even to inflict any leſſer puniſhments upon them. They onely threatened, without proceeding any farther. For they did not care to riſque their own characters, ſo far, as to loſe all reputation with the people. And how *unpopular* their oppoſition to the apoſtles, and ill treatment of them, was, appears, from another inſtance, not long after this. For, when they had apprehended all the twelve apoſtles, and put them into the common priſon, an angel came, by night, and ſet them at liberty; and ordered them to go, and preach the goſpel, publicly, in one of the courts of the temple. They did ſo. And the *ſanhedrim* ſent the captain of the temple to apprehend them again. He and his men, accordingly, came, and ſeized upon them, in the court of the temple; as they were preaching, to a great multitude, there: and led them away to the court of the ſanhedrim. But they dared not uſe the apoſtles, with any roughneſſe, or violence. *For they were afraid of the people, leſt they ſhould have ſtoned them*; if they had been witneſſes to any ill uſeage of the *apoſtles*. [Acts v. 26.] Nay; I do not know whether *Gamaliel*'s preventing the *ſanhedrim* from putting all the twelve apoſtles to death, might not, in a great meaſure, procede from his being well apprized how very unpopular ſuch an action would have rendered him, and the other leading jews.

*Objection fourth.* Some may, poſſibly, inquire, " If the *jewiſh* converts were ſo numerous, what became of them afterwards? For " church-hiſtory never intimates any thing of the *jewiſh* converts be" ing ſo numerous."

*Anſwer.* That there were great numbers of *jews* converted to the chriſtian faith, appears planely, from St. *James* his ſpeech, [Acts xxi. 20.

20.] who aſſerts expreſsly, that *they were many myriads.* Whereas, one myriad is ten thouſand. Perhaps, many of them apoſtaized; as our ſavior propheſied great numbers would do. [See Matt. xxiv. 10, &c.] But, as the hiſtory of the chriſtian church, (and eſpecially of the *jewiſh* chriſtians) from the concluſion of the *Acts of the apoſtles*, to the end of the ſecond century, is very imperfect, we cannot, with any certainty, ſay, what became of them.

However; I look upon the greateſt part, both of the three thouſand, and of the five thouſand, to have been jews, come up to *Jeruſalem*, at the great feſtivals; who, afterwards, returned to their reſpective cities and countries. And who would greatly facilitate the ſpread of chriſtianity, in thoſe remote places.

I would confirm ſome of the above-mentioned obſervations, by ſome curious extracts, from *Mr. David Clarkſon's treatiſe of the primitive epiſcopacy*; p. 4, &c. where, ſpeaking of the thouſands, who were converted, to chriſtianity, at *Jeruſalem*, he ſais; 'It is but 'a ſmall proportion of thoſe thouſands, that can in reaſon be ac-'counted the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo fixed members of 'that church. For they were converted, at one of the great feaſts; 'at which times the inhabitants were not, by far, a twentieth part 'of thoſe that were aſſembled, in the city. That this may appear, 'let us inquire both after the number of the inhabitants; and of 'thoſe that, from other places, reſorted to thoſe ſolemnities. To 'begin with the latter of theſe. *Joſephus* [*de bell. jud. l.* 7. *c.* 1. *ſ.* '*p.* 968. Havercamp. edit. l. 6. c. 9. § 3. p. 399.] tells us; and, 'out of him, *Euſebius* [*hiſt. lib.* 3. c. 5.] that *Ceſtius Gallus*, willing 'to repreſent to *Nero*, (who contemned the *jews*,) the ſtrength of 'that people, deſired the prieſts to take an account of their number. 'They, in order thereto, at the paſſover, when ſeveral companies '(the leaſt conſiſting of *ten*, many of *twenty*,) were each of them 'to have their ſacrifice, numbered the ſacrifices, which came to '255600[b]. Then, reckoning, as though each company had no 'fewer than ten, they collected the number of the people at the 'paſſover 2700000, all legally clean. But, allowing the families, 'or companies, their juſt number, it amounted to 3000000. So '*Euſebius*, τριακοσίας μυριάδων, [vel μυριάδας.] and *Joſephus*, elſe-'where, ἐκ ἑλάττ]ας τριακοσίων μυριάδων. [*p.* 798. *edit. Genev. An.* '1635.] But, then, they were all, in a manner, foreigners: πολὺ δὲ τοῦτο

[b] In Havercamp's edition, it is 256500.

'τῦτο πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεσθαι. [*l.* 7. *c.* 17.] The inhabitants of 'Jeruſalem were but 120,000; as we learn by *Hæcateus*, [*in Joſeph. 'contra Appion. l.* 1. *edit. Havercamp. p.* 456.] περὶ δώδεκα μυριά-'δες, (not *centum & quinquaginta millia*, as the tranſlator.) And it 'may be *Hæcateus*, or his informer, over-reached, as well in the 'number of the citizens, as in the meaſures of the city. He makes 'the circuit of it fifty furlongs. Whereas; *Joſephus* ſais, it was but 'thirty-three: [*de bell. jud. lib.* 6. c. 17. p. 914.] and the circum-'vallation of *Titus*, in the ſiege, but thirty-nine furlongs. [*l.* 6. *c.* 'λά.] And, when 12000 were ſlain, in *Jeruſalem*, in one night, 'the loſſe is repreſented, as though the greateſt part of the citizens 'had been deſtroyed. [*l.* 5. *c.* ϰ.] But there is no need of theſe 'advantages. Let us ſuppoſe the inhabitants to have been 150,000; '(30,000 more than *Hæcateus* makes them;) yet this will be but a 'twentieth part of three millions: (And no leſſe were wont to be 'at *Jeruſalem*, at the three great ſolemnities.) And, then, in all 'reaſon, no more than a *twentieth part of the converted* muſt be ac-'counted inhabitants of the city; and ſo fixed members of the church. 'For that this happineſſe ſhould fall, in greater proportion, upon 'thoſe of the city, than upon the foreigners, at that time, in it; 'both being in all the ſame circumſtances; none can, upon any 'ground, imagine. And, if but *a twentieth part of the converted* '*were inhabitants*, let them be *twenty*, or *fourty*, or *eighty*, thouſand; 'or as many as the *myriads*, [Acts xxi. 10.] amount to; the church 'at *Jeruſalem* will not be ſo much greatened, by them; but that it 'might well meet in one congregation. If the converts had been 'an hundred thouſand, the proportion of that church therein would 'have been but five thouſand. And more have been, in one con-'gregation, in the primitive times, elſewhere. Or elſe *Euſebius* could 'not have found μυριάνδρες ἐπισυναγωγὰς. [l. 8. c. 1.]'

And Mr. *Clarkſon*, [*ibid.* p. 106, &c.] farther ſais, 'Jeruſalem 'was far inferior, in greatneſſe, to the four cities fore-mentioned; '[namely, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Carthage*;] yet may be 'thought conſiderable, in this diſcourſe; becauſe of the many thou-'ſands converted there, by the apoſtles. From whence it is con-'cluded, that they were more than could meet together, in one 'place, for communion. But I have ſhewed this, before, to be a 'miſtake. And that, of thoſe five thouſand converted, the twen-'tieth part cannot in reaſon be accounted inhabitants of the city. A-'bout forty years after, this church conſiſted of no more than *Pella*, 'a ſmall city, could entertain, together with it's own inhabitants.

'For

'For thither they all retired, as *Euſebius* informs us; [l. 3. c. 5.] 'being admoniſhed from heaven to leave the city. And, [*Epipha-* 'nius, *de ponder. & menſur. c.* 15.] πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ, [*all the diſ-* 'ciples,] being warned, by an angel, to leave the city, a little before 'it was deſtroyed, obeyed; and dwelt in *Pella*, a city of *Decapolis*. 'And they deſerved the title of ἐπιφανεῖς, (whether *Joſephus* intended 'it for them, or others,) who, he ſais, after the retreat of *Ceſtius*, 'from *Jeruſalem*, left the city, as a ſhip ready to ſink. πολλοὶ τῶν 'ἐπιφανῶν, &c. [de bell. jud. l. c. μ. edit. Havercamp. l. 2. c. 20. '§ 1. p. 206.] And, from hence, archbiſhop *Whitgift* concludes the 'ſmallneſſe of their numbers. *How few chriſtians*, ſais he, *were* '*there, at* Jeruſalem, *not long before it was deſtroyed, being above forty* '*years after Chriſt? Doeth not* Euſebius *teſtifie*, [l. 3. c. 5.] *that* '*they were all received into a little town, called* Pella? *And yet the* '*apoſtles had ſpent much time, and labor, in preaching there. But the* '*number of thoſe, who did not profeſſe Chriſt, in that city, was in-* '*finite.*

'Not long after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, if we believe *Epi-* 'phanius, [*ubi ſupra, n.* 15.] they returned, from *Pella*, to *Jeruſa-* 'lem; and ſettled in the ruines of a part of the deſolate city; no fit 'place to entertain multitudes: and, near fifty years after, [they] are 'found very low and few. For, as the ſame author tells us, *Adrian*, 'in his progreſſe through thoſe parts of the empire, comeing to *Je-* 'ruſalem, finds the whole city laid level with the ground, *except a* 'few houſes, and a little church. Παρέκειτο ὀλίγων οἰκημάτων, καὶ τῆς 'τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας μικρὰς ἔσης. [ibid. c. 14.] And one would judge 'they could not be very many, whom ſo ſmall a church could con- 'tain, and ſo few houſes lodge.

'After *Adrian* had raiſed the city *Ælia*, out of the ruines of the 'old *Jeruſalem*, the church there was ſo far from riſeing with the 'city, that it fell from what it was before; being, in his time, very 'much diminiſhed, if not quite ruined, as to it's antient conſtitu- 'tion. For *Adrian*, provoked by the rebellion of the *jews*, by ſe- 'vere edicts, excludes them all, not onely from *Jeruſalem*, but '[from] all the territory round about it. As *Ariſto Pellæus*, [*in* 'Euſeb. l. 4. c. 6.] And *Sulpitius Severus*, [hiſt. l. 2.] ſais, this pro- 'hibition reached, not onely thoſe, that were *jews* by religion, but 'all that were *jews*, by extract, though profeſſing the chriſtian re- 'ligion. So that, if the church, then at *Jeruſalem*, were either 'wholly, or for the greateſt part, conſtituted of ſuch *jews*; by this 'law, it was either quite diſſipated, or greatly diminiſhed. Now,

'*Euſebius* tells us, that, from the apoſtles, to this laſt devaſtation of '*Palæſtine*, by *Adrian*, that church did conſiſt of ſuch *jews*, [ἐξ Ἑβραίων 'πιςῶν, l. 4. c. 5] Which we muſt underſtand, either abſolutely, 'ſo as none elſe but believeing *jews* were members of that church; 'or elſe, none but they in compariſon, very few of the *gentiles*. 'In the firſt ſenſe, by this edict, it would be quite diſſolved, as to 'it's being a church at *Jeruſalem*. In the latter ſenſe, it would be 'reduced to a ſmall compaſſe, and very few members; namely, 'thoſe onely of the believeing *gentiles*. And, in this ſenſe, I take it; 'becauſe there was a church here ſtill. But, all of *jewiſh* extract 'being excluded, by the emperor's authority, it was conſtituted 'onely of *gentiles*; *ceſſantibus his qui fuerant ex judæis*. [*Jer. in 'chron.*] So *Euſebius* ſais, that that church was made up of *gentiles*. 'And the reaſon he gives; becauſe, by *Adrian*'s edict, immediately 'before-mentioned, the city was emptied of all the *jewiſh* nation. '[*Euſeb.* l. 4. c. 6.] So that, upon this conſtitution of *Adrian*, about 'the eighteenth, or nineteenth, year, of his reign, as *Euſebius* com-'putes it, Anno 135. the church of *Jeruſalem* conſiſted onely of 'thoſe *gentiles*; which were ſo few, as they are not thought fit to 'be brought to account, by him, who gives the beſt account of the 'ſtate of the church, in thoſe times.

'It is like, their numbers were increaſed, before *Narciſſus* was bi-'ſhop there, in the third age. Yet then, they were not ſo many, 'but that the whole number could meet together, with their biſhop, 'at the paſchal vigil; as appears, by what we meet with, in *Euſe-'bius*, [l. 6. c. 8.] The people aſſembled with *Narciſſus*, at the great 'vigil. And, while they were watching, oil failing them for their 'lights, τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος, *the whole multitude* were greatly troubled. 'Whereupon *Narciſſus* procures them a ſupply, in an extraordinary 'way, as it is there reported.

'Nay; in *Cyril*'s time, which was in the fourth age. [*Anno* 353.] 'it ſeems they were no more than could aſſemble in one place. For 'the people, as *Sozomen* relates it, being aſtoniſhed at an apparition 'in the air, all leave their houſes, their markets, and their work; 'and men, women, and children, *meet in the church*. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-'σίαν ἀπῆλθον. And there all together, *uno ore*, [with one voice,] 'join in the praiſes of Chriſt. [*Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 4.]'

*The end of the firſt* DISSERTATION.

APPEND-

# APPENDIX

## NUMB. II.

*An* ESSAY, *concerning St.* PAUL's *behavior at* Athens; *and particularly, whether he worked any miracles there.* Acts xvii. 15, *to the end of that chapter.*

### SECT. I.

DR. *Wall* [in his note on Acts xvii. 33.] ſais; "There is no "mention of any miracle, done, by St. *Paul*, at *Athens*. Per- "haps [*he worked no miracle, there,*] for the very ſame reaſon, that "our ſavior would ſhew no ſign to the generation of the *phariſees*."

In this ſhort note, Dr. *Wall* ſeems to allude to what Dr. *Bentley* had ſaid, more at large, in his *ſermons at Boyle's lectures, Serm.* 6. towards the begining.

This, to ſome, may appear to be a curious ſubject. But it is not an empty ſpeculation. Dr. *Bentley* has touched upon it, by the by; but has not exhauſted it. And I know not of any other author, that has wrote upon it.

I. "Let us ſuppoſe this to be fact, that St. PAUL did not work "any miracle at *Athens*. There might be ſeveral good reaſons offer- "ed for ſuch a conduct."

(1.) Our bleſſed lord himſelf, who had the ſpirit without meaſure, and could work miracles, when, and where, ever, he thought proper, did not ſee fit to work miracles, at all times, and in all places.

We have five inſtances upon record, in the four goſpels, of our lord's refuſeing to work a miracle, even when it was deſired. The *firſt* inſtance, is, that recorded, Matt. xii. 38, &c. "Then certain "of the *ſcribes* and *phariſees* anſwered, ſaying, *we would ſee a ſign* "[or miracle] *from you.*" But *Jeſus* would not gratifie them, in

that requeſt. He knew the hearts of all men; and with what diſpoſition thoſe *ſcribes* and *phariſees* deſired him to work another miracle. It was not from a deſire of farther evidence of his divine miſſion, or that they might be rationally convinced of the truth of his doctrine: but from perverſneſſe and obſtinacy, a cavilling temper, or a light and wanton curioſity. The miracles, which he had already worked, in great numbers, were either denied, diſregarded, or moſt maliciouſly aſcribed to a confœderacy with evil ſpirits. And all the evidence, ariſeing from them, was ſet aſide, as of no force or validity. Our lord, therefore, very juſtly refuſed, at their requeſt, to work any other miracle: and refered to his own reſurrection, as the grand, confirming, evidence of his divine miſſion. A *ſecond* inſtance, of the ſame kind, may be found, Matt. xvi. 1, &c. Mark viii. 11, &c. where the ſame ſort of men, the *phariſees*, were joined with ſome of the oppoſite ſect of the *ſadducees*. And they are ſaid to have come, and tempted him, deſireing "that he would ſhow them a ſign [or miracle] from heaven." *Jeſus* had, before that, worked miracles, almoſt without number, both by ſea and by land, in the fields and high-ways, in the ſynagogues, in the wilderneſſe, in villages and larger towns. But they pretended they ſtill wanted evidence: and deſired a ſign from heaven; that ſign, perhaps, mentioned, Dan. vii. 13, 14. of the [*meſſiah*, or] ſon of man's comeing in the clouds of heaven, to take upon him univerſal dominion. But the time was not yet come, for his takeing poſſeſſion of all power, both in heaven and upon earth. And our lord, in his anſwer, intimated that they had evidence enough, and were ſufficiently capable of judgeing, if they had not been perverſe, and determined not to ſubmit, and become his diſciples. There is a *third* inſtance of our ſavior's refuſeing to gratifie the perverſe and cavilling *jews*, who, again, wanted to ſee *a ſign from heaven*. Luke xi. 16; 29, &c. But, as the caſe was pretty much the ſame with the former; our lord's anſwer was nearly the ſame, alſo. —— A *fourth* inſtance is our lord's refuſeing to gratifie the *Nazarenes*. [Matt. xiii. 54, &c. Mark vi. 1, &c.] But the temper of the *Nazarenes* will fairly account for that. *Jeſus* had been educated at *Nazareth*, from about two years old to thirty. After he was baptized, and filled with the holy ſpirit, he began to preach, and to work miracles; for that purpoſe, going about, throughout all *Galilee*, *Judæa*, *Jeruſalem*, and even to ſome parts of *Samaria*. By ſuch methods, he acquired the reputation of an extraordinary prophet. After that, he returned to *Nazareth*, where he had been educated. And going (according to

cuſ-

cuſtom) into the ſynagogue, on the ſabbath-day, he ſtood up, to read the ſcriptures; (which any jew might do, at the requeſt, or by the permiſſion, of the rulers of the ſynagogue;) and, haveing read a paſſage, in the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, he intimated to them, that that was a prædiction concerning himſelf; and he went on to diſcourſe, in that admirable manner, that the eyes of the whole congregation were intenſely fixed upon him. And they all bore witneſſe to the gracious words, which proceded out of his mouth. But, though they applauded his doctrine and eloquence, yet they rejected him, for that very reaſon, which ſhould have led them to have received him; *namely*, becauſe they had known him from a child, were acquainted with his relations and friends, and were ſure that he had had no learned education. *Jeſus* knew them thoroughly, and ſpoke to their thoughts, when he ſaid, "You will, I know, be apt to apply "to me this proverb, *Phyſician, heal thyſelf*; that is, *work as many* "*and as great miracles, among us, your own townſmen and neighbors*; "*as you have done, in other towns and villages.* But I know your "perverſneſſe; and that you will not then acknowlege my divine "miſſion, nor receive my doctrine. As, therefore, there were many "poor widows, in *Iſrael*, in the days of *Elijah*. And that prophet "was ſent to relieve onely one of them, dureing a long and grievous "famine. And, as, in the times of *Eliſha*, there were many le-"prous perſons, in *Iſrael*; and yet he was not allowed to cure any "of them by miracle, though GOD inabled him, miraculouſly, to "cure *Naaman* the *Syrian*. So, though I have worked miracles, in "other places, where I had a proſpect of doing good; yet, as I "know there is no ſuch proſpect among you, I do not think it "proper to comply with your requeſt." Upon this, the people of *Nazareth* preſently diſcovered that *Jeſus* knew their hearts. For, when they had heard theſe things, they were filled with wrath. And the whole congregation unanimouſly roſe up, at once; ſeized upon *Jeſus*: and, in a violent manner, hurried him out of the ſynanagogue, with a deſign to throw him down the præcipice of that hill, on which their town ſtood. And they would certainly, in that manner, have put him to death; if *Jeſus* had not, ſuddenly, rendered himſelf inviſible: and ſo paſſed through the midſt of them, without being diſcerned. And thus, by working that one miracle, he, for the preſent, eſcaped out of their hands. [*See Luke* iv. 16, *&c.*] From that time, *Jeſus* moved his ſtated habitation. And, leaveing *Nazareth*, he ſettled, not many miles from them, at the town of *Capernaum*; where he met with a much better reception.

There,

There, and in all the neighboring towns and villages, he continued to preach, and work miracles. Whereby the inhabitants of *Nazareth* had frequent opportunities of hearing of his fame; or of attending upon his diſcourſes, and beholding his miracles, if they had pleaſed: — though he did not now reſide among them, nor as yet return to them. It is reckoned to have been above a year, ſince he had been at *Nazareth*, and they had attempted his life. So long a time did he graciouſly afford them, to cool and repent; to lay aſide their anger and criminal præjudices. And, if they had had a ſincere love of truth, he now afforded them another opportunity for the reception of it. For he returned to *Nazareth*; and, going into the ſynagogue, on the ſabbath-day, he again began to teach them the doctrine of life and ſalvation, But they, immediately, diſcovered the ſame narrow, envious, and præjudiced ſpirit; the ſame hardneſſe of heart, and perverſe turn of mind, as before. For, though they were aſtoniſhed at his learning and wiſdom: yet, as they had known *Joſeph*, the carpenter, his reputed father; and ſtill knew his other relations, who were poor people in that town; they could not be perſuaded to attend to his doctrine; neither did they regard the evidence of his divine miſſion, which aroſe from the miracles, worked by him, in all the neighboring towns and villages. Upon which, *Jeſus* declared again, as he had done before, "that a prophet is, no where, ſo little eſteemed, as among his own countrymen and old acquaintance." And, then, the evangeliſt adds, that *he did not do many mighty works, there; becauſe of their unbelief.* Which is thus expreſſed, Mark vi. 5, 6. *namely*, "that there *he could do* no mighty "works; ſave that he laid his hands upon a few ſick folks, and "healed them." The word [*cannot*] is often uſed for [*will not*,] both in ſacred and profane writers. And St. Mark moſt evidently means, that our lord *could not*, conſiſtently with his wiſdom and goodneſſe; or he did not *chooſe* it; becauſe he knew, it could anſwer no good end. For, it is plane, St. *Mark* thought that *Jeſus* did not want *power:* in as much as he has mentioned his working ſome few miracles there, at this very time.

The *fifth* and laſt inſtance of this kind, is recorded, Luke xxiii. 8, &c. For our lord would not gratifie *Herod Antipas*, who wanted to ſee him work a miracle. And whoever conſiders the character of that governor, as given briefly in the new teſtament, and more at large by *Joſephus*, will not be at a loſſe to account for our ſavior's conduct towards him. He had married the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia petræa*; and lived with her, a conſiderable time. Then he

he married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, whileſt his brother was ſtill alive. *John the baptiſt*, whom the *jews* in general looked upon, as a prophet, reproved him freely, for his adultery, and inceſt, and other flagrant crimes. Which touched his conſcience, but did not reform him. *Herodias* was exaſperated, and ſtudied revenge. And, by her, was *Herod* prevailed upon, to throw *John the baptiſt* into priſon, and afterwards to cut off his head. Some meſſengers, alſo, had come, once, to *Jeſus*; to order him to depart out of *Herod*'s dominions, and threaten him with death, if he did not. [Luke xiii. 31, &c.] In anſwer to which, our lord ſent this meſſage, "Go, "tell that fox, [that crafty and cruel man,] Behold, I caſt out dæ- "mons, and perform miraculous cures, to day and to-morrow. "And, the third day, I ſhall be perfected; [or have perfectly fi- "niſhed my preſent work, within the dominions of *Herod*.] But, "it is not in his power to put me to death. For I am to die a "violent death, at *Jeruſalem*; whither the power and dominion of "*Herod* does not extend." When, therefore, after all this, *Pontius Pilate* ſent *Jeſus* to *Herod*, and *Herod* wanted to ſee ſome miracle done by him; it is no wonder that our lord would not work any miracle, for ſuch a man, and upon ſuch an occaſion. *Jeſus* thoroughly knew the man, and his character. He knew that he had no inclination to become his diſciple; nor would *Herod* regard any miracle, as an evidence of his divine miſſion. — And *Herod* and his ſoldiers, preſently, manifeſted that *Jeſus* had not judged amiſſe. For they inſolently mocked and derided him, and treated him with great indignity and contempt.

OUR BLESSED LORD never refuſed the working of a miracle, at the requeſt of thoſe, who came to him, either for the ſake of conviction, or for relief for themſelves or their friends. But he, who could work miracles, whenever he pleaſed, conſtantly refuſed to exert that divine power, when there was no proſpect of proveing his miſſion, and ſpreading his doctrine.

(2.) Suppoſe St. *Paul* did work no miracle, at *Athens*, it ought carefully to be obſerved, "that the apoſtles could not work miracles, when, and where, ever they pleaſed."

If St. *Paul* could have miraculouſly cured him, he would ſcarcely have left *Trophimus* ſick at *Miletus*; [as we find he did, 2 Tim. iv. 20.] nor ſuffered *Epaphroditus* to be ſick, nigh unto death. [Philip. ii. 27.] And, inſtead of adviſeing *Timothy* to drink water no longer; but to make uſe of a little wine, becauſe of his ſickly conſtitution; St. PAUL would, moſt probably, have mended *Timothy*'s conſtitution;

ſtitution; and miraculouſly changed it into that of a robuſt and healthy man. If the apoſtles could have worked miracles at pleaſure, they would not, perhaps, have indured ſuch cruel treatment, as they met with; but would have cured themſelves, immediately, of their wounds and bruiſes; or rendered themſelves invulnerable, or incapable of being hurt; or have ſtruck their adverſaries dead, or otherwiſe diſabled them. But then we ſhould have wanted their great examples of patience and fortitude, and the ſtrong proofs of their integrity; which led them to face all danger, to ſuffer much, and even to undergo a violent death; rather than betray a good conſcience, or the chriſtian faith.

The divine wiſdom, by an impulſe of the ſpirit, directed the apoſtles, when and where they were to attempt the working of a miracle. And then the divine power always produced the effect. If, therefore, St. PAUL did work no miracle, at *Athens*, the divine wiſdom ſaw fit otherwiſe. And what has any body to object to that? There can be no imputation upon the apoſtle, on that account. Neither does it render his working miracles elſewhere, in the leaſt, ſuſpicious or doubtful. His conduct was reaſonable. And the miraculous power, which was granted him, was under the direction of divine wiſdom; which was perfectly right, and as it ſhould be.

*The apoſtles*, by the laying on of their hands, conveyed ſpiritual gifts and miraculous powers to their converts; but not what gifts and powers they pleaſed. No! *The ſpirit* divided unto every man, ſeverally, as he ſaw proper. *The apoſtles* might have been partial to ſome of their relations or friends; and could not have known what would have conduced moſt to the general good of the church, or of mankind. But *the ſpirit* knew exactly what gifts or powers were proper for every man, and what would be moſt for the general good. And the ſpirit could have no biaſſe to partiality, nor be guilty of any miſtake.

(3.) If an enemy to divine revelation ſhould object, and ſay, "*The* "*apoſtle* was afraid to attempt the working of a miracle, before per- "ſons of ſuch a ſifting, inquiſitive temper, and acute genius, as the "*Athenians*, for fear of being found out; and haveing the deluſion "expoſed. And, therefore, he very prudently declined ſuch an at- "tempt, at *Athens*. But, among more barbarous and ſtupid peo- "ple, he is repreſented as working miracles; becauſe they could "more eaſily be impoſed upon, by artifice and deluſions."

What has been ſaid might furniſh us with a ſatisfactorie anſwer to ſuch an objection. The miracles, aſcribed to the *apoſtles*, were no frauds

frauds nor deluſions. But the divine wiſdom did not ſee fit to gratifie captious and obſtinate perſons; nor indulge ſuch as wanted to ſee miracles, out of a light and wanton curioſity. Where their divine miſſion could be confirmed, and the doctrine ſpread, there miracles were worked; but not otherwiſe. Now, it is well known that the *Athenians* were a vane and conceited, a light and trifleing, ſett of people. This was their general character[c]. And, in the xviith chapter of the Acts of the apoſtles, it is the very picture of them. When the apoſtle reaſoned, in the moſt ſober and juſt manner, ſome of them laughed at him. Others ſaid, "What would this babler ſay?" And, when he had proceeded, as far as their vanity and perverſneſſe would allow him, others ſaid, with a remarkable careleſſneſſe and indifference of mind, "We will hear thee, upon this point, at ſome other time." But we do not find that they made any farther inquiry after him, or his doctrine. They vanely phanſied that they had ingroſſed all the valuable knowlege in the world; and that all other people were barbarous and ignorant. The goſpel-doctrine might be true, or falſe. But they looked upon it as an empty ſpeculation, which it was not worth their while to examine. Among ſuch a people, it is no wonder, if the divine wiſdom did not ſee fit to effect any miracle. It would have been *caſting pearls before ſwine*; exerting an extraordinary power to convince ſuch as did not want to be convinced.

## SECT. II.

Thus far I have argued, upon a ſuppoſition that St. PAUL did work no miracles at *Athens*. But, from St. *Luke's* ſilence, in *the Acts of the apoſtles*, it does not follow that St. PAUL worked no miracles there. For, Acts xvi. 6. there is no account of St. PAUL's preaching, or working miracles, as he paſſed through *Galatia*, at this time. But, from Acts xviii. 23. it appears that chriſtianity was planted among the *Galatians*, in that firſt journey, mentioned Acts xvi. 6. For, when St. PAUL and his companions came, a ſecond time, into that country, *they confirmed the churches*; or ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed ſuch as were already chriſtians. And, though there is no account, in either of theſe two places, of miracles being



[c] See what *Gregorie Nazianzene* has ſaid, concerning the whimſical, light, and pragmatical, manners of the *Athenian* people; but, more eſpecially, of the young ſtudents, or academicians; and of the profeſſors, or ſophiſts, there. [*Vid. Gregor. Nazianzen. orat.* 20. *p.* 327, 328.]

wrought in *Galatia*; yet, from Gal. iii. 2; 5. it is evident, St. PAUL had wrought miracles among them, and confered upon them ſpiritual gifts and miraculous powers. Again; Acts xvii. 1, &c. St. LUKE has taken no notice of St. PAUL's working any miracles at *Theſſalonica*. And yet, [1 Theſſ. i. 5.] St. PAUL planely intimates that he had worked miracles there. In the hiſtory of St. PAUL's planting the goſpel, at *Corinth*, [Acts xviii. 1, &c.] there is no intimation of his working any miracle, nor of his confering the holy ſpirit, upon any of the chriſtians, there. Whereas; whoever carefully reads *the two epiſtles to the Corinthians*, will find, that that church abounded with ſpiritual gifts and miraculous powers, which St. PAUL had confered upon them. [*See particularly* 1 Cor. xii. xiii. *and* xiv^th^ *chapters.*] From theſe obſervations, it may appear, that St. PAUL might work one, or more, miracles, at *Athens*; and yet St. *Luke* take no notice of it, in *the Acts of the apoſtles*. The caſe was this; the ſacred writers wrote books for the uſe of mankind in general. And, therefore, they ſtudied brevity; and mentioned no miracles, but what were either remarkable in themſelves, in their circumſtances, or in their conſequences. Accordingly, in the four goſpels, there is a particular account of ſuch remarkable miracles. But, as to other miracles, it is ſaid only, in general terms, that JESUS worked great numbers of miracles; that whole countries brought in their ſick and diſeaſed, from the diſtance of many miles, on every ſide; and he miraculouſly cured them all. Where the miracles were of the ſame kind with thoſe worked frequently, and attended with no remarkable circumſtances, nor conſequences, there they are mentioned only in general, or paſſed over in ſilence. Juſt ſo it is again, in *the acts of the apoſtles*; as any one will diſcern, who reads that hiſtory with attention, and compares one part of it with another; and the whole with the ſeveral apoſtolic epiſtles. It will not, therefore, be granted, unto any one that makes this objection, "that St. PAUL did not work any miracle at *Athens*; — merely, becauſe St. *Luke* hath not mentioned that fact."

There are two things, which very much induce me to think that St. PAUL did work ſome miracles at *Athens*. (1.) It was his uſual cuſtom, by the laying on of his hands, to impart ſome ſpiritual gifts, or miraculous powers, to his converts, wherever he came. And St. *Luke* has told us, Acts xvii. 34. that he made ſome few converts there. Now, imparting ſuch gifts and powers was itſelf a very great miracle.

But it may be argued farther, that, in order to convert thoſe few perſons, it was neceſſary that St. PAUL ſhould have given them

them ſome ſatisfactorie proofs of his apoſtolic miſſion; which he could hardly have done, without working ſome miracles. They might, indeed, have heard of his working miracles elſewhere. But that was not ſuch full and ſatisfactorie evidence, as the beholding a miracle with their own eyes. A favor, which, in the days of the apoſtles might be expected!

(2.) We learn, from the *fathers*, that there was a chriſtian church, at *Athens*, for ſome ages after. And *Origen*, in his *book againſt Celſus*, [book 3. p. 128, 129. of *Spencer's edition*, in 4to.] compares the *chriſtians* with the *heathens* of that city; and ſhows how much the former excelled the latter, in piety and virtue. *Quadratus*, alſo, promoted chriſtianity, at *Athens*; being conſtituted biſhop of the chriſtian church there, after the martyrdom of *Publius*, their former biſhop[d].

Now, from theſe things, it may planely appear that St. PAUL had done more towards planting chriſtianity, and cauſeing it to take root, at *Athens*, than is mentioned, in the brief hiſtory of what he ſaid and did there, Acts xvii. 15, &c.

## SECT. III.

It may not be improper to make ſome obſervations upon what has been ſaid.

1. How much does a vane, conceited, temper of mind cut off all improvements in knowlege and virtue? *Lord Shafteſbury* [in his *characteriſtics*, *vol.* i. p. 30.] ſais, "I believe our great and learned "apoſtle found leſſe advantage, from the eaſie treatment of his *A*-"*thenian* antagoniſts, than from the moſt ſurly and curſt ſpirit of "the moſt perſecuteing, *jewiſh* cities." In not perſecuteing the apoſtle, the *Athenians*, certainly, acted right. But, it cannot be to their honor, that they were ſo *eaſie*, as to be indifferent to ſuch important truths, as the goſpel contains. If, in other cities, upon their bearing perſecution with patience and a remarkable fortitude, the *apoſtles* and their aſſiſtents were more attended to; there was nothing wonderful, nor unreaſonable, in that. But, if they had met with no perſecution, any where, ſuch is the nature of the goſpel-doctrine, and ſuch evidence attended their divine miſſion, that, among perſons of



[d] For an account of *Quadratus*, ſee *Euſebius* his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, book 4. chap. 23. at the begining. Dr. *Lardner*'s credibility of the goſpel-hiſtory, part 2d. chap. 28. near the begining.

inquireing and well-diſpoſed minds, chriſtianity would, nevertheleſs have made it's way in the world.

*The Athenians* were, indeed, continually inquireing after ſomething new and ſtrange. Some new notions, ſome philoſophical ſpeculations, pleaſed them for a while. But theſe gave way to ſome other; and ſo on. Their philoſophy had little, or no, influence upon their morals, or upon common life. How few of them inquired after truth, with a view to retain it, and to improve in manly virtue and ſubſtantial piety? They deſpiſed men of other nations; eſpecially ſuch as were not profeſſ'd philoſophers. Some of the *Athenians* cried out, "What would this babler ſay?" Why! if they had not been ſo vane and præjudiced, they might have heard him deliver truths of the laſt importance; ſufficient to check their pride and inſolence, and to lead them to knowlege of a much ſuperior kind, to any, which they had among them. But, being indifferent to all that he had to offer; ſo *eaſie* and indolent, as not to care whether his doctrine was true or falſe; they paid little regard to that divine meſſenger. They had determined before-hand, and phanſied that he could add nothing to their knowlege. Such an arrogant people might be expected to treat the apoſtle with contempt and indifference, and even to ſlight the great doctrine of ſalvation and eternal life.

Men of high rank and great eſtates are apt to heir their inferiors with an air of ſuperiority. Men of a learned education are apt to ſlight even men of genius, who have not had their advantages. Whereas; the high-borne and the rich are not always the moſt knowing. And a liberal education does not always render men more valuable to ſociety, than perſons of great ſagacity, whoſe education has been leſſe advantageous or liberal.

In the education of youth, peculiar care ſhould be taken to check this temper of conceit and vanity. And a fairneſſe and candor of mind, a love of truth and openneſſe to conviction, ſhould be often and earneſtly, recommended, as neceſſary to improvement in uſeful knowlege and ſolid virtue. They ſhould be taught, that a good genius, in the pooreſt perſon, deſerves regard; that learning alſo, when joined with good ſenſe and virtue, is an unſpeakable bleſſing; that a wiſe man will learn, all he can, from young or old, rich or poor, friend or enemy; from his own country-men, or from foreigners; from one of his own, or of a different, party. But, by pride, men contract a certain narrowneſſe of mind. And a cavilling youth ſeldom proves a wiſe man. A careleſſneſſe and indifference about

bout truth and falſhood, good and evil, prevents men's makeing a progreſſe in uſeful knowlege and true goodneſſe. He, who loves truth, and imbraces it, wherever he finds it, walks with his eyes open. But the vane and conceited walk with their eyes ſhut, and fall into deſtruction. It is really a very unhappy thing, when men, from a love of this world, or a ſort of philoſophical pride, grow thus conceited; and become cold and indifferent about virtue and religion, good and evil. And I wiſh I could ſay, that this was not, in ſome degree, the prævailing turn of our age and nation.

(2.) It is eaſie to obſerve with what decency and propriety St. PAUL behaved at *Athens*; as he did, every where elſe.

From their haveing an altar inſcribed, *To the unknown God*, he took occaſion to preach, among them, *the true* GOD, whoſe nature and perfections were, in a great meaſure, *unknown*, at *Athens*. From the works of creation and providence, he proved the being, and pointed out the perfections, of the one true GOD, who made heaven and earth; to which none of their *idol-gods* could lay any claim. He did not argue with the *Athenians*, from *the law of Moſes*, nor from *the jewiſh prophets*, with which they were not acquainted; but from the viſible works of creation and providence. And, after he had proved the being, and pointed out the perfections, of the one true GOD, he was ſlideing into the article, which is fundamental to chriſtianity; *namely*, "that *Jeſus* is conſtituted lord and judge of all." And *that* he was going to prove, from the miracles of *Jeſus*; and particularly from his riſeing again from the dead. But the conceited audience would hear no more. Upon the very mention of the reſurrection from the dead, ſome of them laughed. Others, with a careleſſe air, ſaid, "Some time or other, they would hear him again, upon that ſubject." But there is no intimation of their doing ſo; nor of their inquireing, any farther, after him, or his doctrine. And the *apoſtle*, obſerveing the ſpirit of the people, did not make a long ſtay there. He knew, it would be to little purpoſe. And, therefore, he went to other places, where there was a proſpect of doing more good.

(3.) It is the planeſt indication of the great modeſty of the ſacred writers; that inſtead of inlargeing, or takeing all occaſions to expatiate, upon the miracles, which were actually worked, they have contented themſelves with giveing a particular account of ſome few. Others they have mentioned, onely in general terms. And others, again, they have, with deſign, paſſed over, in profound ſilence.

And

And have given no intimation, in their hiſtory, that they were ed at all.

(4, *Laſtly*,) With what admirable propriety is the ſacred committed to writeing?

*Books*, that are ſhort, are ſoon read. And, thereby, adap the circumſtances of the bulk of mankind. They, that lab their bread; or that are ingaged in buſineſſe, have not time t large books. Accordingly; the books of ſcripture, which were de-ſigned for general uſe, are ſhort and conciſe.

If St. PAUL did work any miracles, at *Athens*, (as I am inclined to think he did) St. *Luke* did not think fit to mention it. Becauſe he had taken particular notice of his working miracles elſewhere. And, if any miracles were worked at *Athens*, they were of the ſame nature, with thoſe done in other places. And, conſequently, could afford no new obſervations; eſpecially as they were not attended with any remarkable circumſtances, or effects. They, therefore, were, with great propriety, paſſed over in ſilence. And the general good conſulted, by ſuch conciſeneſſe.

Theſe proprieties, in the behavior of the apoſtle, and in the manner of writeing the ſacred hiſtory, are here mentioned, with a view to excite in men a greater love to the ſcriptures, to cauſe them to read them more frequently, and with greater delight; to ſtrengthen the faith of chriſtians, and promote their holineſſe; and thereby præpare them, more and more, for the mercy of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto everlaſting life. Amen!

*The end of the* ESSAY.

APPEN-

# APPENDIX

## NUMB. III.

### *A* DISSERTATION *on St.* Paul's *reproveing St.* Peter, *for his behavior at* Antioch. *With a view, more particularly, to rectifie the miſtakes of Dr.* Conyers Middleton, *in his* curſory reflections *on this ſubject.*

THE hiſtory of the behavior of St. *Peter*, at *Antioch*, and of St. *Paul*'s reproveing him for it, is recorded, by St. *Paul* himſelf, Gal. ii. 11, &c. and in no other part of the new teſtament.

St. *Paul*'s words are, *But, when Peter came to Antioch, I withſtood him to the face: becauſe he was to be blamed. For, before that certain men came, from James, he did eat with the gentiles. But, when they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf; fearing them, who were of the circumciſion. And the other jews diſſembled, likewiſe, with him: inſomuch that Barnabas, alſo, was carried away with their diſſimulation. But, when I ſaw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the goſpel, I ſaid unto Peter, before them all,* "*If thou, being a jew, liveſt after the manner of the gentiles, and* "*not as do the jews; why compelleſt thou the gentiles to live as do the* "*jews? &c.*"

### SECT. I.

For about ſeven or eight years after our lord's aſcenſion, the goſpel was preached to none, but unto the *jews* onely. Even St. *Peter* was ſo much averſe to the preaching it, to any *gentile*; that he was, with difficulty, prævailed upon, to undertake it, by the viſion of the ſheet, let down from heaven, in which there appeared all ſorts of creatures, clean or unclean, according to the law of *Moſes*. And a voice, from heaven, came, along with the viſion, ſaying unto him, "Riſe, *Peter*,

*ter*, kill and eat, of any of theſe creatures, without any difference, or diſtinction." [Acts x. 1, &c.] *Cornelius*, alſo, at *Cæſarea*, had the viſion of an angel, who directed him to ſend for St. *Peter*, who was then at *Joppa*. Moreover; St. *Peter*, himſelf, had an expreſſe order, from the ſpirit, to go along with the meſſengers of *Cornelius*. And, when he was come to *Cæſarea*, and into the houſe of *Cornelius*; and began to preach the goſpel to him, and to his friends, who were uncircumciſed *gentiles*; the holy ſpirit fell down, from heaven, upon thoſe devout gentiles; ſo that they immediately ſpoke a variety of languages, and magnified GOD. All theſe things convinced St. *Peter* that they had a right to chriſtian baptiſm, as well as the *jewiſh* converts. And he, accordingly, ordered that they ſhould be baptized, with water, in the name of the *lord Jeſus*, in whom they now believed. — But, when he went up, from *Cæſarea*, to *Jeruſalem*, the zeleous jewiſh chriſtians, there, chid him ſeverely, for what he had done. And St. *Peter*, to clear himſelf, related the evidences, which he had had, of it's being the will of GOD, that he ſhould do what he had done; *namely*, the viſion of the ſheet, to him; the viſion of an angel, to *Cornelius*; the order of the ſpirit, to go along with the meſſengers of *Cornelius*; and the effuſion of the ſpirit upon *Cornelius* and his friends. — Theſe things put them to ſilence, for the preſent. But this controverſie broke out again, afterwards, with more violence. And occaſioned many and warm contentions, among the *chriſtians* of that age.

The perſecution, which aroſe, againſt the chriſtians, about the time of St. *Stephen*'s martyrdom, cauſed them to leave *Jeruſalem*, and flee to diſtant places. Some of them went to *Phœnicia*; others, to the iſland *Cyprus*; and others, to *Antioch* in *Syria*. But they preached the goſpel, to none, but unto the *jews*. However; when St. *Peter* had opened the door of faith unto the *gentiles*, ſome of the diſperſed chriſtians followed his example, and preached the goſpel to the devout *gentiles*; particularly, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*; and made a great number of converts among them. But *Paul* and *Barnabas* went thither; and much increaſed their number. [Acts xi. 1, &c.]

Some years after this, ſome of the zeleous *jewiſh* chriſtians went down, from *Judæa*, to *Antioch*; and taught the *gentile* converts, there; " that, unleſſe they would be circumciſed, and obſerve *the* " *law of Moſes*, [as well as *the goſpel of Chriſt*,] they could not be " ſaved." That occaſioned the apoſtolic decree; of which we have

ſaid

ſaid ſo much, in the firſt and ſecond volumes of this hiſtory; eſpecially upon Acts xv. 1, &c.

According to the beſt chronologers, it was ſoon after the apoſtolic decree was agreed upon, by the *apoſtles*, *elders*, and *brethren*, that *Peter* went down, from *Jeruſalem*, to *Antioch*. And this is confirmed, by his meeting with the two apoſtles of the *gentiles*, there. For, ſoon after this, they parted company, and went on ſeparate peregrinations. [Acts xv. 35, &c.] Perhaps, the leading apoſtle of the circumciſion had a mind to go, and ſee, with his own eyes, how matters went, in that conſiderable church of *gentile* chriſtians, lately planted at *Antioch*. But his behavior, there, was not ſuch as the great apoſtle of the gentiles could approve. For, tho' there had, lately, been a ſharp contention, between the *jewiſh* and *gentile* converts. And the queſtion had been determined, in favor of the *gentile* chriſtians, who were to be acknowleged as *brethren*, without any farther regard, than formerly, to *jewiſh* cuſtoms, or to the law of *Moſes*. And St. *Peter* himſelf had had a great hand, in bringing about that determination: yet, for all that, his behavior, at *Antioch*, in ſome meaſure, tended to betray the liberty of the gentile chriſtians; and appeared, as if it had been his opinion, that they were not taken into full communion with the *jewiſh* converts. For, before that ſome zeleous *jewiſh* chriſtians came, from *James*, (the onely *apoſtle*, then, at *Jeruſalem*,) St. *Peter* did eat, and freely converſe, with the *gentile* chriſtians, as perſons taken into full communion with the *jewiſh* converts; and ſet upon a level with them, in the chriſtian church. But, when thoſe zeleots were come, he acted, as if he had been aſhamed of what he had done, or as deſireous to concele it. For he withdrew, from ſuch familiar ſociety with the *gentile* chriſtians; and kept at a diſtance from them; as if they had been ſtill *unclean*; and unfit for the familiar and free converſation of ſuch as had been *jews*. And, by his great example, many others of the leſſe bigotted *jewiſh* chriſtians diſſembled, likewiſe. In ſo much that even *Barnabas*, alſo, one of *the apoſtles of the gentiles*, was carried away with the diſſimulation: very probably, through that eaſineſſe of temper, which was natural to him. St. *Peter* remembered how ſharply the *jewiſh* chriſtians, at *Jeruſalem*, had reprimanded him, for going, and eating with *Cornelius*, and his friends, at *Cæſarea*, when he firſt preached to uncircumciſed *gentiles*.

He might, therefore, perhaps, take this method, in order to prevent ſuch another cenſure. Nay; St. *Paul* aſſureth us, that St. *Peter* did it, becauſe he was afraid of the *jewiſh* chriſtians. But *the great*

*apoſtle of the gentiles*, who was no way inferior to St. *Peter*, nor *one whit behind the chief of the apoſtles*, when he ſaw that he walked not uprightly, nor according to the truth and ſincerity of the goſpel; but, in effect, betrayed the liberty of the gentile converts, he withſtood St. *Peter* to his face, and publicly reproved him. For he was really blame-worthy. St. *Paul* was afraid leſt the behavior of St. *Peter* ſhould renew the diſpute, which had, lately, been ſo amicably determined, at *Jeruſalem*. And, therefore, he, before them all, reproved St. *Peter*, in the following manner; "If you, "ſaid he, who are a *jewiſh* convert, yourſelf, take the liberty, ſome- "times, to live after the manner of the *gentiles*; and freely eat, and "familiarly converſe, with them; laying aſide thoſe rules and cuſ- "toms, which the *jews* generally obſerve; why do not you always "do ſo, among them? Why do you tempt the *gentile* converts to "conform to *jewiſh* cuſtoms, as neceſſary to full communion with "*jewiſh* chriſtians? This will, very probably, be the unhappy con- "ſequence of your withdrawing yourſelf, publicly, from the *gen-* "*tile* converts, as *unclean*, or unfit for your familiar converſation. "We, who are *jews* by birth, as well as *religion*; and not of the "race of the *gentiles*, whom our nation has hitherto reckoned ſo "wicked and polluted: — We, I ſay, of the holy ſeed of the *jews*, "have found that a man, ſubject to *the law of Moſes*, cannot be "juſtified, but by the method propoſed in the goſpel. And, there- "fore, *we* have imbraced *chriſtianity*; that we might be juſtified by "*faith* in CHRIST; and not by the *deeds* of the *law of Moſes*. For, "by the deeds of that *law*, no fleſh ſhall be juſtified. But, if, after "we have ſought juſtification by the *goſpel-method*, we muſt have "recourſe to the *law* again, we are ſtill but where we were, with- "out the goſpel; *that is*, ſiners, under condemnation. Is the *goſ-* "*pel-method*, then, inſufficient to juſtifie and ſave us? Or is JESUS "CHRIST the miniſter of ſin, to condemn men, as the *law* did? "*God forbid!* And yet this muſt, certainly, be the caſe. If I, who "have quitted the *law of Moſes*, to put myſelf under the *goſpel*, "ſhould, again, put myſelf under the *law*, I make myſelf a tranſ- "greſſor. I reaſſume the guilt of all my former tranſgreſſions; "from which, by that *law*, I cannot be juſtified. And, when you "build again the wall of partition, to hedge in the *jews*, and keep "out the *gentiles*; which wall you yourſelf firſt broke down; do "not you deſtroy your own works? Do not you repreſent theſe *gen-* "*tiles*, as ſtill polluted and unclean? Even though GOD has ſhown "you, a little while ago, not to account any man *polluted*, or un-

"fit

" fit for your ſociety and converſation? By the tenor of the *law of*
" *Moſes* itſelf, I, by imbraceing *chriſtianity*, am diſcharged from
" *that law*, that I might be appropriated unto GOD; and live ac-
" ceptably unto him, in his ſpiritual kingdom, which he hath now
" ſet up, under *his ſon*. I, as a member of CHRIST's body, am
" crucified with him. But, though I am, thereby, dead to the
" law, I nevertheleſſe live. Yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me.
" *That is*, the life, which I now live in the fleſh, is upon no other
" principle, nor according to any other *law*, but that of *faith* in *the*
" *ſon of* GOD, who loved me, and gave himſelf for me. In ſo do-
" ing, I avoid fruſtrateing the favor, which GOD has manifeſted in
" the *goſpel*. For, if juſtification, or acceptance with GOD, come
" by *the law of Moſes*; then CHRIST is dead, and the *goſpel* reveled,
" in vane."

This was St. *Paul*'s reproof of St. *Peter*'s cowardly behavior; which well deſerved a reproof. And, to the honor of St. *Peter*, let it be obſerved, that it does not appear, but that he humbly acquieſced, and did not reſent that honeſt freedom of St. *Paul*, but took it kindly. This may be gathered from 2 Pet. iii. 15. where he ſtyles St. PAUL, *his beloved brother*; recommends his epiſtles; and intimates that there was a perfect harmony, and good underſtanding, between them. — Now, what is there, in all this, ſo very ſtrange and unreaſonable?

However; a great clamor has been raiſed, from this remarkable paſſage, againſt the character of theſe two apoſtles. And Dr. *Conyers Middleton* has not leſſened the clamor, nor abated the difficulties, in his *curſory reflections*, &c. Perhaps, ſome readers may imagine that he has done a great deal towards increaſeing both.

## SECT. II.

*Dr. Middleton* obſerves, that, from the earlieſt ages of the church, this ſtory has been a conſtant topic of raillery " to the ſceptics and
" unbelievers. *Porphyry*, the old enemy of our religion, has taken
" occaſion from it, to charge *Paul*, with aſſumeing falſely, to him-
" ſelf, the merit of facts, which never really happened, in order to
" extoll his own character, and depreſſe *Peter*'s, out of envy to
" his more eminent virtues. Or, allowing the fact to be true, to
" accuſe *Paul*, of inſolence and raſhneſſe, in reproveing his ſuperior,
" for a compliance, of which he himſelf was notoriouſly guilty. Or,
" *laſtly*, to impute to both theſe great apoſtles, a levity, incon-

" ſtancy, and weakneſſe of mind; which betrayed them into a c[illegible]
" duct, unworthy of their ſacred character [a]."

Upon this, I would make the following remarks, (1.) That [illegible] does not wonder that an apoſtate from chriſtianity, and one of ſu[illegible] effrontery, and cankered malice againſt the goſpel, ſhould give [illegible]t. PAUL the lye: and charge him " with aſſumeing, to himſelf, [illegible] merit of facts, which never really happened." But St. PAUL [illegible] not given to tell lyes; though *Porphyry* has been branded, as takei[illegible] great liberties of that kind. And, as to the very inſtance, now before us; how did *Porphyry* know, that thoſe facts did never really happen. He was not borne, 'till about the year of Chriſt 232. And, therefore, came into the world too late, for haveing any perſonal knowlege of the affair. If he had had any counter-hiſtory, he would not have failed to have publiſhed it. In ſhort, he knew nothing of the matter, but what he learned, from St. PAUL's epiſtle to the *Galatians*. And, beſides the argument from St. PAUL's general character, as a perſon of known integrity, and the moſt ſtrict veracity; it is not probable, that St. PAUL would falſifie, in ſuch a particular, in an epiſtle, that was to be ſpread among the churches; and, which was likely enough, ſometime or other, to come into the hands of St. PETER. Nay; we may learn, from 2 *Pet.* iii. 15, 16. that St. *Peter* had read all St. *Paul*'s epiſtles; and, conſequently, that to the *Galatians*, among the reſt. And yet, inſtead of contradicting this fact, he ſtyled him *his beloved brother* PAUL: and recommended his epiſtles to the churches.

(2.) *Porphyry* could acknowlege *the more eminent virtues* of St. PETER, in order to depreſſe the character of St. PAUL. But he could have talked of *the more eminent virtues* of St. PAUL, if he had had a mind to have depreſſed the character of St. PETER. Or he could, with as grave a face, and as good a conſcience, have denied that either of them had any *eminent virtues*, or *any virtues*, at all. And " have allowed this fact, in order to accuſe St. PAUL with inſolence " and raſhneſſe, in reproveing his ſuperior, for a compliance, of " which he himſelf was notoriouſly guilty. Or have imputed unto both

[a] Locum dari *Porphyrio* blaſphemandi, ſi aut *Petrum* erraſſe, aut *Paulum* procaciter apoſtolorum principem confutaſſe credatur. [*Hieronym. comment. in epiſt. ad Galat. c.* 2.]

Ut blaſphemantis *Porphyrii* impudentiam coerceret, qui *Paulum* & *Petrum* puerili dicit inter ſe pugnaſſe certamine; immo, exarſiſſe *Paulum* in invidiam virtutum *Petri*; & ea ſcripſiſſe jactanter, quæ vel non fecerit; vel, ſi fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens, quod ipſe commiſerit. [*Hieronym.*]

" both theſe great *apoſtles*, a levity, inconſtancy, and weakneſſe of " mind; which betrayed them into a conduct, unworthy of their " ſacred character:" though *Porphyry* would have laughed at any one, who ſhould have believed that there was any thing *ſacred* in the character of either of them. In ſhort; he could have granted facts to be true, or aſſerted them to be falſe; forged hiſtory out of his own brains; or denied the truth of the moſt authentic hiſtory; juſt as would have conduced moſt to caſt aſperſions upon the apoſtles, or upon the goſpel of our bleſſed lord.

(3.) St. PAUL was not, himſelf, guilty of the ſame compliance; as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhow hereafter.

Dr. *Middleton*, who had not the higheſt veneration for the *fathers*, has given us the interpretation of ſome of the moſt eminent of them; and ſais, Theſe objections [of *Porphyry*'s] were thought ſo diſhonorable to *chriſtianity*, by ſome of the antient *fathers*, that many nice and ſubtile interpretations were invented, to evade the force of them. One of the firſt, which was applied to this purpoſe, in thoſe primitive ages, was the ſuppoſition of another perſon, of the name of *Cephas*, beſides the apoſtle; one of the ſeventy diſciples, eminent for his zele and piety; with whom PAUL had this diſpute. This is mentioned, by *Euſebius*, on the authority of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*[b]. And it is obſerved, by the critics, that, though we now find the name of PETER, in all our preſent copies of this text; yet many of them, in the firſt ages, had *Cephas*, in the place of it. For nothing could poſſibly, give birth to the hypotheſis above-mentioned; of a different perſon from the apoſtle, but the name of *Cephas*, in that place. Which was inſerted, probably, for that very reaſon, of ſilenceing the cavils of adverſaries[c].

But

[b] *Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſ.* l. i. c. 12.

[c] Vid. Mill. in loc.

It is not certain that *Cephas* was inſerted, in this place, in ſome antient copies, by deſign or contriveance; but merely as accidental, or a matter of indifference. For *Cephas* was his name, in *ſyriac*, or *ſyro-chaldaic*, as *Peter* was his name in *greek*. Both theſe words ſignifying a *ſtone*, or *rock*. Accordingly; the apoſtle PETER is called *Cephas*, John i. 43. 1 Cor. i. 12. and iii. 22. and ix. 5. and xv. 5. as well as in this chapter: *namely*, Galat. ii. 9. And I know of no body, that doubts of the words being uſed, for St. *Peter*, in the places now alleged. A perſon, diſpoſed to make evaſions, when he is preſſed with a difficulty, might as eaſily have ſaid that, allowing the preſent reading to be genuine, another *Peter* was intended, in this place, and not the apoſtle; as imagining the apoſtle *Peter* would not be guilty of ſuch an unworthy conduct.—But the one ſolution, or the other, would be intirely groundleſſe. For the judaizers, in the churches of *Galatia*, as well as elſewhere, would gladly have ſet up the authority of the leading apoſtles of the circumciſion, parti-

But the ſuppoſition of another *Cephas*, diſtinct from the apoſtle, of whom there was no mention in the goſpel, nor any authentic account in hiſtory, was an argument too precarious to ſatisfie men of judgement. For which reaſon, we find it diſclamed by ſome of the primitive *fathers*. "We know no other *Cephas*, ſais *Jerome*, "but him, who, in the goſpel and the epiſtles, is ſometimes called "*Cephas*, and ſometimes *Peter*. Both which names, the one *greek*, "the other *hebrew*, or *ſyriac*, are of the ſame import. And, if, "on the account of *Porphyry*'s blaſphemy, and leſt PETER ſhould "be

particularly of *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, againſt the authority of St. PAUL. And St. PAUL is, in this very chapter, ſhowing that there was no foundation for that inſinuation.

The antient *greek* copies, and the *greek* fathers, in general, read verſe the fifth, *To whom we gave place*, by ſubjection, no not for an hour. The old *latin* text, and the *latin* fathers, read, without the negative particle; *To whom we gave way, by yielding to them, for a ſeaſon.* This alteration is thought to have been made deſignedly, for two reaſons. (1.) They might, perhaps, reckon this laſt reading more ſuteable to the place, and connection; as if St. PAUL had deſigned to intimate, that, though he would not, at firſt, allow *Titus* to be circumciſed; yet, becauſe of certain zeleous *jewiſh* brethren, who had been privately introduced, he did make a temporary compliance. (2.) It is aſſerted to be "agreeable to fact, and to the real hiſtory "of St. PAUL's conduct. From which, it appears that he did actually comply, "on certain occaſions; and yield, for a time, to the præjudices of the *jews*, in or-"der to appeaſe their reſentment againſt him. [Acts xvi. 3. and xviii. 18. and "xxi. 26.] So that ſeveral of the antient *fathers* præfered this reading, and ſenſe, "of the text. But, after this contrariety between the *greek* and *latin* copies had "ſubſiſted, through the ſeven firſt centuries of the church, the authority of the "*greek* at laſt prevailed, as being conſonant to the general doctrine, and tenor, of "this epiſtle." To which arguments, I would anſwer, (1.) The authority of the antient *greek* copies is ſuperior to that of the old *latin* copies. (2.) It is more agreeable to the connection, and to the main ſcope of St. PAUL's argument, in this place, to read, with the negative particle, according to the common reading, [*To whom we gave place, by ſubjection; no, not for an hour.*] For St. PAUL is acquainting the churches in *Galatia*, how ſtrenuouſly he had always ſtood up for the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians, or their freedom from the *law of Moſes*. He was, indeed, very ready to oblige the ſcrupulous, that were honeſt. But we cannot ſuppoſe that he would be ſo ready to oblige *falſe brethren*, craftily crept in, among them, to ſpy out the liberty, granted unto the *gentile* churches; with a view to bring them into bondage to the ceremonial law. If he had yielded unto them, for one hour; they would ſoon have riſen in their demands, for a compliance of a longer duration, and of a more extenſive nature. St. PAUL, therefore, had the higheſt reaſon, for his vigorous oppoſition to ſuch ill-deſigning men; and for not yielding, in the leaſt, to them; no, not for one hour; "that the truth of the goſpel might continue with the *gentile* churches;" or that they might ſtrenuouſly ſtand up for their freedom from the *Moſaic law*. — And, with the ſame view, he intimates that he was ſo far from yielding, by ſubjection, to *jewiſh* chriſtians, of an inferior rank and order, that he oppoſed, and publicly reproved, St. PETER, himſelf, for ſome part of his conduct, which tended to betray the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians. (3.) St. PAUL never did make any ſuch compliance, as is here inſinuated. But of this, I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, hereafter.

" be thought to have erred, we muſt preſently feign another *Ce-*
*phas*, we ſhall have work enough upon our hands, in expungeing
" numberleſſe places of the holy ſcriptures; which he finds fault
with, becauſe he does not underſtand [d]."

*Chryſoſtome* ſhows, likewiſe, from the circumſtances of the fact itſelf, that it muſt have been the apoſtle PETER, who was concerned in it: becauſe no other perſon could have had authority enough, ſo draw the *jews*, and *Barnabas* alſo, into his party [e].

## SECT. III.

Dr. *Middleton* procedes thus; —Let us inquire, then, what were the ſentiments of theſe *fathers*, on this ſtory; and in what manner they interpreted it, in order to elude the calumnies of *Porphyry*.

*Chryſoſtome*, who makes it the ſubject of an homily, preached, by him, in that very city [of *Antioch*,] where it was tranſacted, takes great pains to ſhow, " that this ſeeming quarrel between the two
" apoſtles, was wholly feigned and diſſembled; and had been con-
" certed, beforehand, between them, with great art and prudence,
" for the ſake of the converted *jews*. For PETER, knowing that
" he ſhould give much ſcandal to thoſe, who came from *Jeruſa-*
" *lem*, as being more zeleous and ſtiff in their præjudices, than the
" *provincial jews*, if he ſhould bluntly require them, to quit the
" whole obſervance of their ceremonies, and live in common with
" the *gentiles*, choſe rather to comply with them for a while, for
" the ſake of inſinuateing himſelf, the more effectually, into their
" favor and eſteem. But that he might draw them, and himſelf
" too, the ſooner, out of a compliance, which he really condemn-
" ed, he begged of PAUL, to expoſtulate with him, for it, very
" ſharply, in public: that, from his ſilence, and patience under
" ſuch a reproof, the *jews* might infer a tacit acknowlegement of
" his error; and, by obſerveing that he had nothing to ſay, in de-
" fence of their conduct, might be convinced that it was not right,
" and ſo be induced to change it."

This plot, then, haveing had it's effect, in *Antioch*, St. PAUL, according to *Chryſoſtome*, applies it here, again, to the benefit of the *Gala-*

[d] Quibus reſpondendum; alterius, neſcio cujus, *Cephæ* neſcire nos nomen; niſi ejus, qui, in evangelio, & in aliis *Pauli* epiſtolis, & in hac quaque ipſa, modo *Cephas*, modo *Petrus*, ſcribitur. [*Hieron. comment. ad loc.*]

[e] Chryſoſtom. Homil. Operum, tom. 3. p. 363. edit. *Benedict.*

*Galatians*; and with the ſame view, with which he had, before, been an actor in it, he now gives a relation of it, in writeing; "diſ-
" ſembling, ſtill, the real ſtate of it; that the *Galatians*, perceiveing
" how ſeverely PETER himſelf had been reproved, might be the more
" confirmed, and reſolute, in the rejection of them [a].

*Jerome*'s opinion of this affair is much the ſame with *Chryſoſtome*'s; *namely*, that this "quarrel was but a fiction, contrived, privately,
" between the two *apoſtles*, for the benefit of their new converts.
" PETER's commiſſion was, more particularly, directed to the *jews*;
" PAUL's, to the *gentiles*. And, tho' both of them were equally con-
" cerned, and zeleous, to promote the common cauſe of the *goſpel*;
" yet each was, more eſpecially, obliged, to ſecure the ſalvation of
" thoſe, who were eſpecially committed to his care. Wherefore,
" as there were great jealouſies, and conteſts, between the two fac-
" tions, of the *jewiſh* and *gentile* converts, about the obſervance of the
" *Moſaic* rites, ſo it was concerted, by the *apoſtles*, that PETER, in
" order to keep the *jews* united to himſelf, and to the faith of
" CHRIST, ſhould, outwardly, declare himſelf on their ſide, and præ-
" tend a zele for their principles. And, leſt the *gentiles*, on the other
" hand, ſhould be drawn, by his authority, to imitate his conduct,
" PAUL was to oppoſe him, warmly, in public, for the ſake of keep-
" ing his party, likewiſe, intire; and preſerveing his credit with them.
" So that, by their mutual diſſimulation, both ſides might, in the end,
" be ſaved [b]. This he illuſtrates, by the example of the lawyers,
" who ſeem, often, to ſcold, and to quarrel, with each other; when
" they mean nothing more, than to deceive the by-ſtanders, and gain
" the greater credit with their clients; by an affected zele for the
" cauſe, which they have undertaken to defend [c]. If any one thinks,
" ſais he, that PAUL did really withſtand PETER; and, out of zele
" for the truth, did boldly aſſault his ſuperior; he will not be able to
" account for PAUL's conduct; when, to the *jews*, he became *a jew*,
" that he might gain *the jews*: who muſt be condemned of the ſame
" hypocriſie, when he ſhaved his head, at *Cenchræa*; and paid his
" vow, on that occaſion, in the temple; and circumciſed *Timothy*,
" the ſon of *a gentile*, &c. —And with what face, could he have had
" the

[a] Chryſoſtom. homil. oper. tom. 3. p. 363. edit. Benedict.

[b] Sed, ut ante diximus, reſtitit, ſecundum faciem publicam, *Petro*: ut hypocriſis obſervandæ legis, quæ nocebat eis, qui ex *gentibus* crediderant, correptionis hypocriſi emendaretur; & uterque populus ſalvus fieret, &c.—Unde & *Paulus* eadem arte, qua ille ſimulabat, ei reſtitit *in faciem*, &c. [*Hieronym. comment. in loc.*]

[c] Ut, omiſſis ſæpe negotiis, in proprias contumelias verterentur, & joculari ſe invicem dente morderent, &c. *Idem, ibid.*

" the aſſureance, to condemn that, in PETER, *the apoſtle of the jews*; " which he himſelf was guilty of, though *the apoſtle of the gentiles* [d]?" Such were the ſentiments of St. *Jerome*; which he explaines, at large, in his commentary on the epiſtle to the *Galatians*. But this ſolution of the matter was greatly cenſured by St. *Auſtin*; and gave occaſion to an epiſtolary controverſie, upon it, between thoſe two great doctors of the primitive church.

St. *Auſtin* charges it " with being nothing elſe, but a defence of " uſeful and ſeaſonable lying: and inſiſts, that, if *Paul* knew *Peter* to be innocent, at the ſame time, when he declared him to be blame- " able, and not to act according to the truth of the goſpel, it was in " reality a lye. Which it is impious to charge upon an *apoſtle*; and, " eſpecially, in an epiſtle, where he calls GOD to witneſſe that he does " not lye. He ſhows, alſo, the pernicious conſequence of ſuch a doc- " trine; and that it would deſtroy the authority of the *ſcripture* it- " ſelf, by makeing it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh, between it's real and " diſſembled meaning. For the prevention of which evil, he exhorts " *Jerome* to a recantation. As for his own part, he allows *Peter* to " be blameable; yet not for continueing, with his countrymen, " to obſerve the traditions of his anceſtors. Which he might have " done, both innocently and conſiſtently. But for obligeing the " *gentiles* to obſerve them, alſo, in the ſame manner [e]."

*Jerome*, on the contrary, perſiſted in his opinion: which he confirmed by many arguments, as well as by the teſtimonies of all the beſt interpreters before him; " challengeing *Auſtin* to produce any good au- " thor of a contrary ſentiment: and declareing that it would have " been the greateſt impudence and audaciouſneſſe, in *Paul*, to reprove " *Peter*

[d] Si putat aliquis vere *Paulum* Petro reſtitiſſe, & pro veritate evangelii intrepide injuriam feciſſe præceſſori; non ei ſtabit illud, quod & ipſe *Paulus* judæis judæus factus eſt, ut judæos lucrifaceret, & ejuſdem ſimulationis tenebitur reus, &c.—qua auctoritate, qua fronte, audet hoc in *Petro* reprehendere, qui circumciſionis apoſtolus erat, quod ipſe, apoſtolus gentium, arguitur commiſiſſe? [*Hieron. comment. in loc.*]

[e] Patrocinium mendacii ſuſceptum eſſe, vel a te, tali viro, vel a quopiam, ſi alius iſta ſcripſit; fateor non mediocriter doleo. [*Epiſt. Auguſt. ad Hieron. operum Hieron. tom* 4. *par.* 2. *ep.* 65. *p.* 602.]

Arripe, obſecro te, ingenuam & vere chriſtianam ſeveritatem: & παλλινῳδίαν, ut dicitur, cane. [*Ibid. ep.* 67. p. 606.]

Quapropter non ideo *Petrum* emendavit, quod paternas traditiones obſervaret, quod ſi facere vellet, nec mendaciter nec incongrue faceret.— Sed quoniam gentes cogebat judaizare, &c. [*ibid.*] And, elſewhere, *Auſtin* alleges that *Peter*'s fault did not lie in his compliance with the *jewiſh* rites; but *in impoſeing the ſame, alſo, upon the gentiles.* Non quia ſervabat conſuetudinem *judæorum*, ſed quia *gentilus* eam voletat imponere. [*Auguſtin. expoſit. in Galat.* ii. 11.]

" *Peter*, ſo ſmartly, for practices, of which he himſelf was more " eminently guilty. And, as for *Auſtin's* opinion, concerning the " expediency of obſerveing the rites of the *law*, he treats it as a mere " *hæreſie:* and the ſame; for which, *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* had been " condemned, by the church [f]."

But, notwithſtanding the great authority of thoſe renowned ſaints, *Chryſoſtome* and *Jerome*, it is certain, their interpretation of this ſtory is unnatural and abſurd; contrary to *reaſon*, and to the plane, obvious, ſenſe of St. *Paul's* account of this matter. Whereas; St. *Auſtin's* interpretation is agreeable both to the particular ſenſe of the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and to the general doctrine of the new teſtament; notwithſtanding *Jerome* treats it, as nothing better than *hæreſie*.

The modern commentators are of no more authority than the antients; *that is*, they none of them deſerve any regard, any farther than their interpretations are agreeable to right *reaſon*, or grounded upon the critical ſenſe of *ſcripture*, aad conſiſtent with the ſcope and connection of the ſacred writer.—And, therefore, I ſhall paſſe on, without examining their various opinions, concerning St. PAUL's meaning, in this place.

## SECT. IV.

*In the eſſay concerning the aboliſhing of the ceremonial law*, annexed to *the paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to Titus*, I have treated of this ſubject, more at large. But, as St. *Paul's* conduct, with reſpect to his compliances with the præjudices of the *jewiſh* chriſtians, has been ſeverely cenſured, by the open enemies of the *bible:* and has, I apprehend, been miſunderſtood by ſeveral profeſſed chriſtians: it may not be improper to add ſomething more, in this place; as that ſubject has ſo near a connection with the paſſage, which we are here conſidering.

In the above-mentioned *eſſay*, it has been ſhown, that the *jewiſh* chriſtians were (*de jure*) abſolved from *the ceremonial law*, immediately, upon their imbraceing *chriſtianity*; and that, as the *gentile* chriſtians had not been ſubject to the *ceremonial law*, antecedent to their imbraceing chriſtianity, ſo they were not obliged to obſerve it, after they became *chriſtians*.

*The ceremonial law* was, indeed, aboliſhed, by the death of Chriſt, and the conſequent erecting of his kingdom; without his makeing

[f] Quum me erroris mei multos ſocios habere perſpexeris, tu veritatis tuæ ſaltem unum adſtipulatorem adferre debebis.—Hæc eſt ſumma ſententiæ tuæ, ut, poſt evangelium *Chriſti*, benefaciunt *judæi* credentes, ſi legis mandata cuſtodiant.—Si hoc verum eſt, in *Cerinthi* & *Ebionis* hæreſim delabimur. [*Ibid. ep.* 74.]

making the ceremonial law, any part of the law of his kingdom. For, in the precepts of the new teſtament, may be found the whole chriſtian law. —Yet there were two caſes, in which *a jew*, even after he became *a chriſtian*, was indulged, in the obſervation of the ceremonial law: *namely*, (1.) As the *jewiſh* chriſtians had the præjudices of education, in favor of the continueance of the ceremonial law. Now, the præjudices of education are, in ſome perſons and caſes, ſo very difficultly conquered; that great allowances muſt be made, for ſuch perſons, and in ſuch remarkable caſes. Accordingly; *the ever-bleſſed* GOD, who well knows our frame, and compaſſionates our infirmities, did graciouſly bear with ſuch honeſt, though miſtaken and præjudiced, *jewiſh* chriſtians. And St. PAUL has, briefly, but very clearly, laid down, what was the rule in that caſe. Rom. xiv. 14. *I know, and am perſuaded by the lord* JESUS, *that, of itſelf, nothing* [no kind of meat, or drink, prohibited by the law of Moſes] *is common*, [or unclean.] *But unto him, that thinketh any thing to be unclean; to him, it is unclean.* And, ver. 20. *He, that doubteth*, [or *diſtinguiſheth*, bet ween meats clean, or unclean, by the law of *Moſes*] *is condemned, if he eat*; [that is, of ſuch meats, as were prohibited, by that law;] *becauſe he eateth not of faith.* [He doeth not act according to the full perſuaſion of his own mind.] *For whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin.* [Whatſoever a man doeth, contrary to the dictates of his own conſcience, he acts what he ſhould not. And thereby ſins, or offends GOD.]

This, then, is one of the two caſes, in which GOD indulged the *jewiſh* chriſtians, in the obſervation of the ceremonial law; *namely*, 'till they had fully conquered the præjudices of education; and were, in their own minds, thoroughly convinced that the ceremonial law was intirely aboliſhed; and that they were, no longer, under any obligation to obſerve it.

The other caſe, in which a *jewiſh* chriſtian was allowed, of GOD, in ſome inſtances, to obſerve *the ceremonial law*, even though he was fully convinced that that *law* was aboliſhed:—The other caſe, I ſay, was this; *namely*, in condeſcenſion to the deep-rooted præjudices of the *jews*, and *jewiſh* chriſtians: — in order to induce the *jews* to imbrace the chriſtian religion; or to preſerve the *jewiſh* chriſtians from apoſtatizeing; after they had, for ſome time, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. For that reaſon, St. PAUL had his head ſhorne, at *Cenchrea*, and took on him the *nazarite*'s vow. [Acts xviii. 18.] For that reaſon, when St. PAUL had a mind to take *Timothy*, to travel, with him, as an evangeliſt, he took him, and circumciſed him; becauſe of the *jews*, in and about *Lyſtra*. For they

all knew that his mother was a *jeweſſe*; and that, therefore, he ought to have been circumciſed, in his infancy. For it was their maxim, that [*Partus ſequitur ventrem*] "a man was to be reckoned *a jew*, if his mother was *a jeweſſe*." But they, alſo, knew that *Timothy*'s father was a *gentile*; and would not permit him to be circumciſed, in his infancy. [*See on Acts* xvi. 3.] It was upon the *firſt* of theſe two principles, that the *jewiſh* chriſtians proceeded. [Acts xxi. 20.] For, tho' many myriads of *jews* had imbraced chriſtianity, yet they continued all, in general, zeleous for *the law of Moſes*. Becauſe they had not yet conquered the præjudices of their education, in favor of a law, which was of divine original: and which, as they apprehended, was to continue for-ever.—And, upon the latter of theſe two principles, St. *James*, and the *elders* of the chriſtian church at *Jeruſalem*, proceeded, when they recommended it, to St. *Paul*, to join, with the four *jewiſh* chriſtians, who were under the *nazarite*'s vow; and to be purified with them; then to offer the uſual oblations; and to be himſelf, at the whole expence. [Acts xxi. 20, &c.] From the ſame principle, St. PAUL complied with that advice, in order to preſerve an union between the *jewiſh* chriſtians, and the *gentile* churches of his planting: and that he might, alſo, clear himſelf of the charge, of his haveing taught *all the jewiſh* chriſtians, in *gentile* countries, to forſake *the law of Moſes*.—That charge, indeed, as they had ſtated it, was not true. For St. PAUL had not taught all the *jews*, in *gentile* countries, "that *the ceremonial law* was aboliſhed." In his diſcourſes, in the *jewiſh* ſynagogues, recorded in *the acts of the apoſtles*, he doeth not appear to have ſaid any thing about it. He well knew that truth muſt be inſtilled into their minds, gradually, if at all: and that moſt of the *jews*, among whom he preached, were too ſtrongly præjudiced, to have borne ſuch a diſcovery. Now, that excellent apoſtle was too wiſe and benevolent, to beſpeak their averſion to chriſtianity, and to fruſtrate the great deſign of his life and labors.—In his epiſtles to *gentile* churches, he brought in ſome of the objections of *jews*, and *judaizeing* chriſtians. And, in anſwering ſuch objections, he gave plane intimations of Chriſt's haveing aboliſhed the ceremonial law. *His epiſtles* were read, publicly, in the churches, in the hearing of both *jewiſh* and *gentile* converts. This alarmed the *jewiſh* converts; and was, by them, ſoon noiſed abroad; 'till it ſpread among the churches; and, at laſt, reached the ears of the church at *Jeruſalem*; where, very probably, it occaſioned the accuſation, [Acts xxi. 21.] which we are now conſidering. But, as has been already obſerved, the charge was not rightly ſtated.—St. PAUL, by his epiſtles, and by his whole conduct, gave the

inquiſi-

inquiſitive and well-diſpoſed, a key, to open his whole character, and what he himſelf has ſaid, 1 Cor. ix. 19,—23. is alone ſufficient to inform us, upon what principles, and by what rules, he acted. "Though I am free from all men, (ſais he,) I have [*voluntarily*] "made myſelf a ſlave to all; that I might gain the more. To the "*jews*, I have been as *a jew*; that I might gain the *jews*. To thoſe "that are under the law [*of Moſes*,] as one under that law; that I "might gain thoſe, who are under that law. To them, that are "without the writen, and poſitive, law [*of Moſes*,] as one, not ſub-"ject to that law; (not, indeed, as one free from all law to GOD. No! "I am, always, ſubject to *the chriſtian law*. But, among *gentiles*, I "did not obſerve the peculiarities of the *jewiſh* law;) that I might "gain them, [*the gentiles*,] who were not under that law. To the "weak, I have behaved as weak; *(patiently bearing with their infir-"mities; and not offending them, with uſeing, to the uttermoſt, my chriſ-"tian liberty;)* that I might gain the weak. I have become all things "to all men; that I might, by all means, ſave ſome. And this I "do, for the goſpel's ſake; that I, together with you, and many "others, might be a partaker of the glorious reward, which it holds "forth unto ſuch as are diligent and faithful, *&c.*"

Surely! no chriſtian can imagine that St. PAUL ſpeaks of this, his behavior, as falſe or hypocritical, unlawful or criminal, mean and baſe; or, any way, unworthy the beſt and moſt excellent character. No! he evidently glories in it, as moſt excellent in itſelf; and what would, finally, end in an ample, and moſt glorious, reward.

This, then, is the *ſcriptural* account of the matter. Unto St. PAUL, it was reveled, that *the ceremonial law* was aboliſhed; that, of itſelf, no ſort of meat or drink, prohibited, by the law of Moſes, was unclean: but unto him, who thought it was unclean, to him it was unclean: that the ſtrong ſtood obliged to bear the infirmities of the weak; and not merely to pleaſe himſelf; but, in ſome caſes, to make compliances and condeſcenſions, to pleaſe his neighbors, for their benefit and edification. According to theſe directions, which he gave to others, St. PAUL himſelf acted. And, in the name of GOD, I deſire to know what there was culpable, or *unreaſonable*, in all this.

The conduct of St. PETER, in the inſtance, now before us, was quite different. He knew, very well, that the *gentile* chriſtians had not the præjudices of education in favor of *the ceremonial law*; but rather againſt it. He knew that the *gentile* chriſtians were not to be brought under ſubjection to that law. He, himſelf, had, ſome time before this, gone into the houſe of an uncircumciſed gentile; and eat

with

with the family. And, tho' he had been ſeverely chid for it, he then ſtood his ground; and ſilenced the zeleous *jewiſh* chriſtians, who blamed him for it. [Acts xi. 1, &c.] Had he done ſo, now, again, all had been well. And St. PAUL could have had nothing, for which he could have reproved him. He had, after that, in the council, at *Jeruſalem*, had the principal hand, in makeing the apoſtolic decree; [Acts xv.] whereby the *gentile* converts were declared to be freed from the burthenſome yoke of *the ceremonial law*. Now, for him, after all theſe things, to act contrary to his own ſentiments, to diſſemble, and ſtrive to concele from the zeleous jewiſh chriſtians, juſt come from *Jeruſalem*, that he had, at all, eat promiſcuouſly with the *gentile* chriſtians, at *Antioch*, of any ſort of food, whether clean, or unclean, according to the law of Moſes; — was a conduct unworthy of him and his character. It tended, greatly, to betray the liberty of the *gentile* converts, and to make them ſuſpect that St. PETER was aſhamed of them; and would not regard them, as upon a level with the *jewiſh* chriſtians; unleſſe they would obſerve the ceremonial laws; and diſtinguiſh between meats clean and unclean, as the *jews* did. Eſpecially, as St. PETER's great example had drawn in other *jewiſh* chriſtians; and the infection ſpread ſo far, as that *Barnabas*, alſo, one of the apoſtles of the *gentiles*, was carried away with the diſſimulation. Such a piece of conduct provoked St. PAUL; and was a ſufficient reaſon for his honeſt, free, ſeaſonable, and public, reproof. And St. PETER, by not offering to make any apologie, did acknowlege the juſtneſſe of what St. PAUL had ſaid.

St. PAUL knew nothing of the unlimited authority of St. PETER; or what later ages have ſaid, concerning his *ſupremacy*. No! except his late converſion to chriſtianity, and his haveing once perſecuted the diſciples of JESUS, St. PAUL was, in no reſpect, behind the chief of the apoſtles; but, as it ſhould ſeem, rather excelled in divine illumination, miraculous powers, and more abundant labor and ſucceſſe. And, what might have given boldneſſe even to an inferior, to have reproved his ſuperior, he had truth and right on his ſide; which added invincible force to his reproof.

It has been ſaid, indeed, " that St. PAUL muſt be condemned of " the ſame hypocriſie, with St. PETER, when he made the compli- " ances with the præjudices of the *jews* and *jewiſh* chriſtians, which " have been already mentioned. And repreſented as the greateſt im- " pudence and audaciouſneſſe, in PAUL, if he did really reprove " PETER, ſo ſmartly, for practices, of which he himſelf was, more " eminently, guilty."

But

But theſe things have been ſaid very raſhly and præcipitantly. And there is no juſt foundation for ſuch a charge. For, when, and where, did St. PAUL ſay, or do, any thing, contrary to his conſcience, or to his avowed doctrine? In what inſtance, did he betray the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians? Or do any thing to bring them under the ceremonial law; that heavy and galling yoke of bondage? What was it, that expoſed him to ſuch fierce and repeted proſecution, from the *jews* and judaizeing chriſtians; but his ſteddineſſe, zele, and fortitude, in ſtanding up for the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians? Which was, indeed, the diſtinguiſhing part of his life and labors! Surely! They have not thoroughly conſidered St. PAUL's whole character, who have laid ſuch heavy things to his charge. — I can hardly think of St. PAUL without tranſport. And, the more I conſider the temper and conduct of that truely great and good man; the more clearly it appears to me, that his character ought to be dear to all the lovers of truth and goodneſſe.

Before we procede farther, it may not be improper to obſerve two things; *namely*, (1.) That St. PAUL let both *jewiſh* and *gentile* chriſtians know, that the law of Moſes condemned all offenders, to death, without mercy: that, by the deeds of *the law*, no fleſh could be juſtified, in the ſight of GOD: that, therefore, *that law*, if truſted to, as the method of juſtification, or acceptance with GOD, was not onely uſeleſſe, but noxious, to all chriſtians whatever, as well of *jewiſh*, as *gentile*, extraction. And, (2.) addreſſing himſelf to the *gentile* chriſtians in particular, who had not the præjudices of education in favor of the *ceremonial law*, he let them know, that their going into ſuch obſervances would be, in effect, a throwing off the chriſtian religion, or rendering it to them of none effect. For the *goſpel*, alone, and of itſelf, was ſufficient to ſave them. And the law incapable of effecting their ſalvation.

After what has been ſaid, it may, to ſome, ſeem almoſt needleſſe to ſhow, how exactly the ſcope of *this epiſtle to the Galatians* falls in with, and confirms, the account, which has been given. But, as the præjudices of ſome, and the inattention of others, is ſurprizeingly great; and nothing, that tends to illuſtrate any paſſage of ſcripture, or ſhow how amiable the character of St. PAUL was, can be ſuperfluous, or too minute; I think it not improper to take a ſummary view of the main ſcope of this epiſtle.

St. PAUL himſelf, had preached the goſpel, in the country of *Galatia*. There, he had planted ſeveral chriſtian churches; collected, chiefly, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. Soon after his departure

ture from them; there got in, among them, a judaizeing chriſtian, a falſe *apoſtle*; who would have impoſed, upon thoſe *gentile* chriſtians, the obſervation of the *jewiſh* law, as neceſſary to their ſalvation. As if *chriſtianity* alone, and of itſelf, had been inſufficient. To accompliſh this, the falſe apoſtle repreſented St. PAUL, (who had converted the *Galatians*; and who had taught them, that they were under no obligation to obſerve the *jewiſh* law: — The falſe apoſtle, I ſay, to carry his point, had repreſented St. PAUL,) as no *apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*; but an *apoſtle of men* onely; who had been ſent out, and inſtructed, by thoſe that were *apoſtles* before him: that *Peter*, and the apoſtles of the circumciſion, were much ſuperior to *Paul*; and they had never taught ſuch doctrine as he did; and that PAUL himſelf had, ſometimes, preached up the neceſſity of circumciſion to *gentile* converts; and declared that they, alſo, ought to take upon them the yoke of the *jewiſh* law. And other things, to the ſame purpoſe, were inſinuated, by the falſe apoſtle; to take away St. PAUL's authority and credit, among the churches of *Galatia*; and to deſtroy all the fruits of his labors among them.

Greatly provoked at ſuch treatment, St. PAUL wrote the epiſtle to the churches of *Galatia*; declareing "that he was not an apoſtle "of men, but of JESUS CHRIST; that he had not learned the "chriſtian doctrine, from thoſe that were apoſtles before him; but "from *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf: that, when he went up to *Jeruſalem*, "he took *Titus*, a *gentile* convert, along with him. But he was "ſo far from betraying the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians, that he "would not ſuffer *Titus* to be circumciſed, though he was much "urged to conſent thereto; that there were, indeed, *judaizeing* "chriſtians, falſe brethren, crept in, unawares, into that chriſtian "church, at *Jeruſalem*, to watch St. PAUL, and ſpy out the liberty "of the *gentile* chriſtians, and impoſe upon them the yoke of the "law. But he would not give place, by ſubjection, to them; no, "not for one hour; that the truth and purity of the goſpel might "be preſerved, among the *Galatians*, and other gentile converts. — "And, as to *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, the three moſt renowned a-"poſtles of the circumciſion, whom he acknowleged to be pillars in "the chriſtian church; — they could teach him nothing, but what "he had been taught before: that they readily gave, unto him and "*Barnabas*, the right-hand of fellowſhip, acknowlegeing them for "true apoſtles, as much as themſelves; onely they were apoſtles to "the *gentile* world, as the other three were to the *jews*. But St. "PAUL lets the *Galatians* know that, ſo far was he from allowing

"the

" the ſupremacy of St. PETER, or takeing his inſtructions and di-
" rections, from him; that, on the contrary, when he ſaw St. PE-
" TER behaveing in a wrong manner; and acting ſo, as tended to
" betray the liberty of the *gentile* converts; he reproved him, to his
" face; and that publicly. And *Peter* had nothing to ſay, in his
" own defence."

There is no occaſion to procede, as the whole epiſtle has been already abridged, in *the ſecond volume of this hiſtory*. But whoever looks into the remaining part of *the epiſtle to the Galatians*, will find, how exactly this interpretation falls in with the deſign of that epiſtle.

## SECT. V.

Upon what has been ſaid, I would make the following remarks.

(1.) *The ceremonial law* was aboliſhed, by the death of CHRIST, and the conſequent erecting of his kingdom.

*That is*, By his obedience unto death, even the death of the croſſe, he ſo pleaſed his father, that, as a noble and glorious reward, all power was given unto him, both in heaven and upon earth; and, particularly, power to erect a kingdom, purely to promote truth and righteouſneſſe in the earth. The law of his kingdom is all contained in the new teſtament. And, as a part of it, he did not retain, or adopt, the *ceremonial law*. Conſequently, there is no obligation, upon his diſciples, to obſerve the ceremonial law. And it would be *legal* preaching, for the miniſters of Chriſt to declare, that all chriſtians are obliged to obſerve the *jewiſh*, as well as the *chriſtian*, law.

(2.) How aſtoniſhing is the wiſdom and goodneſſe of GOD, in all his dealings with the children of men!

He bore with the præjudices of the well-minded *jewiſh* chriſtians, which were almoſt invincible; and, for a time, indulged them in the obſervation of the *jewiſh* law. And there was this to be alleged in their favor; *namely*, that *the law of Moſes* was of divine original. The *jewiſh* chriſtians, alſo, had been trained up, from their infancy, in the higheſt veneration for it; and taught that it was to abide for ever. — But the *gentile* chriſtians could not plead the præjudices of education, in favor of the *jewiſh* law. Indeed, formerly, they had had no divine revelation. Their idolatry, with all it's rites and ceremonies, were, intirely, of mere human invention; the contriveance of weak and ſuperſtitious, or of crafty and deſigning, men. They, therefore, were abſolutely forbid to obſerve them. Though all juſt and equi-

table allowances were made, for ſuch particular perſons, among them, as were weak, if ſincere. — Oh, the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and goodneſſe of GOD! How kindly, and with what condeſcenſion, does the father of the univerſe treat his frail creatures; compaſſionates their infirmities, and lays no more upon them than they are able to bear!

(3.) Let us attentively obſerve the fortitude of St. PAUL; and his care and fidelity, in preſerveing the purity of the goſpel; and, more eſpecially, the liberty of the *gentile* converts.

He was, indeed, a later convert to chriſtianity, than St. PETER. But, notwithſtanding that, he could not bear to ſee him diſſemble his real ſentiments, or do a thing that tended to betray the freedom of the *gentile* chriſtians from the ceremonial law. He loved his brother apoſtle, and valued his friend; but he loved truth more than his deareſt friend; and knew no authority, above that of truth and right. If St. PAUL had been a temporizer, and time-ſerver, as ſome have repreſented him, he would not have acted as he did; but have diſſembled with the reſt. If he had had leſſe fortitude, he would not have dared to have reproved one of the leading apoſtles of the circumciſion. But have onely grieved, inwardly, at what he dared not publicly to reprove and condemn.

We are of the race of the *gentiles*. And are free from all obligation to obſerve the ceremonial law. But it is principally oweing to the great apoſtle of the *gentiles*, that our liberty from that heavy yoke of bondage is ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and ſo well underſtood. The character of ſo good a man, and ſo great a benefactor, ought to be treated with reverence and an high regard.

(4.) The honeſty, alſo, and humility, of St. PETER ſhould not be overlooked; notwithſtanding one or two foibles in his great character.

He was, naturally, of a warm and ſanguine temper. And the fear of ſome *jewiſh* bigots made him act a timorous and unworthy part, in this particular inſtance. But, in his prevailing temper and habitual conduct, St. PETER was a good man. It is acknowleged that, in this inſtance, he did wrong. But he had a faithful friend in St. PAUL. And we do not find that he offered to apologize, for his raſh conduct; but ſeems patiently to have fallen under the reproof, and to have received inſtruction thereby. This appears highly probable, not onely from the ſilence of St. PAUL, concerning St. PETER's attempting to make a defence; but, by St. PETER's own ſpeaking, many years after this, with the higheſt reſpect, of *his beloved*

*loved brother* PAUL; and recommending all his epiſtles; of which, this to the *Galatians* is not the leaſt.

St. PETER's raſh and ſanguine temper had, before this, led him, out of a like ſpirit of fear, to deny his lord and maſter, three times; and that with great aggravations. But he repented of that unworthy conduct; and, from that time, acted like the faithful diſciple of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But men's natural temper is not eaſily conquered. To keep it under proper reſtraints, and regulations, at all times, and in all places, requires conſtant watchfulneſſe and care. And great allowances muſt be made for what is conſtitutional. He preached the goſpel, honeſtly, for a number of years, amidſt fierce oppoſition and violent perſecutions: even though his great lord and maſter had foretold his dying a violent death: and he knew what his end would be. Few of thoſe, who cavil at him, and inſult his character aud memory, with ſuch a proſpect before them, would ſo ſteddily adhere to their own ſentiments, and ſeal the truth of their doctrine with their own blood. Conſidering theſe things, no chriſtian, no good man; no one, who knows the infirmities of human nature, and how to compaſſionate the foibles and infirmities of the great and good, will bear hard upon the character of this excellent apoſtle. Our great lord and maſter was, indeed, wholly without fault. But the greateſt and beſt of his diſciples were not ſo. And one or two raſh and unguarded actions ought not to blaſt the reputation of one, that was, otherwiſe, prevailingly virtuous and good. I wiſh thoſe, who are inclined to be ſevere upon this part of St. PETER's conduct, would look more narrowly into their own hearts; and reflect upon all their own paſt conduct. And, perhaps, they may ſee reaſon to bluſh at the meaſure, which they have meted to a much better man than themſelves.

(5.) What a plane proof, of the frankneſſe of the writers of the new teſtament, have we here before us!

They did not ſcruple to acquaint the world with the faults, or foibles, of their own friends and aſſociates. Men of the ſame party do, generally, moſt induſtriouſly concele the faults of their friends; and greatly magnifie their virtues. If the apoſtles and evangeliſts had been acted, by the ſame ſpirit; they would have hid the faults, and extolled the virtues, of their friends, and fellow-laborers; repreſenting them, to the world, as abſolutely perfect, without ſpot and blemiſh. But the writers of the ſacred books of the new teſtament ſcorned to diſguiſe the characters of the diſciples, and even apoſtles, of our *bleſſed lord*. They had nothing in view, but truth and vir-

tue; the glory of GOD, and the welfare of *mankind.* They, therefore, applauded what was right, and condemned what was wrong, in the beſt and deareſt of their friends. — *Porphyry*, the apoſtate, of old; and men of a like ſtamp, in later ages; have been very ſevere upon the conduct of the two apoſtles, PETER and PAUL, for their behavior, in this particular inſtance. But how would they have known any thing of the matter, if St. PAUL had not left it upon record, and conveyed it down to future ages? And the publiſhing a faithful account of this affair, is a mark of the greateſt frankneſſe and honeſty.

(6.) From this piece of hiſtory, we may learn that St. PETER and St. PAUL were not of different opinions, with reſpect to the *gentile* chriſtians being free from *the ceremonial law.*

St. PETER did not act, as he did, at *Antioch*, from his ignorance of the liberty of the *gentile* converts; or from his being of a different opinion from St. PAUL, in that particular; but from his timorouſneſſe, or through fear of the diſpleaſure of the warm, zeleous, *jewiſh*, chriſtians. This is, evidently, St. PAUL's account of the matter. And we have no reaſon to doubt of the truth of his account.

(7.) The greateſt and beſt of men have not been, altogether, without fault; and yet they have been accepted of GOD.

If all the faults of the good men, mentioned in ſcripture, had been induſtriouſly conceled; and their virtues, onely, left upon record, unto all ſuccedeing generations; we ſhould have been ready to have ſate down in anxiety and deſpair; as imagineing that it was impoſſible for us to attain to ſuch heights of virtue; and concludeing that men, incompaſſed with ſo many infirmities, could never obtain mercy. But, now, we learn that the ſaints, in former ages, were not altogether without faults; that it is a poſſible thing for us to attain to a like character; and that the prevailingly holy have no reaſon to deſpair.

(8.) St. PAUL's compliance, in ſome few inſtances, with the præjudices of the *jews*, was not criminal; but will rather exalt his character with the thinking and benevolent part of mankind.

He gave up his own liberty, or denied himſelf, for the public good. Being ſtrong, he bore the infirmities of the weak; and ſought not his own pleaſure; but to pleaſe his neighbor, for his benefit and edification. He did all that he, lawfully and honeſtly, could, to unite the *jewiſh* and *gentile* churches, as one flock, under the one great ſhepherd and lord of all. As far as conſcience would permit,

permit, he became all things to all men; that he might, by all means, ſave ſome.

(9, *laſtly.*) From what has been ſaid, we may learn the nature of the *apoſtolic inſpiration.*

This has been conſidered more at large, in the *Eſſay on inſpiration*, annexed to 1 *Timothy.* But, with reſpect to the preſent ſubject, it may be obſerved, that all the twelve apoſtles of the circumciſion; and PAUL and *Barnabas*, the two apoſtles of the gentile world; received the plan of the goſpel, by immediate inſpiration. And, though they could not work miracles, when they pleaſed; yet the ſpirit abode with them, and led them into all truth, relateing to the chriſtian doctrine. But the ſpirit did not, irreſiſtibly, force them to right action. In that ſenſe, they were not *infallible*, nor *impeccable.* Neither was it neceſſary, to the diſcharge of their *apoſtolic* office, that they ſhould be ſo.

The apoſtles of our lord had two principles of action, The one was their own underſtanding, or conſcience. A principle common to other men. The other was, the inſpiration of the ſpirit: which diſtinguiſhed them from other men, and rendered them much ſuperior. Accordingly; St. PAUL and his companions intended to have gone, and preached the goſpel, in ſuch or ſuch a place. But *the ſpirit* ſuffered them not. And the ſame apoſtle, elſewhere, declares, "Thus ſay I, and not the lord. And thus ſaith the lord: and not I." St. PETER was ſo far under the conſtant guideance of the *ſpirit*, as perfectly well to know what was the chriſtian doctrine, which he was to teach to others; and according to which, he was to form his own temper and life. — He was not ignorant that the *gentile* chriſtians were upon a level, with the converts, from among the *jews*, without any obligation to obſerve *the ceremonial law.* Of this, he was fully convinced, in his own mind. But, though he clearly knew what was right, in this particular; yet, through fear and præcipitation of mind, he was, for a little while, hurried into what was wrong. The divine illumination was, indeed, granted him, not onely to inable him to underſtand the plan of the goſpel, and to publiſh it unto the world; but he ought, alſo, to have regarded it, as a conſtant monitor and guide; to regulate his own conduct. And this he generally did, in the habit of his temper and life. But the divine impulſe was not irreſiſtible. *The ſpirit of the prophets was ſubject to the prophets.* They had liberty of action; *that is*, power to follow, or not to follow, that divine guideance, as they themſelves choſe. Juſt as mankind, in general, have power to

follow,

follow, or not to follow, the direction of their own conſciences. St. PETER did, generally, follow the guideance of the *ſpirit*. But *that* did not force him to act right: any more than the knowlege of the mind of the ſpirit, which we learn, from the goſpel, forces us to act, always, agreeably thereto. Though, therefore, St. PETER, in all caſes, knew what the chriſtian law required; yet he, ſometimes, through ſurprize and infirmity, was hurried into a different conduct. However; ſuch was the prevailing goodneſſe of his heart, that he ſoon recovered, and returned to what was his duty. From the time, that he received the ſpirit, he was conſtantly illuminated with the knowlege of the chriſtian doctrine, as far as he had occaſion to teach it, or write concerning it; and ſufficient, alſo, to regulate his own conduct. But his practice was not, in ſome few inſtances, conformable to that knowlege. In one word, he always ſaw what was right. But ſometimes, though very rarely, acted wrong. In ſuch caſes, he quenched the ſpirit. If he had done ſo, in all caſes, or habitually and prevailingly, I doubt not but he would have intirely quenched the ſpirit; and the ſpiritual gifts and miraculous powers would have been all taken from him. But, in his habitual diſpoſition and common conduct, St. PETER was a very good man. He had the mind of Chriſt. And what he taught, concerning the chriſtian doctrine, is all true, and may be depended upon. He honeſtly acknowleged his faults; and taught the way of truth uprightly. He did *not follow cuningly deviſed fables, when he made known the power and comeing of our lord Jeſus Chriſt*. But clearly underſtood the truth, and had full and ſatisfactorie evidence of it. In the midſt of much ill treatment, he perſevered, in teaching, and preaching, the things, which concerned the chriſtian revelation. And, after he had labored in this work, and ſuffered a great deal, he bravely died a martyr, and glorioufly ſealed the truth of his doctrine with his own blood. — The doctrine, which he taught, is confirmed, by the preaching, and writeings, of the other apoſtles. Which, the more they are ſtudied, appear the more excellent. And, notwithſtanding the miſinterpretation of profeſſed friends, and the bold and inſolent attacks of open or ſecret enemies, they will ſtand the teſt, and indure throughout all generations. And the glorious names of St. PETER and St. PAUL continue to be had in the higheſt eſteem, and in everlaſting rememberance; when the names of the wicked ſhall rot.

*The end of the* DISSERTATION.

APPEND.

# APPENDIX

## NUMB. IV.

*A* DISSERTATION *on* John xix. 14. *with a view to reconcile what St.* John *has there ſaid, of it's being the* ſixth hour, *when our lord ſtood before* Pontius Pilate, *with what the other* evangeliſts *have ſaid, of it's being the* third hour, *when he was crucified.*

### SECT. I.

IN Dr. *Conyers Middleton's miſcellaneous tracts*, which were publiſhed after his death, there are not onely,

I. *Curſory reflections on* (what he calls) *the diſpute, or diſſenſion, between the apoſtles*, PETER *and* PAUL: mentioned *Galat.* ii. 11, &c. But there follow,

II. *Reflections on the variations, or inconſiſtencies, which are found, among the four evangeliſts, in their different accounts of the ſame facts.*

Upon *the curſory reflections*, &c. I have treated, more largely, in the foregoing *diſſertation*. — But, concerning the variations, or inconſiſtencies, among the *four evangeliſts*, I do not deſign to inlarge. I would onely propoſe a ſpecimen, to my readers, of reconcileing the four evangeliſts, in one inſtance, where Dr. *Middleton* has repreſented them, as irreconcileable, or directly contradicting one another.

After ſeveral paſſages, which the *Doctor* has objected to, with great ſpirit and vivacity, and in a very peremptory manner; he goes on, thus;

We find, likewiſe, an irreconcileable difference, or contradiction, between *Mark* and *John*, concerning the time of the day, when *Jeſus*

*Jeſus* was crucified. *Mark* ſais expreſsly, that it was but *the third hour*, or *nine of the clock, in the morning*; when they had actually fixed him on the croſſe. [Mark xv. 25.] *John* ſais, that it was about *the ſixth hour*, or *twelve of the clock*, when he was yet under examination, before *Pilate*. [John xix. 14.] *Peter, biſhop of Alexandria*, who lived in the third century, declares, "that, in both "theſe *goſpels*, the *third hour* was writen; as it might be ſeen, in "the very original exemplar of St. *John*'s goſpel; which was pre-"ſerved, to his time, in the church of *Epheſus*." But this is looked upon, by the generality of the *critics*, as an undoubted forgery, either of *biſhop Peter*, or ſome tranſcriber of his works, contrived, for the ſake of reconcileing the two *evangeliſts*.[a].

St. *Jerome*, who lived about a century later, tells us juſt the contrary. "That *the ſixth hour* was writen, originally, in both the "*goſpels*. But that the tranſcribers, inſtead of tranſcribeing the word "at length, put for it the mark ς, which commonly ſignified the "number *ſix*: but was miſtaken, by other tranſcribers, for the letter "Γ, the numeral mark for *three*. Whence the miſtake was propa-"gated into all the later copies[b]." But this ſolution is clogged, likewiſe, with inſuperable difficulties. And rejected, therefore, by the critics; who find that ſuch abbreviations, or numeral marks, were not commonly uſed, in thoſe early ages[c]: ſince none of them are to be met with, in the oldeſt of thoſe manuſcripts, which ſtill remain. Nor is it poſſible, that the accidental miſtakes of one or two tranſcribers could be tranferred, univerſally, into all the later copies.

St. *Auſtin* gives us a third ſolution, much more ſubtile and refined; *namely*, "that *Mark*, who ſais, they crucified him at *the* "*third hour*, is not to be underſtood to denote the time of his be-"ing nailed to the croſſe; but of that clamor, which was made, a-"gainſt him, by the *jews*, whileſt he was ſtill before *Pilate*; when "they cried out, *Crucifie him, crucifie him*; deſigning to inſinuate "there-

[a] Vid. *Mill. in loc.* item *Grot.* But of what authority that relation is, may yet be quæſtioned. And the antient *Alexandrian* copy accords, in the main, with the printed copies. — And it is more probable that the reading τρίτη, *the third hour*, in *Mark*, ſhould move ſome tranſcribers, to read τρίτη, too, in *John*; to take away the ſeeming difference, and to accord the *evangeliſts*, than for any one, to turn τρίτη into ἕκτη, contrary to what was before, in *Mark*, if they had found it otherwiſe. [*Hammond* on *John* xix. 14.]

[b] Hoc videtur eſſe diverſum; ſed non eſt diverſum. Error ſcriptorum fuit; &, in *Marco, hora ſexta* ſcripta fuit. Sed multi epiſema græcum ς putaverunt eſſe Γ, &c. [*Hieron.* in *Pſalm.* lxxvii. *item Theophylact.* in *Joh.* xix. 14.]

[c] Neque vero per notas ſcriptos fuiſſe numeros, in primogeniis codicibus, ullo argumento conſtat. [*Grot. in Marc.* xv. 25. *Zeger. ibid. item Millii. not.*]

" ther.by, that the *jews*, who made that out-cry for his crucifixion, " were, more properly, the authors of it, than thoſe miniſters, who " executed the command of their ſuperiors; and that he was, more " truely, crucified, at *the third hour*, by the tongues of the *jews*, " than at *the ſixth*, by the hands of the ſoldiers. If you do not like " my explication, ſais he, ſhow me how it is poſſible to ſolve the " contradiction [d]."

The modern expoſitors, therefore, rejecting all the ſolutions juſt mentioned, have hit upon another, ſomewhat more plauſible; in which they, generally, follow each other; *namely*, " that the day, " among *the jews*, begining, from ſix in the morning, was divided " into four equal portions, of three hours, each; called *the third*, " *the ninth*, and *the twelfth hours*. The three firſt were the ſtat.d " hours of public prayer, in the temple; and proclamed, to the peo- " ple, by the ſound of a trumpet. As *the third hour*, then, was " ſuppoſed to continue, 'till the next ſounding of the trumpet, at " *the ſixth hour*; ſo whatever was tranſacted, within that interval, " how near ſoever to the begining of the next diviſion, was ſaid, in " the common way of ſpeech, to happen, in *the third hour* [e]." But, though this would bring the *evangeliſts* nearer to each other, yet it will not reconcile them: ſince *Mark* expreſsly affirms, that *Jeſus* was actually crucified before that hour, in which *John* ſais, as expreſsly, that *Pilate* was ſtill ſitting in judgement upon him. Nor is the notion itſelf true, that ſuch a groſſe diviſion of the day was in uſe, among *the jews*; as may be ſhown, from many paſſages of the new teſtament. For, though *the third*, *ſixth*, and *ninth hours*, as being the ſolemn hours of religious worſhip, were more remarkable than the reſt; and, for that reaſon, are more frequently mentioned, by the ſacred writers; yet we find that their day, like to that of the *Babylonians*, from whom they, probably, learned the diviſion of it; as *the greeks*, alſo, did; was divided into *twelve hours* [f]. *Are there not twelve hours of the day?* ſais our lord. And, in other places, mention is made, of *the ſeventh*, *tenth*, and *the eleventh hour*, &c [g]. So that, on the whole, we muſt be forced, at laſt, with ſeveral of



[d] Occulte oſtendere voluit, eos magis crucifixiſſe *Jeſum*, qui clamaverunt, ut crucifigeretur, quam illos, qui miniſterium præſtiterunt, &c. [*Auguſt. de conſenſ. evang.* l. 3. § 42.]

[e] *Vid. Grot. in Matt.* xxvii. 45. *Zeger. in Marc.* xv. 25. [*Hammond* on *John* xix. 14.]

[f] Τὰ δὲ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἐμάθοσαν Ἕλληνες. [*Herodot.* l. 2. p. 129. *edit. Lond.*]

[g] John xi. 9. and iv. 52. and i. 40. Matt. xx. 6.

*the critics*, to leave the difficulty, juſt as we found it, chargeable with all the conſequences of a manifeſt inconſiſtency [h].

## S E C T. II.

That I might not miſrepreſent Dr. *Middleton*, I have, in the foregoing ſection, given the reader, all, that he hath ſaid, concerning this ſubject, and that in his own words.

Before I procede to make any remarks upon what has been ſaid, I would make all due conceſſions; and rather ſtrengthen the *Doctor's* objections; than, in the leaſt, weaken, or miſrepreſent, them. To which purpoſe, I would make the two following obſervations,

(1.) I acknowlege that St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* followed the ſame manner of reckoning the hours of the day, with St. *Mark*. For all theſe *three evangeliſts* aſſert that the darkneſſe, which happened, when our lord hung upon the croſſe, came on, at, or about, *the ſixth hour*; that is, about three hours after he was nailed to the croſſe. [*See Matt.* xxvii. 45. *Mark* xv. 33. *Luke* xxiii. 44.] And both St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* repreſent our lord, as expireing about *the ninth hour*. [*Matt.* xxvii. 46, &c. *Mark* xv. 34, &c.] St. *John*'s account, therefore, differs as much from that of St. *Matthew*, and St. *Luke*, as it does from that of St. *Mark*.

(2.) Though there is ſuch a various reading, mentioned, *John* xix. 14. and *Mark* xv. 25. as would make the account of the different *evangeliſts* accord, yet I lay no ſtreſſe upon that; becauſe I look upon the common reading, in both the *evangeliſts*, to be the genuine reading.

Haveing made theſe two conceſſions; I would attempt to ſolve the difficulty, or reconcile the account of this matter, given by the different *evangeliſts*; and that, under the following heads.

I. It is generally agreed, both among the *antients*, and *moderns*, that the three former *evangeliſts*, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, wrote their goſpels, ſome years before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

II. St. *John* wrote his goſpel, at *Epheſus*, in his extreme old age; *that is*, after he returned from his baniſhment, in the iſland

[h] Ego ampliandum cenſeo. Nam & illi & hi non ſatis probarunt mihi dicta ſua. Nihil dicit, qui non probat quod dicit. Ego experientia didici, ſæpe deceptos eſſe, qui nimium crediderunt viris doctis, etiam theologis, aliquid [illegible], ſine fide, ſine teſte. *Druſius in Marc.* xv. 25.]

iſland *Patmos*; in the year of our lord, 97. a little before his own death [a].

II. As the hiſtory of *our lord* had an inſeparable connection with that of the *jewiſh* nation, and the three former *evangeliſts* wrote, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and while the *jews* continued to be a nation; they followed the *jewiſh* computation of the hours of the day; *that is*, they begun, at ſun-ſetting, and reckoned to ſun-riſeing. Then they begun, again, at ſun-riſeing, and reckoned to ſun-ſetting. And each of thoſe periods they divided into twelve hours. Thus, according to the *jewiſh* phraſeology, *the evening and the morning were the firſt, ſecond*, or *third day*, &c [b].

IV. If no particular reaſon induce one to do otherwiſe; it is natural to reckon the days of the year, and the hours of the day, according to the common computation of the age, and nation, where any thing is committed to writeing. A man, formerly, reſideing in *Holland*, or *France*, or in any other country, where they computed the days of the year, according to the new ſtyle, would naturally have followed that computation. But, in *England*, before the year, 1752. he would, as naturally, have reckoned by the old ſtyle; which, 'till that year, was in common uſe among us. Since the ſtyle is now altered, by act of parliament, we as commonly reckon according to the new ſtyle; without giveing notice, of that alteration.

St. *Matthew* is reckoned to have wrote his goſpel, in *Jeruſalem*, or in ſome part of *Judæa*; and more immediately for the uſe of the *jewiſh* chriſtians. No wonder, therefore, that he followed the *jewiſh* computation. And, though St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* are reckoned to have wrote their goſpels out of *Judæa*; yet they have followed the ſame computation. For the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that has been already hinted; *namely*, becauſe they wrote before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and while the *jews* continued to be a nation. — But the caſe was altered, when St. *John* wrote his goſpel. *Je-*



[a] *Euſeb. hiſtor. eccleſ.* l. 3. c. 24. & l. 6. c. 14. *Irenæ.* l. 3. c. 1; 11. *Hieron. catalog. Joann. Epiphan. hæreſ.* 51. § 12. *Millii prolegom.* § 181, &c. *Jones his new method of ſettling the canon*, &c. *vol.* 3. *p.* 139, &c. *Le Clerc's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, at the year* 97.

[b] See *Gen.* i. 5; 8; 13; 19; 23; 31. *Lev.* xxiii. 32.

*ruſalem* was deſtroyed, and the *jews* ceaſed from being any longer a nation. As, therefore, he wrote his goſpel, at *Epheſus*, in a country far remote from *Judæa*, and under the *roman* government, it was natural, for him, to follow the *roman* computation of the hours of the day; which is the ſame, that is, now, in uſe, among us; *namely*, to begin to reckon from midnight, and to continue it for twelve hours; and then begin again, at noon, or midday, and reckon twelve hours more.

St. *John* had read the other three goſpels; and could eaſily have followed the *jewiſh* computation, as he ſaw they had done. Or he could have given expreſſe notice that he followed the *roman* computation. [*John* xix. 14.] And ſo have taken away all appearence of inconſiſtency with the three former *evangeliſts*. But he knew that he had truth on his ſide; and that he wrote according to truth. And, therefore, he did not condeſcend to ſuch little præcautions.

There are two paſſages, in his goſpel, which planely ſhow, that St. *John* followed the *roman* computation.

(1.) John i. 40. *John the baptiſt* ſaw *Jeſus* walking by, and pointed him out, as *the lamb of* GOD. By which, I ſuppoſe, his diſciples underſtood him to mean the *meſſiah*. Two of *John the baptiſt's* diſciples hearing their maſter make that declaration, followed after *Jeſus*. He ſaw them following him; and turned about, and aſked them *what they wanted?* They intimated that they wanted to have ſome converſation with him; and ſaid unto him, *Rabbi, where do you live?* He let them know, that, if they would go along with him, he would ſhow them the place, and there admit them to familiar converſation with him. Upon that, they went along with him. *And they continued with him that day. Now, it was about the tenth hour*; when they firſt ſaw, and followed, *Jeſus*. In other words, *they ſpent the day with him*; that is, from ten in the morning, 'till about ſix, in the afternoon. And, in thoſe eight hours, they may be ſuppoſed to have received very conſiderable evidence of his divine miſſion. But they could ſcarcely have been ſaid to *ſpend the day with him*, or to have had ſuch a fair opportunity to have ſatisfied themſelves, by converſeing with him; if we were to interpret that paſſage, according to the *jewiſh* computation; and ſuppoſe that, by *the tenth hour*, was to be underſtood four of the clock in the afternoon; when no more than about two hours of the *jewiſh* day remained.

(2.) *John* xx. 19. We have a yet more evident proof that St. *John* followed the *roman* method of reckoning the hours of the day.

For,

For, ſpeaking of that very day, on which *our bleſſed lord* aroſe from the dead he firſt mentions his appearing to *Mary Magdalene*; and then intimates, that he appeared to other of his diſciples, that ſame day. But his words are very remarkable, [*The ſame day, when it was evening, being the firſt day of the week*; and the diſciples had bolted the doors, for fear of *the jews*; then came *Jeſus*, and ſtood in the midſt of them, &c.] Now, no *jew* would have uſed that language. No! *When the evening was come*, they would have called it *the ſecond day of the week*. — St. *John*, therefore, in this place, hath, in effect, (though not in expreſſe words,) told his attentive readers, that he has followed the *roman* computation of the hours of the day. For, according to that, it was ſtill *the firſt day of the week*; and the ſame day, on which our lord aroſe: notwithſtanding the ſun was ſet, and *the evening come*; and the *jews* would, unqueſtionably, have reckoned it *the ſecond day of the week*.

V, *laſtly*. From the foregoing obſervations, taken together, the reader may eaſily perceive that there is no manner of inconſiſtency, or contradiction, between the hiſtory of the three former *evangeliſts*, and that of St. *John*, concerning the time of the day, when *Jeſus* ſtood before *Pilate*, or when he was nailed to the croſſe, or how long he hung upon it. According to St. *John*, [chap. xix. 14.] at *ſix* of the clock, in the morning, *Jeſus* was ſtanding before *Pilate*. According to St. *Mark*, [chap. xv. 25.] it was *the third hour*, when he was nailed to the croſſe. That was according to the *jewiſh* computation. But, by the *roman* way of reckoning, it was *the ninth hour*; or nine a clock, in the morning. After he had hung three hours upon the croſſe, then came on the gloomy and unuſual darkneſſe; that is, at *ſix* a clock, with *the jews*; and at twelve a clock, or mid-day, with the *romans*. Three hours after that, he expired: *that is*, at *the ninth hour* of the *jewiſh* day; or, with the *romans*, at three a clock, in the afternoon. — In other words, " the *jews* and the " *romans* computed the hours of the day, after a different manner. " The three former *evangeliſts* followed the *jewiſh* computation. " St. *John* ſaw reaſon, in his ſituation, to follow the *roman* compu- " tation. But, when one compares the accounts, they perfectly co- " incide."

Thus this mighty difficulty, abſurdity, and contradiction; which Dr. *Middleton*, after a long and critical examination, roundly declares to be *a manifeſt inconſiſtency*, turns out to be no inconſiſtency at all.

This

This ſolution had been mentioned, by ſome commentators, or critics, before Dr. *Middleton* wrote. I will not ſuppoſe that he knew of it, and deſignedly conceled it. But how careful ſhould men be, again and again, to examine the grounds, which they go upon; eſpecially when they treat of matters of religion! And modeſty is never more becomeing, than when authors give their opinion upon ſuch ſacred and important ſubjects. A clear and maſterly ſtyle; a bold and confident manner of decideing the point in controverſie; and, without hæſitation, pronounceing, that it is thus or thus; will run away with the generality of readers; — who have neither the leiſure, nor inclination, to re-examine, what an agreeable and entertaining writer has already decided. — But all are not carried along with the ſtream. And it is poſſible that a ſpritely and agreeable writer may be a very haſty one: and that ſome of his arguments, upon a cool and deliberate examination, may be ſhown to be groundleſſe and inconcluſive. Such writers, therefore, above all others, ſhould be read with great caution.

I leave it to thoſe, who have health and leiſure, to re-examine the other paſſages of the four goſpels, which Dr. *Middleton* has ſo freely charged with contradiction and inconſiſtency. But this ſpecimen may, I ſuppoſe, planely ſhow, that he is, by far, too poſitive and dogmatical.

*The end of the* DISSERTATION.

APPEND-

# APPENDIX

## NUMB. V.

OR

*A* POSTSCRIPT *to the* LETTER, *at the end of the* ſecond volume; *concerning the perſons, to whom St.* Paul *writ, what is commonly called,* The epiſtle to the Epheſians.

SINCE this letter was publiſhed, a learned writer has offered ſome objections to the emendation of a paſſage in *Ignatius*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians* propoſed therein [a], which very well deſerve to be conſidered. And therefore the author of the letter thought it incumbent upon him to return the following anſwer to them, in ſupport of that emendation.

It is ſaid in the firſt place, "That *Valeſius* follows the other interpretation of ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ, as alſo Biſhop *Pearſon*, who has "more fully defended it, in his *Vindiciae Ignatianae*." It is true, indeed, that the biſhop, in his *Vindiciae Ignat. c.* x. *p.* 387. has produced ſeveral paſſages from *greek* and *latin* writers, wherein πᾶς and *omnis* are uſed for ὅλος and *totus*. And this the author of the letter had alſo obſerved, with reſpect to πᾶς, *in ſuch things, of which there is but one of a ſort, or at leaſt where there can be no ambiguity*. But can it be ſaid, there is no ambiguity here? *Ignatius* very frequently uſes the words of the new teſtament, and applies them in the ſame ſenſe. Thus in the paſſage refered to, there is ἡγιασμένα, *ſanctified*, μεμαρτυρημένα, *of good report*, ἴχνη, *ſteps*, or *pattern*, ἐπιτύχω, *obtain*, or *injoy*. So that almoſt the whole ſentence appears to be made up of ſcripture phraſeology. And can it well be doubted, but the like was intended as to μνημονεύειν? Which verb often occurs in the new teſtament, where it always ſignifies *to remember, call to mind*, or *be mindful of*. But in that ſenſe it ſeems a very unuſual expreſſion to ſay

[a] Vol. ii. [illegible], &c.

ſay, of any one, *He remembers*, or *is mindful of you, in a whole epiſtle.* And therefore, to avoid this, a different ſignification has been here given to μνημονεύειν, namely, *to praiſe greatly, always to commend*, as the apoſtle never blames the *Epheſians*. But no authority is produced for that ſenſe, either from the new teſtament, or any other writer. And St. *Paul* himſelf, both in that epiſtle, *chap.* ii. *ver.* 11. and writeing to the *Coloſſians*, *chap.* iv. *ver.* 18. uſes that verb in the common ſignification, *to remember*. Beſides, how does he more commend the perſons writen to, in that epiſtle, than, agreeably to his uſual manner, he does any other body of *gentile* chriſtians, to whom he was not perſonally known, in writing to them; or indeed than he has commended the *Coloſſians?* For, as to the *gentile* converts in that church, Mr. *Peirce* has obſerved, that he all along commends them, without paſſing the leaſt cenſure upon them. Though, in *chap.* ii. *ver.* 20. applying himſelf to the *jewiſh* converts, he blames them for attempting to ſubject the *gentiles* to the *Moſaic* ordinances. But a particular application of this ſort might not be thought ſo requiſite, in a more general epiſtle, addreſſed to the *gentile* churches, as the author of the letter ſuppoſes that epiſtle to have been.

Another reaſon aſſigned againſt the emendation, is this: "That "in all the editions of *Ignatius*'s epiſtles, as alſo in the old *latin* "verſion, and interpolated epiſtles, the verb is in the third perſon. And, as to the interpolated epiſtles, ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτῶ "μνημονεύει ὑμῶν, is ſaid to be the true reading, and not ἡμῶν, as in "the letter; it being ſuppoſed that a reference is there made to *Eph.* i. "16." The author of the letter copied that paſſage from the edition of *Ittigius*, which was the only one he had by him. But by what biſhop *Pearſon* has ſaid, in defence of the other reading, he thinks it better ſupported. However, he does not perceive, that what he has offered, is any way affected by it; ſince he is ſo far from denying that the author of the interpolated epiſtles, thought *Ignatius* deſigned to tell the *Epheſians*, that St. *Paul* had writen an epiſtle to them; that he immediately produces another paſſage, from him, to prove the contrary. But though the interpolator's copy might read the verb in the third perſon, as well as all thoſe hitherto collated by our modern critics: yet it does not from thence neceſſarily follow, that this is the true reading. There are ſome paſſages even of the new teſtament, in which all the copies agree; and yet the beſt commentators are not ſatisfied, that the preſent reading is genuine.

It

It is further objected: "That, if *Ignatius* intended to ſay, that he "mentioned the *Epheſians* in all his epiſtles, he would have added, "*As I do alſo the church of* Antioch *in* Syria, *of which I am not wor-* "*thy.*" But why it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that he would ſay this to the *Epheſians*, ſeems not ſo plain to conceive. Though, in a letter to the church of *Antioch*, he might perhaps have choſen to acquaint them with ſuch an inſtance of his affection and regard for them.

But the greateſt ſtreſs ſeems to be laid upon the manner of expreſſion: "Which is ſaid to agree with the ſtyle of *Ignatius*, in o- "ther places, where two or more members of a ſentence are carried "on, by the relative ὃς, reſpecting the ſame ſubject, or precedeing "noun. And inſtances of this are cited from his epiſtles *Ad Magneſ.* "§ viii. *Philadelph.* § i. and §. xi." This form of conſtruction indeed often occurs in *Ignatius*, and may ſeem to have riſen more eſpecially from his imitation of St. *Paul*, with whom it is not uncommon. Examples of this may be ſeen, in *Epheſ.* ii. 20,—22; and iv. 15, 16. *Coloſſ.* i. 27, 28; and ii. 10, 11. to name no more. However, both St. *Paul* and *Ignatius*, like other writers, frequently refer the relative to ſome ſubſequent noun, which is not the principal ſubject of the ſentence; as *Epheſ.* i. 12,—14. *Coloſſ.* i. 12,—14. And in *Epheſ.* i. 6,—8. there are three relatives in one ſentence, the firſt and third of which reſpect the ſame ſubſtantive, and the ſecond another, which intervenes. It would be needleſs to produce examples from *Ignatius*, which are obvious in all his epiſtles. Nay, the laſt inſtance in the objection, *Ad Philadelph.* § xi. is of that kind; where the firſt ὃς reſpects Φίλωνα, and the ſecond Ῥέῳ. A parallel example to which may be ſeen *Coloſſ.* iv. 7,—9.

It is further objected: "That, if after having ſpoken of *Paul*, *Ig-* "*natius* had ſaid any thing of himſelf, particularly that he mention- "ed them in all his epiſtles; he would have ſaid, Κἀγὼ, as indeed "the nature of the thing requires he ſhould." What is here ſaid, is true, where the former ſenſe is complete, and the ſubject is changed. So this writer, after ſpeaking of other perſons in § xi. *ad Philadelph.* when he comes to ſpeak of himſelf, introduces it by the words, Κἀγὼ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριςῶ. But in the paſſage *ad Epheſ.* the ſenſe is not complete, but continued by ὃς, which therefore could not conſiſtently have been changed into κἀγώ. Though he might have introduced it before, by dividing the ſentence, and inſtead of ἅ γένοιτό μοι, ſaying, Κἀγὼ εὔχομαι αὐτῇ, &c. But that would no way affect the following member now under conſideration.

Should what has been offered not prove ſatisfactory, the difficulty will ſtill remain, how to reconcile the preſent reading, in *Ignatius*, with Dr. *Mill*'s reaſons againſt St. *Paul*'s epiſtle being written to the *Epheſians*. Particularly *chap.* i. *ver.* 15. when compared with *Coloſſ. chap.* i. *ver.* 4. The moſt plauſible ſolution of which ſeems to be that in Mr. *Locke*, taken from *Grotius*, who explains thoſe words, *After I heard of your faith*, when ſpoken to the *Epheſians*, by *After I heard of the continuance of your faith.* But, as the ſame expreſſion, when uſed to the *Coloſſians*, is by all interpreters taken in the obvious meaning, as ſpoken to perſons, whom the apoſtle had never ſeen; is it reaſonable to imagine, that he would have uſed it, in ſo different a ſenſe, in two epiſtles, which were both before him at the ſame time; were both to be carried by the ſame meſſenger; and, as the author of the letter ſuppoſes, were to be interchanged, and read by both the churches, to whom they were firſt delivered?

*The end of the* POSTSCRIPT.

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This is the third and laſt period of the converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles*. Wherein it was known to all the elders of the chriſtian church, at *Jeruſalem*, that the *goſpel* was preached among the *idolatrous gentiles*.

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*tiles.* The zeleous *jewiſh chriſtians* accuſe St. *Paul.* He maketh all lawful condeſcenſions, in order to remove their præjudices; and particularly takes upon him the *nazarite's vow. The apoſtle of the gentiles* vindicated in ſo doing. Acts xxi. 17,—26. pag. 224.

Sect. ii. The *Aſian jews*, ſpying St. *Paul*, in the *ſecond court* of the *temple*, ſtir up the people againſt him; who apprehend, and beat, him. The *roman tribune* reſcues him. His ſpeech to the people, from the *tower* of *Antonia.* They, after ſome time, interrupt him with their clamor. *Lyſias*, the *tribune*, was going to examine him, by *torture*; but deſiſted, when he underſtood that he was a *free roman.* Acts xxi. 27,—xxii. 29. p. 232.

Sect. iii. The apoſtle brought before the *ſanhedrim.* His treatment and behavior there. Upon his declareing himſelf for *the reſurſurrection from the dead*, the *phariſees* and *ſadducees* fell into a diſpute among themſelves. The tribune reſcued the apoſtle from them. Acts xxii. 30,— xxiii. 10. p. 239.

Sect. iv. *The lord Jeſus* appeareth, in a viſion, to *Paul*; comforteth him, under his preſent confinement; and telleth him that he muſt go to *Rome*, to preach the *goſpel* there. The forty conſpirators againſt his life are diſappointed; and *Paul* ſent to *Cæſarea.* Acts xxiii. 11, to the end of that chapter. p. 243.

Sect. v. Some of the *ſanhedrim* appear, againſt St. *Paul*, before *Felix*, at *Cæſarea. Tertullus* his accuſation. The apoſtle's defence. *Felix* remains undetermined. Acts xxiv. 1,—23. p. 246.

Sect. vi. *The apoſtle*, dureing his confinement at *Cæſarea*, preacheth the *goſpel*, before *Felix* and *Druſilla.* After two years, *Felix* was turned out of the government; but left St. *Paul* in cuſtody. Acts xxiv. 24, to the end of that chapter. p. 250.

Sect. vii. Some of the *ſanhedrim* went down to *Cæſarea*, to accuſe St. *Paul* before *Feſtus.* When *Feſtus* would have ſent him back to *Jeruſalem*, he appealed to *Cæſar.* Acts xxv. 1,—12. p. 252.

Sect. viii. *King Agrippa* and *Bernice* went to viſit *Feſtus.* He acquaints them with *Paul's* caſe. The king, being deſireous to hear him, the *apoſtle* is brought from the priſon; and made ſuch an excellent defence, before them, that he gained the good-will of that grand audience; and almoſt converted *king Agrippa* to *chriſtianity.* Acts xxv. 13,—xxvi. 32. p. 256.

CHAP. IX. Some farther account of the reign of *Nero*; and of the affairs of the *jews.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X. St. *Paul* ſets out, upon his *fourth apoſtolic journey:* for *Rome:* takes the iſland *Crete*, in his way; is ſhipwrec and caſt upon the iſland *Melita.* When he arrived at *Rome* was confined there, in his own hired houſe, for two years. Fr thence, he wrote ſeveral epiſtles; received frequent meſſages, fr diſtant places; and ſent meſſages to ſeveral of the *churches.* Acts xxvii^th and xxviii^th chapters.

Sect. i. *The apoſtle* ſails by ſeveral places: is ſhipwreck'd, and caſt upon the iſland *Melita.* Acts xxvii. 1, to the end of that chapter. p. 270.

Sect. ii. They all ſtayed, three months, in *Melita.* St. *Paul* ſhook off a *viper*, which bit his hand, without receiveing any harm. He miraculouſly healed the father of *Publius*; and many other ſick perſons. The *Meliteſe* were, in return, very kind to them. Acts xxviii. 1,—11. p. 276.

Sect. iii. They ſailed, from *Melita*, to *Sicily.* From thence, to *Rhegium*, in *Italy.* After that, to *Puteoli*; from whence, they went, by land, to *Rome.* Some chriſtians met them at *Appii forum*; and others, at *Tres tabernæ.* Acts xxviii. 12,—15. p. 279.

Sect. iv. The *apoſtle*, *Paul*, at *Rome.* He preaches, to the *jews*, there. When ſeveral of them refuſed to imbrace *chriſtianity*, he declared his reſolution to preach to the *gentiles* of that *city.* Acts xxviii. 16,—29. p. 280.

Sect. v. *The apoſtle* makes ſeveral converts to *chriſtianity*, at *Rome.* An account of his *companions*, or fellow-laborers, there. p. 284.

Sect. vi. Dureing this, his firſt confinement, at *Rome*, St. *Paul* wrote four of *his epiſtles.* The *order*, in which he wrote them, conſidered. p. 288.

Sect. vii. What is commonly called *the epiſtle to the Epheſians*, was, moſt probably, *the epiſtle*, from *Laodicea*, mentioned *Col.* iv. 16. p. 290.

Sect. viii. The *hiſtory* and *ſynopſis* of St. *Paul's epiſtle* to the *Laodiceans*; which is commonly called The *epiſtle to the Epheſians.* p. 297.

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Sect. x. The hiſtory of St. *Paul's* writeing the *epiſtle* to *Philemon* p. 306.

Sect. xi. The *hiſtory* of St. *Paul's epiſtle* to the *Philipians.* p. 312.

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*A differ-*

*A diſſertation:* In which it is ſhown, that St. *Luke* wrote *the Acts of the apoſtles*; and that, as *the Acts* contain a true hiſtory, *chriſtianity* muſt be true.

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PART II. Namely; to point out the *proofs*, which *the acts of the apoſtles* afford, of the truth of chriſtianity.

(1.) *The general doctrine, reaſonable.* p. 333.

(2.) *The particular doctrines*, taught by the *apoſtles*, were, with great propriety and wiſdom, ſuted to the ſtate of the perſons, to whom they preached. p. 336.

(3.) The *proofs* and *evidences*, which the *apoſtles* gave, of their miſſion and doctrine, were abundantly ſufficient, both as to their ſtrength and number. p. 337.

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miſtakes of Dr. *Conyers Middleton*, in his *curſory reflections* *Galat.* ii. 11, &c. page

IV. A *diſſertation* on *John* xix. 14. with a view to reconcile w St. *John* has there ſaid, of it's being the *ſixth hour*, when *lord* ſtood before *Pontius Pilate*, with what the other *eva liſts* have ſaid, of it's being the *third hour*, when he was cr fied. p.

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ADVER-

# ADVERTISEMENT

## Concerning the INDEXES.

In all the following *indexes*; p. ſtands for page; a, for *volume firſt*; b, for *volume ſecond*; and c, for *volume third*.

When any paſſage, related in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, is wanted, the reader may take his new teſtament; and find out the chapter and verſe, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles:* and then he will eaſily find out the ſame paſſage, in this hiſtory: by looking in the margin, at the top of any page. Conſulting the *contents* will, alſo, readily direct to any part of the *hiſtory*.

When a text, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*, is referred to, the reader is to conſult the *hiſtory*, or *notes*, upon that place.

*N. B.* As the pages, in the *firſt* and *ſecond edition* of this hiſtory, differ but a little, the *contents* and *indexes*, may, in a great meaſure, ſerve for both editions.

## I. An INDEX of the *hebrew words*, explaned, or quoted, in theſe three VOLUMES.

אבי אשתא *abi iſhta*, father-fire, a. p. 137.

אחרי כן *akaree cheen*, after theſe things; the ſame as [*in the laſt days.*] Acts ii. 17.

בעל כיון *Bal-kiun*, the ſame with *Vulcan*. a, p. 137.

בר־נבא *Barnabi*, the ſon of a prophet. Acts iv. 36. and xi. 22.

ו *Vau*. The particle, ו *vau*, muſt be, ſometimes, tranſpoſed in the tranſlation, b. p. 9.

ורבים מישני אדמה־עפר *verabbim miſhanee admah haphar*, &c. And, as to the multitude, who ſleep, in the duſt of the earth, &c. the nominative caſe abſolute. Acts vii. 40.

זנות *zenuth*, impurity, or lewdneſſe. 224.

לרוח היום *leruach hajom*, in the wind of the day. a, p. 32.

מכה *macceh*, to ſmite ſo as to kill. Acts vii. 24.

עגלח *Eglah*, a calf. Acts ix. 36.

על הדם *Al hadam*, at, or before, the blood. b, p. 70.

ראה ראיתו *raoh, raithi*, ſeeing I have ſeen. Or, I have aſſuredly ſeen. Acts vii. 34.

רחל *rachel*, which ſignifies *a ſheep*. Acts ix. 36.

## II. An INDEX of the *greek words*, explaned in theſe *three volum*

### A.

Ἄγγελος *an angel*, (which commonly ſignifies an intelligent being, of an order ſuperior to the human race) does, ſometimes, ſignifie, *a man, ſent, as a meſſenger*, Acts xvii. 25. See, alſo, b, p. 9.

Ἀγορὰ *an aſſembly*, or *the place of aſſembling*.

Ἀγοραῖος a *perſon*, belonging to the *forum*, or place of public concourſe. Acts xvii. 5. and xix. 38.

Ἀδίκημα *a crime, cognizeable by the civil magiſtrate*. Acts xxiv. 20, 21.

Αἰὼν μέλλων *the age to come*, or *the goſpel-age*. Acts iii. 21.

Ἀπ' αἰῶνος *from the begining* of the jewiſh diſpenſation. Acts iii. 21.

Αἰώνιος [See Πρὸ.]

Ἀκούω ſignifies, ſometimes to *hear*, ſometimes *to hear* and *underſtand*. Acts ix. 7. compared with Acts xxii. 9.

Ἀλληγορούμενα, Gal. iv. 24. ſignifies (not *an allegory*; but) *allegorized*. See the ſynopſis of the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, b, p. 141.

Ἁμαρτωλοὶ *ſiners*, [or *vicious perſons*,] applied to the wicked gentiles. See on Acts ii. 23.

Ἀναζωπυρεῖν *to ſtir a fire*, or *blow up the flame*; applied to *ſtirring up* the gifts of the ſpirit. a, p. 34.

Ἀνάστασις *the reſurrection*; might, perhaps, by the *Athenians*, be taken for *a godeſſe*. Acts xvii. 18.

Ἀναστήσας *haveing raiſed up* Jeſus, (not from the dead, but) as a prophet. Acts iii. 26.

Ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοὶ, *men, brethren*, no hebraiſm. Acts i. 16.

Ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς *devout men*. Acts viii. 2.

Ἀνθύπατος, not *a prætor*, but *a proconſul*. Acts xiii. 7. and xix. 38.

Ἀνόμων, *ſiners* among the *gentiles*. So ἁμαρτωλοὶ. See on Acts ii. 23.

Ἀπ' αἰῶνος, ſee above; immediately after αἰὼν μέλλων.

Ἀπάρχαι *the firſt-fruits*. Acts xi. 30.

Ἀπολλυμενοὶ, *the loſt*, or *abandoned*, Acts ii. 47.

Ἀργύριον *a jewiſh ſhekel*; the value of in our engliſh coin. Acts xix. 19.

Ἀσεβὴς *ungodly*, or *an idolator*. See Acts ii. 23. and vii. 2.

Ἀσθενεῖς *without ſtrength*. See on Acts ii. 23.

Αὐτόπται *eye-witneſſes*. Acts xi. 30.

### Γ

Γῆ [See ἡ γῆ.]

Γλεῦκος *muſt*; that is, new, or ſweet, wine. Acts ii. 13.

Γνῶσις *knowlege*; a ſpiritual gift. a, p. 44.

### Δ

Δεισιδαιμονία does, ſometimes, ſignifie *religion*; ſometimes, *ſuperſtition*. Acts xvii. 22. and xxv. 19.

Δεισιδαιμονεστέρας *more religious* than other people. Acts xvii 22. and xxv. 19.

Δέω *to bind*. a, p. 50.

Διαδόχαι *the ſucceſſors* of the firſt converts. Acts xi. 30.

Διακονία *deaconſhip*, or *miniſtry*; applied to various things. Acts xi. 29. and xii. 25.

Διάλεκτος, ſometimes, ſignifies *a dialect*; ſometimes *a different language*. Acts ii. 8.

Διατάσσειν *to ſet in order*. A military term. Acts vii. 53.

Διοπετὲς *the image, which fell down from Jupiter*. Acts xix. 35.

Δορκὰς [anſwering to the hebrew word, *Tabitha*;] ſignifies *a roe*, or *wild-goat*. But, according to Dr. *Shaw*, *the gazel*, or *antilope*. Acts ix. 36.

Δύναμις *miraculous power*. a, p. 37; 39.

### E

Εἰς *concerning*. Acts ii. 25.

Εἰς *among*. Acts vii. 53.

Ἐμμὼρ τοῦ Συχέμ *Emmor* the father *of Sichem*. So *father, mother, brother, ſon*, are often left out, and to be ſupplied. Acts vii. 16.

Ἐμφα-

Ἐμφανίζω *to accuſe*, or *lay open a crime*. Acts xxiv. 1.
Ἔξω. [See Πόλις.]
Ἐπαρχία *a province*. Acts xxv. 1.
Εὐπορέω *to abound*, or *have plenty*. Acts xi. 28, 29.
Ἐφέσια γράμματα *letters* or *words, made uſe of, in the Epheſian incantations*. Acts xix. 18, 19.

H

Ἡ γῆ ſignifies, ſometimes, *the* whole *earth*; ſometimes, *the land*; meaning one particular country. [So does οἰκουμένη.] See on Acts xi. 28.
Ἥφαιστος *Vulcan*. a, p. 137.

I

Ἵνα *that*, — muſt, ſometimes, in conſtruction, be tranſpoſed. b, p. 9.
Ἰδὼν εἶδον *ſeeing I have ſeen*: not an hebraiſm. Acts vii. 34.

K

Κἀγὼ *And I*, or *I alſo*: when properly uſed c, p. 57.
Καθεξῆς *in order*, from church to church. Acts xviii. 23.
Καταπονουμένῳ *ſubdued in a ſtrugle*. Acts vii 24.
Κατ' οἶκον *in the houſe*. Acts ii. 46 and v. 42.
Κρίνω *to condemn*. Acts xiii. 46. So *I think*; or *I am of that opinion*. Acts xv 19.
Κυβερνήσεις *governments*. a, p. 71.

Λ

Ὁ Λαὸς *the people*; that is, in the new teſtament, the people of the *jews*. Acts xxvi. 17.
Λιβερτίνων *the deſcendents of freedmen*. A latin word. Acts vi. 9.
Λύω *to looſe*. a, p. 50.

M

Μηδὲν διακρινόμενος *makeing no ſcruple*. Acts x. 20.
Μνημονεύειν does not ſignifie, *to praiſe*, or *to retain in memory*; but *to mention*, or *to make mention of*. b, p. 349. c, p. 55, 56.
Μωσῆς:] Ὁ γὰρ Μωσῆς, — οὐκ οἴδαμεν τί γέγονεν αὐτῷ. *For as for this Moſes*,— *we know not what is become of him*. — The nominative caſe is, here, abſolute; as in many other texts, in the old and new teſtament. Acts vii. 40.

N

Νεανίας *a youth*. Acts vii. 58. See on Acts viii. 1.
Νίγερ *the black*. A latin word. Acts xiii. 1.
Νομίζω *to act according to cuſtom*. Acts xvi. 13.

O

Οἰκουμένη *the world*, or *one particular country*. [So does ἡ γῆ ſignifie.] See on Acts xi. 28.
Ὅς *who*.] Two or more, members of a ſentence are carried on, by this relative, reſpecting the ſame ſubject, or præceding noun. Sometimes, it refers to the neareſt antecedent, ſometimes to one more diſtant. In ſome inſtances, it refers to the ſubſequent noun, which is not the principal ſubject of the ſentence. c, p. 57.

Π

Παῤῥησία *ſpeaking openly and boldly*. b, p. 16.
Πόλις *a city*, or *town*. a, p. 156.
Ἔξω πόλεως *cities beyond the borders of Paleſtine*. Acts ix. 1.
Πορνεία *uncleanneſſe, impurity*, or *lewdneſſe*, at large: and not merely *adultery*. It is onely in a ſecondary ſenſe, that it ſignifies *idolatry*. a, p. 224.
Πρεσβύτης *an ambaſſador*. See on Acts viii. 1. a, p. 147.
Πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων before the times *under the law*. Acts iii. 21.

P

Ῥήγιον *Rhegium*, a breach. The name of a town, upon the coaſt of *Italy*; where it has been ſuppoſed that the iſland *Sicily* was broke off from the continent. Acts xxviii. 13.

Σ

Σβεννυεῖν *to quench a flame*, or *put out a fire*; — applied to *quenching* the miraculous gifts of the ſpirit. a, p. 33.
Σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι *devout proſelytes*. a, p. 228.
Σουδάρια *handkerchiefs, and* σιμικίνθια *aprons:* two latin words. Acts xix. 12.
Σόω, σώω, σῴζω, and σωτηρία, uſed, ſometimes, for *a temporal deliverance*; ſometimes, for *everlaſting ſalvation*. Acts iv. 12.
Σωζόμενοι *the ſaved*, or *reformed*. Acts ii. 47.
Σπεῖρα *a cohort*; conſiſting, ſometimes, of a thouſand ſoldiers. For over it, was χιλίαρχος *a tribune*, or *captain of a thouſand*. Acts x. 1. a, p. 231.
Στρατηγός, or ἀνθυπατήσ *a pro-prætor*. Acts xiii. 7.
Συναναμίγνυσθαι *to keep up familiar ſociety* with any perſon. b, p. 130.
Σύντροφος *a perſon educated with another*. Acts xiii. 1.

T

Τεταγμένοι *diſpoſed*, or *ſet in order*. A military term. Acts xiii. 48.

Υ

Υἱὸς παρακλήσεως *the ſon of conſolation, of exhortation*. Acts iv. 36.
Ὑπεριδὼν *looking with contempt*, or *indignation*. Acts xvii. 30.
Ὑπηρέται *miniſters*. Acts xiii. 5.

X

Χειροτονεῖν originally ſignified, *to ſtretch out*, or *lift up*, the hand, *in popular elections*. But, afterwards, it came to be uſed, in a laxer ſenſe; and to ſignifie *to appoint*, or *conſtitute*, whether by election, or otherwiſe. Acts xiv. 23.
Χρηματίζω ſometimes, *to warn, by divine admonition*. Χρηματισμός *a divine admonition*. Acts xi. 26.

Ψ

Ψεύσασθαι, with an accuſative caſe of the perſon, ſignifies, *to impoſe upon*, or *deceive:* but, with a dative caſe, ſignifies, *to lye to* a perſon. Acts v. 3, 4.

## III. An INDEX of texts differently read.

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IV. An

## IV. An INDEX of texts, explaned, or quoted.

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## V. An INDEX of the principal matters contained in theſe THREE VOLUMES.

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*Agrippina:*] her character. She was ſecond wife of *Claudius Cæſar*; and mother of *Nero*; had a great aſcendent over *Claudius*; and, at laſt, poiſoned him. b, p. 150, &c. Inſtead of *Britanicus*, the ſon of *Claudius*, ſhe got her ſon, *Nero*, advanced to be emperor. b, p. 153. At firſt, *Agrippina* ruled the empire. b, p. 154. [See *Nero.*]

*Ainſworth:*] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 142; 225; 233. b, p. 66; 69; 160; 226.

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*Alexander the copper-ſmith*; a violent enemy of St. *Paul.* b, p. 182.

*Alexander the great,*] borne at *Pella*, not far from *Beræa.* b, p. 103. It was not *Alexander the great*, but *Darius Nothus*, who granted the *ſamaritanes* liberty to build the temple upon *Mount Gerizim.* a, p. 151.

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*Angel:*] An *angel* ſent to *Cornelius:* but *our lord Jeſus Chriſt*, himſelf, appeared to the apoſtle *Peter*. a, p. 235, &c.
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*Antioch in Syria:*] a deſcription of it; the number of the *jews*, in that city. a, p. 246. The diſciples of *Jeſus*, firſt called *chriſtians*, there. a, p. 248, &c. That church, the mother-church of the gentile chriſtians; as that, at *Jeruſalem*, was of the *jewiſh* chriſtians. b, p. 24; 40.
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*Antipatris*, deſcribed. b, p. 245.
*Antonia:*] The tower of *Antonia*, deſcribed. b, p. 233, &c.
*Antonine's itinerarium*, referred to. b, p. 280.
*Apelles*, the celebrated painter, borne in *Cous*, or *Cos*. b, p. 221.
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*Apis:*] one of the gods of *Ægypt*. a, p. 136.
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*Apollonia:*] deſcribed. b, p. 98.
*Appian:*] referred to. b, p. 88.
*Appion*, the *ægyptian*, calumniated the *jews*. *Joſephus* wrote two books againſt him, in their vindication. a, p. 211.

A

*Apoſtles:*] The names of the *twelve apoſtles*; and their being trained up, for their work. a, p. 5. their firſt expedition. a, p. 8. Their ſecond commiſſion. *Jeſus* took his leave of them, in a very ſolemn and affectionate manner. a, p. 9; 15. They were well acquainted with our lord, before his death; and heard him foretell his own reſurrection. a, p. 12.
*Apoſtles:*] An apoſtle, choſen inſtead of *Judas Iſcariot*. a, p. 21. *Myſteries* reveled to *apoſtles*, onely. a, p. 41. b, p. 19. The ſcheme of chriſtianity reveled to *apoſtles*, onely. a, p. 43; 144. The *apoſtles*, by the laying on of their hands, could confer *ſpiritual gifts*, or *miraculous powers*, upon other chriſtians. a, p. 63. b, p. 25. They ſeem to have confered ſuch gifts, or powers, upon all adult converts, wherever they came. a, p. 63; 163; 165. No chriſtians, but *apoſtles*, could confer the holy ſpirit, upon other perſons. a, p. 64; 162; 177. *The apoſtles*, haveing received the ſpirit, began to preach. a, p. 73. They ſpoke a variety of languages; and with a good accent. a, p. 76. They were mocked and inſulted, by thoſe *jews*, who underſtood not the languages, which they ſpoke. a, p. 76. Two of the *apoſtles* impriſoned. a, p. 95. called before the *ſanhedrim*. a, p. 96. The *ſanhedrim* forbid them to preach, any more, in the name of *Jeſus*; with which they refuſed to comply. a, p. 99. Upon the apoſtles, and their company, there was a ſecond effuſion of the ſpirit. a, p. 100. All the twelve *apoſtles* apprehended, by the leading jews, at *Jeruſalem*; and ſent to the common priſon. They were delivered, by an *angel*; who ſent them to preach, again, in one of the courts of the temple. a, p. 107. *The ſanhedrim* threatened, and chid them; but could not intimidate them. a, p. 110. By order of the *ſanhedrim*, the twelve *apoſtles* were whipt, publicly, with the forty ſtripes ſave one. a, p. 113. In condeſcenſion to the præjudices of the *apoſtles*, our lord did not, at firſt, ſend them to preach

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preach among the *ſamaritanes*. a, p. 159. The other apoſtles had no notion of the ſupremacy of St. *Peter*. a, p. 162. c, p. 38. The *apoſtles* bore their teſtimony to the facts, relateing to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his religion. b, p. 11. The reaſons, why there were twelve apoſtles of the *circumciſion*, and onely two of the *gentiles*. b, p. 22. The reaſons, why the *ſanhedrim* could not ſilence the *apoſtles*. c, p. 5, &c. The different method, made uſe of, by the *apoſtles*, in preaching to *jews* and *gentiles*. b, p. 30. They were not inſpired, as to their ordinary conduct. b, p. 80; 241. c, p. 45. The three apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, acquainted, by St. *Paul*, with the converſion of idolatrous *gentiles*. b, p. 54. The *apoſtles*, themſelves, præjudiced, for a long time, againſt the aboliſhing of the ceremonial law. b, p. 227, &c. The *apoſtles* could not work miracles, whenever they pleaſed. c, p. 15, &c.

*Apoſtolic*: [See under the word *Chriſtian*.] The *apoſtolic decree*, (mentioned *Acts* xv.) never concerned any chriſtians, but ſuch as had been *proſelytes of the gate*. b, p. 61, &c. The abſtinences, injoined them, were not parts of the *ceremonial*, but of the *political*, law. b, p. 63, &c. The advantages of this interpretation of the apoſtolic decree. b, p. 65, &c.

The *apoſtolic epiſtles* illuſtrate and confirm what was ſaid in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 339, &c.

The *apoſtolic gifts*. a, p. 40.

The *apoſtolic inſpiration*;] the nature of it. c, p. 45.

*Apoſtolic journies*; [See under the word, *Paul*.]

The *apoſtolic rod*:] a, p. 51; 105.

*Aratus*, quoted. a, p. 145. b, p. 110.

*Arbuthnot*, [Dr.] on coins, referred to. b, p. 167.

*Archelaus* ſucceded his father, *Herod* the Great, as king of *Judæa* and *Samaria*. He was depoſed; and *Judæa* reduced to a roman province. a, p. 192.

*An Areopagite*:] a member of one of the courts, at *Athens*. b, p. 105. *Plato* afraid of that court. St. *Paul* brought

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before it. b, p. 106, 107, 108. St. *Paul* converts a member of that venerable court. b, p. 111.

*Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, ſubject to the *romans*. a, p. 202, &c.

*Ariſtophanes*, referred to. b, p. 183.

*Arrian*, referred to. a, p. 134.

*Aſcenſion of Jeſus*, compared with that of *Elijah*. a, p. 15.

*Aſia*:] the upper and lower *Aſia*. b, p. 160.

*Aſiarchs*:] who, or what, they were. b, p. 181, &c.

*Athanaſius*, referred to. a, p. 254. b, p. 325.

*Athens*:] a city much given to idolatry. b, p. 104. The two courts of judicature, there. b, p. 105, &c. St. *Paul* did, moſt probably, work miracles there. c, p. 18, &c. A *chriſtian church*, at *Athens*, many ages after the *apoſtles*. c, p. 19. The *chriſtians*, at *Athens*, much excelled the *heathens*, there, in piety and virtue. c, p. 19.

The *Athenians*, a vane and conceited people. b, p. 105, 106. c, p. 17; 20, 21.

*Auguſtin*, or *Auſtin*:] quoted, or referred to. b, p. 82; 105; 326. c, p. 33; 48, 49.

*Auguſtus Cæſar*,] the ſecond of the roman emperors. Dureing his reign, *Jeſus Chriſt* was borne. a, p. 190. he augmented the colony at *Philippi*. b, p. 88.

*Aulus Gellius*, referred to. b, p. 106; 180.

B

*Baptiſm*.] Before *baptiſm* by water, the *holy ſpirit* was poured out, upon the firſt-fruits of the *gentile* converts. a, p. 241. b, p. 55. Whole families baptized together; in alluſion to the *jews* baptizeing whole families of heathen proſelytes; or to *Abraham* and his family's being circumciſed together. b, p. 92; 94, &c.

*Bar-jeſus*:] The magian, ſtruck blind, by miracle. a, p. 53. St. *Paul* exerciſed the apoſtolic rod upon him. b, p. 27.

B

*Barnabas*;] and *Saul*, conſtituted *apoſtles*, when no other *apoſtle* was at *Jeruſalem*. b, p. 4. *Barnabas* conſtituted *apoſtle* of the *gentiles*, about the ſame time with *Saul*. b, p. 19. &c. *Barnabas* and *Saul* preach a whole year, to the *chriſtians*, at *Antioch*, who had been *proſelytes of the gate*. Acts xi. 26. Theſe two conſtituted *apoſtles*; Acts xiii. 1, &c. The *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, conferred on *Barnabas*, when he was conſtituted *apoſtle*. b, p. 19, &c. They laid the foundation of a chriſtian church, among the *idolatrous gentiles*, by converting *Sergius Paulus*. Acts xiii. 7. They exerciſed the apoſtolic rod, upon *Bar-jeſus*. Acts xiii. 8, &c. *Paul* and *Barnabas* differed, about *John Mark*, and went ſeparate peregrinations. But they were, afterwards, fully reconciled again. b, p. 79, &c. The *epiſtle*, aſcribed to *Barnabas*. b, p. 326.

*Baronius*; quoted, or referred to. a, p. 254. b, p. 189.

*Barrington* [Lord:] See *Miſcellanea ſacra*.

*Baſil the Great*; referred to. b, p. 290; 344, 345.

*Bede* [*the venerable*] introduced the reckoning of the years, from the birth of Chriſt, in theſe weſtern parts. a, p. 17.

*Bengelius*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 187; 246.

*Benjamin's itinerary*, quoted. a, p. 137.

*Bentley* [*Dr. Richard*,] referred to. c, p. 11.

*Bernice*, a lady of bad fame. b, p. 256, &c.

*Beroea*, deſcribed. The *jews*, there, of a more noble diſpoſition than thoſe of *Theſſalonica*. b, p. 103.

*Beza* mentions various readings, Acts i. 2. and xiv. 10.; 19. and xv. 29. and xix. 9. and xx. 3. and xxiv. 1. and xxvi. 17.

*Beza* quoted, or referred to. a, p. 77; 136; 148; 167; 246; 255. b, p. 161.

*Binding* and *looſeing*. a, p. 49; 56.

*Biſhops* and *deacons*, in the apoſtolic age, pointed out, by the *ſpirit*. a, p. 48. b, p 219. They were taken from among the *elders* of particular churches. a, p. 67. *Biſhops* and *deacons* were not ordained, upon a chriſtian church's being firſt planted. b, p. 187.

*Blackwall* [Dr. of *Aberdeen*:] ſee *Mythology*.

*Bochart*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 131; 137.

*Books of the new teſtament*, canonical; as writen, or confirmed, by ſome of the *apoſtles*. a, p. 44.

*Breaking of bread*, put for celebrateing the *lord's-ſupper*. a, p. 83.

*Budæus*, referred to. b, p. 105.

*Bullock* [Dr.] referred to. b, p. 337.

*Burrus*. [See *Seneca*.] *Burrus Afranius*, captain of the guards to *Nero*; and one of his principal miniſters of ſtate. b, p. 154. St. *Paul* was delivered to the care of *Burrus Afranius*, when he was carried, in chains, to *Rome*. b, p. 280.

*Burthens*:] No unneceſſary burthens, in the chriſtian law. b, p. 68, &c.

C

*Cæſar* [*Julius*,] the firſt roman emperor. a, p. 189. &c.

*Cæſarea*;] deſcribed. a, p. 231. b, p. 252. That city, built by *Herod the Great*. a, p. 231. A dreadful quarrel between the *jews* and *ſyrians*, there. b, p. 249.

*Cæſarean* provinces, in the roman empire: how diſtinguiſhed from ſuch as were *proconſular*. *Achaia*, ſometimes, of the former ſort; ſometimes, of the latter. b, p. 144.

*Caius*, a chriſtian; mentioned, in ſeveral texts, may not, always, mean the ſame perſon. b, p. 181.

*Caius Caligula*; choſen, by *Tiberius Cæſar*, to be his ſucceſſor, in the roman empire: and proved more bruteiſh and vile than he. a, p. 199. The begining of his reign, commendable. a, p. 208; 272. but, afterwards, he became cruel and abominable, a, p. 209; 272, &c. his cruel deſigns againſt the *jews*, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation;

ſternation; eſpecially his deſign to ſet up his ſtatue, in the temple, at *Jeruſalem*, to be worſhiped as *a god*. a, p. 212, &c. *Caius* his wild extravagance. a, p. 274, &c. The conſpiracy againſt him, which ended in his death. a, p. 277, &c.

*Caiaphas*, the jewiſh high-prieſt, who had procured the death of *Jeſus*, was, himſelf, depoſed. a, p. 196.

*Canaanites*:] See *Seven*.

*Capell*. [Ludovic,] referred to. a, p. 127.

*Captain of the temple*:] Who, or what, he was. a, p. 95; 109. called, by the jews, *the ruler of the mountain of the houſe*. a, p. 109.

*Carthage*:] A catalogue of the books of ſcripture, given, by the third council of *Carthage*. b, p. 326.

*Caſaubon*; quoted, or referred to. a, p. 112. b, p. 35; 184.

*Caſſius Chærea*; at the head of the conſpiracy, which effected the death of *Caius Caligula*. a, p. 277, &c.

*Caſſius Longinus*, ſucceded *Tibius Marſus*, as præſident of *Syria*: was ſucceded by *Ummidius Quadratus*. b, p. 77.

*Caſtellio*; referred to. b, p. 89.

*Caſtor* and *Pollux*:] In what manner the heathens deſcribed them. b, p. 278.

*Cellarius*; referred to. b, p. 344.

*Cenchrea*; the eaſtern port to *Corinth*. b, p. 113; 214.

*Ceremonial law*; aboliſhed, by the death of Chriſt, and erecting of his kingdom. c, p. 41.

*Cerinthus* and *Ebion*. c, p. 34.

*Chain*:] Some priſoners faſtened, by a chain to a ſoldier. b, p. 259; 264; 281. How St. *Peter* was chained to two ſoldie s. a, p. 285, &c.

*Chaldee paraphraſes*. a, p. 184.

*Chandler* [biſhop,] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 194, 195. b, p. 337.

*Chandler* [Dr. Samuel,] referred to. a, p. 79. b, p. 337.

The *charitable* contribution of the *gentile* chriſtians, at *Antioch*,, tended to ſoften the minds of the *jewiſh* chriſtians, at *Jeruſalem*; to whom that charity was ſent. a, p. 252. The community of goods, or charitable fund, firſt raiſed



by the three thouſand; and, afterward revived by the five thouſand; not d ſigned as a pattern for all chriſtiar Acts ii. 44, &c. and iv. 34, &c. p. 3, &c.

*Chief prieſts*, among the *jews*, quarre ed with the inferior prieſts, and i duced them to great extremities. l p. 253.

*Chiſhull's travels*, quoted. b, p. 180.

*Chiun*, Vulcan, Rempham, or Saturn:] What his image, or ſtar, was. a, p. 137.

*Chriſt*. [See *Jeſus*.] He is thought to have been called *Chreſtus*, by *Suetonius*. b, p. 114.

*Chriſtians*:] The diſciples of *Jeſus*, ſo called, firſt, at *Antioch*, *in Syria*; — the reaſons for that appellation. a, p. 248, &c. *Chriſtians* may eat blood, things ſtrangled, and things offered to idols; notwithſtanding the apoſtolic decree. b, p. 68. The *chriſtians*, at *Athens*, much excelled the *heathens*, in piety and virtue. c, p. 19. *Chriſtians*, in general, are not obliged to obſerve the apoſtolic decree, mentioned Acts xv. though the *chriſtians*, who had been proſelytes of the gate, were, for ſome time, obliged to obſerve it. What *our lord* ſaid, concerning the lawfulneſſe of eating any ſort of wholeſome food; and St. *Paul*'s declaration, to the *idolatrous gentiles*, that there was nothing, in itſelf, common, or unclean, reconciled with the *apoſtolic decree*. b, p. 67, &c. The *chriſtians*, perſecuted, by the *jews*, at *Theſſalonica*. b, p. 101. All the *chriſtians*, jewiſh or gentile, uſually aſſembled together, for religious worſhip; and had the epiſtles of St. *Paul* publicly read, among them. b, p. 124. The *jewiſh*, reconciled to the *gentile*, chriſtians, partly by the charity, which they received from them. a, p. 252. b, p. 225. The *chriſtians* of *Rome* went, a long way, to meet the apoſtle *Paul*; when he was brought, in chains, to that city. b, p. 280.

*Chriſtian religion*:] a reaſonable ſervice, and the perfect law of liberty; it alters nothing in men's civil rights and duties. b, p. 68; 336. Notwithſtanding

C

ſtanding the reaſonableneſſe of the *chriſtian* religion, *miracles* were highly proper, at the firſt planting of it. b, p. 335.
*Chryſoſtome*;] of the opinion that, in the *apoſtolic* age, the *ſpirit* was conferred upon all believers. a, p. 64. His works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 116; 246; 254. b, p. 89. c, p. 31, 32.
*Church*:] The *chriſtian church*, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, the mother-church of the *gentiles*; as the church, at *Jeruſalem*, was of the *jewiſh*, or of all the chriſtian, churches. b, p. 24.
*Cicero*:] quoted, or referred to. b, p. 96; 105; 180; 258; 280.
*Circumciſion*:] The reaſons, why St. *Paul* approved of *Timothy*'s ſubmitting to that rite; and refuſed his conſent to it, in the caſe of *Titus*. b, p. 83, &c. *Abraham*, and his whole family, were circumciſed together: as whole families of *chriſtians* were, afterwards, baptized together. b, p. 95.
*City*:] Criminals executed, without the *cities* of the *jews*; as, formerly, without the camp. a, p. 141. The *apoſtles* firſt planted the goſpel, in *cities*; and, then, in the ſurrounding *countries*. b, p. 38.
*Clarius*, referred to. a, p. 284.
*Clarke* [Dr. *Samuel*,] quoted. b, p 119.
*Clarkſon* [Mr. *David*;] his *treatiſe of the primitive epiſcopacy*, largely quoted. c, p. 7, &c.
*Claudius*:] the fifth of the twelve *Cæſars*; uncle to *Caligula*, and ſucceded him, as *emperor*. a, p 280, &c. baniſhed the *jews* from *Rome*. b, p. 114. his character. b, p. 148. He came into *Britain*. b, p. 149. his death, and the manner of it. b, p. 151, &c.
*Clemens alexandrinus*:] An account of him. b, p. 324; 331. quoted, or referred to. a, p. 48; 258. b, p. 19; 324; 348. c, p. 29.
*Clemens romanus*:] a ſhort account of him. He is mentioned, by St. *Paul*, in his epiſtle to the *Philippians*. b, p. 315; 326. his epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 48. b, p. 326, 327.

C

*Clerc*:] *Le Clerc*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 131; 155; 246; 255. b, p. 87; 92; 96; 105; 246.
*Colony*:] The nature of a *roman colony*. b, p. 88.
*Coloſſe*:] lay eaſtward of *Laodicea*, and not far from it. b, p. 344.
*Coloſſians*:] St. *Paul* wrote an epiſtle to them. b, p. 288. The hiſtory and ſynopſis of that epiſtle. b, p. 301, &c.
*Coloſſus*:] A deſcription of the celebrated *Coloſſus*, in the iſland *Rhodes*. b, p. 221.
*Cocceius*; referred to. a, p. 246.
*Companions* of St. *Paul*. b, p. 285, &c.
*Conſcience*:] What is meant by *a good conſcience*. b, p. 240.
*Coptic verſion*, quoted. b, p. 189.
*Corinth*:] that city deſcribed. b, p. 113. the character of it's inhabitants. b, p. 114.
*Corinthians*:] the hiſtory of the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. b, p. 169, &c. the ſynopſis of that epiſtle. b, p. 171. The hiſtory and ſynopſis of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. b, p. 194, &c.
*Corinthian braſſe*, much eſteemed by the *antients*. a, p. 88.
*Cornelius* [a roman captain,] the firſt-fruits of the *devout gentiles*. Acts x. 1, &c.
*Cornelius nepos*:] referred to. b, p. 97.
*Crellius*;] referred to. a, p. 115.
*Crucifixion of Chriſt*:] in the year of the vulgar æra, 29. of Chriſt 33. a, p. 17.
*Curtius* [*Quintus*,] referred to. a, p. 156.
*Cuſpius Fadus*, procurator of *Judæa*, was ſucceded by *Tiberius Alexander*. b, p. 74.
*Cyprus*:] that iſland deſcribed. b, p. 25, &c.
*Cyril*, *biſhop of Jeruſalem*, referred to. a, p. 170. b, p. 325.

D

*Damaſcus*, deſcribed; the *jews* numerous there. a, p. 171. That city was ſubject to the king of *Arabia*. There *Saul* was in danger of his life. a, p. 202.
*Darius Nothus* (and not *Alexander the Great*,)

*Great*,) granted leave, to the *ſamaritanes*, to build the temple, on mount *Gerizim*. a, p. 151.

*David*:] Our lord deſcended from king *David*. a, p. 261. What is meant, by king *David*'s being *a man after God's own heart*. b, p. 32.

*Deacons*, firſt choſen in the chriſtian church; the nature of their office. a, p. 119. They were choſen, from among the *elders*, or firſt converts. [See under the words *Biſhops* and *Elders*.]

*Decorum*:] The *decorum*, obſerved, in erecting Chriſt's ſpiritual kingdom. a, p. 235. The extraordinary *decorum*, obſerved, by St. *Paul*, and the other preachers of the goſpel. b, p. 107; 183.

*Demas* did not forſake the chriſtian religion; though he over-loved this world; and forſook St. *Paul*, when that apoſtle was in danger of his life. b, p. 287.

*Denocrates*, the famous architect, rebuilt the temple of *Diana*, at *Epheſus*; and planned the city of *Alexandria*, in *Ægypt*. b, p. 180.

*Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*:] According to *Joſephus*, ſurprizeing prodigies happened, before the deſtruction of that city. a, p. 78.

*Devout*:] Some *jews* ſo called. Acts viii. 2. *Devout gentiles*, the ſame as *proſelytes of the gate*. a, p. 227, &c. The ſpirit poured out, upon the firſt-fruits of them, before baptiſm. Acts x. 44, &c.

*Diana*:] An account of the temple of *Diana*. b, p. 179, &c.

*Dion Caſſius*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 167; 190, 191; 195; 199; 203; 272, 273; 275, 276, 277; 279, 280, 281. b, p. 26; 88; 114; 145; 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153; 157; 265.

*Dionyſius* [called the *Areopagite*.] A catalogue of the books of *ſcripture*, by the anonymous author of the works, aſcribed to *Dionyſius*. b, p. 326

*Dionyſius exiguus* firſt introduced the reckoning of the years, from the birth of Chriſt. a, p. 16.



*Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, referred to. b, p. 108.

*Diſcerning of ſpirits*:] What was meant thereby. a, p. 46. granted to inferior chriſtians, as well as to *apoſtles*. a, p. 68.

*Diſſertation*, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on *Philemon*, referred to. b, p. 259; 264; 281.

*A doctrine*; ſome truth, delivered by inſpiration. a, p. 70.

*Doddridge* [Dr. *Philip*,] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 93; 127; 129; 136; 143; 207; 284. b, p. 89; 167; 276.

*Doris*:] At *Doris*, certain raſh young fellows erected *Cæſar*'s image, in the *jewiſh* ſynagogue. But *Herod Agrippa* reſented it, and had it taken down; with a reprimand for their inſolence. a, p. 283.

*Doughtæus*, referred to. b, p. 42.

*Drake* [*Samuel*,] *de arâ ignoto deo ſac* quoted. b, p. 107.

*Druſius*; quoted, or referred to. a 115; 246, 247. b, p. 31; 35; 1 166. c, p. 50.

*Dryden* [*John*,] his tranſlation of *J nal*, quoted. b, p. 257.



*Ebionites*:] An account of them, 258, &c. c, p. 34. their opinic St. *Paul*. b, p. 226.

*Elders*:] not officers in the chr church, but early converts. a, p. 07; 252. b, p. 4. From among them, were choſen *biſhops* and *deacons*. b, p. 46; 187. and that, ſometimes, by the direction of the *ſpirit*. a, p. 48; 68. b, p. 219. The *elders* of the chriſtian church, at *Jeruſalem*, acquainted with the converſion of the *idolatrous gentiles*. b, p. 225.

*Elſner*:] referred to. a, p. 77; 82.

*Elymas*:] An arabic word, which ſignifies the *magian*, or *ſorcerer*. b, p. 27.

*Empire*:] See *Roman empire*.

*Enemy*:] No enemy to chriſtianity can be ſuppoſed to have wrote ſuch an hiſtory, as that of the *Acts of the apoſtles*; ſuppoſeing chriſtianity to be true. b, p. 337, &c.

E

*Epheſus:*] St. *Paul* fought with wild beaſts, there. b, p. 164, &c. that city deſcribed, and the temple of *Diana.* b, p. 179, &c.
*Epheſians.* [See *Laodicæans.*]
*Epicuræans:*] An account of their opinions. b, p. 104.
*Epimenides*, quoted by St. *Paul.* a, p. 145.
*Epiphanius*;] quoted, or referred to, a, p. 258. b, p. 32; 326, &c. c, p. 9.
*Epiſcopius*;] referred to. b, p. 240.
*Epiſtle*, or *Epiſtles:*] See under the following words, [St. *Paul*, *Theſſalonians*, *Galatians*, *Corinthians*, *Timothy*, *Romans*, *Epheſians*, or *Laodicæans*, *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, *Philippians.*] An *epiſtle*, wrote by other *chriſtians*, never ſet upon a level with an epiſtle wrote by an apoſtle. b, p. 294. The *apoſtolic epiſtles* illuſtrate, and confirm, what is ſaid, in the *Acts of the apoſtles.* b, p. 339, &c.
*Eraſmus*, quoted, or referred to. b, p. 82; 89; 333.
*Eroſtratus*,] ſet on fire the temple of *Diana*, at *Epheſus*, merely that he might be remembered in future ages. b, p. 180.
*Eſſay* for a new tranſlation of the bible, referred to. a, p. 100.
*Eſſay*, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on *Titus*, referred to. b, p. 60; 232, 233. The *eſſay*, annexed to the paraphraſe and notes on 2 *Timothy*, referred to. b, p. 130; 188. The *eſſay* on inſpiration, annexed to 1 *Timothy*, referred to. c, p. 45.
*Eſſenes:*] A ſect of the *jews*; which paid a great veneration to *angels*; and were curious and exact, in bodily mortifications and purifications. b, p. 302; 304.
*Eſtius*; referred to. b, p. 189.
*Evangeliſts:*] An account of them. a, p. 66. Aſſiſtents to the *apoſtles.* a, p. 67. In what manner, the four *evangeliſts* wrote the life of our lord. a, p. 263. The three former *evangeliſts* followed the *jewiſh* computation of the hours of the day; as they wrote before the *jewiſh* polity was deſtroyed. St. *John* followed the *roman* computation; as he wrote, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* c, p. 51; 53.
*Euripides*; referred to. b, p. 183.
*Euſebius*;] the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian: an account of him. b, p, 324, &c. quoted, or referred to. a, p. 74; 167; 170; 183; 194; 246; 251; 254; 256; 258; 261, 262. b, p. 19; 226; 282; 318; 321; 323, 324, 325; 328, 329, 330; 349, 350, &c. c, p. 7, 8, 9, 10; 19, 20.
*Eutropius*; referred to. a, p. 199.

F

*Fabricius*;] quoted. b, p. 332.
*Faith*;] one of the *gifts* of the *ſpirit.* a, p. 68. [See *Spirit*, and *Gifts of the ſpirit.*]
*Falſe prophets.* [See *Prophets.*]
*Famine*;] happened, as *Agabus* had propheſied. b, p. 74.
*Feaſt of expiation*, or *faſt* of atonement; — at what ſeaſon of the year that was. b, p. 272.
*Feaſt* of tabernacles:] At what ſeaſon of the year that feaſt was obſerved. b, p. 272. The cuſtom of the *jews*, at that feaſt. a, p. 34.
*Felix*;] made governor of *Samaria.* b, p. 76. he was a very wicked man; and in danger of being depoſed and puniſhed; but ſcreened by his brother *Pallas.* b, p. 77, &c. he married three wives. b, p. 78. He indeavored to ſuppreſſe the robbers, in and about *Judæa.* b, p. 155. deſtroyed his friend, *Jonathan*, the high-prieſt, for his faithfully reproveing him. b, p. 156. *Felix*, in the main, a very bad man. b, p. 246, 247. ſeverely puniſhed the *jews*, for a tumult, at *Cæſarea.* b, p. 250. *Felix* and *Druſilla* heard St. *Paul* preach. *Druſilla*, the *jeweſſe*, not moved: but *Felix*, the *heathen* governor, trembled; when the apoſtle diſcourſed of *righteouſneſſe*, *chaſtity*, and *a judgement to come.* b, p. 250, &c. *Felix* expected a bribe, from the apoſtle, *Paul:* but the apoſtle was not uſed to give bribes. And, therefore, *Felix* left him in cuſtody. b, p. 251. *Felix* depoſed; and would have

F

have been put to death, had it not been for the interceſſion of his brother *Pallas*. b, p. 251, &c.

*Feſtus* ſucceded *Felix*, as procurator of *Judæa*. b, p. 251. He died; and *Nero* ſent *Albinus*, to ſuccede him. b, p. 268.

*Filled with the holy ſpirit*:] That phraſe explaned. b, p. 39.

*Firſt* day of the week. [See *lord's day*.]

*Five thouſand*, converted to chriſtianity, ſome time after the *three thouſand*. c, p. 3. [See *Three thouſand*.]

*Flaccus Avilius*;] præſident of *Ægypt*, governed well, for ſome time. Afterwards, he behaved, in a vile manner. And, by the inſtigation of the people of *Alexandria*, he uſed the *jews* with great cruelty. a, p. 209, &c. By *Caligula*'s order, he was apprehended, and ſent to *Rome*: where he was tried for male-adminiſtration; found guilty; firſt baniſhed; and, afterwards, put to death. a, p. 269, &c.

*Florus* [*Lucius*;] referred to. a, p. 88; 191.

*Fornication*;] prohibited to all chriſtians, as well as to ſuch as had been *devout gentiles*. b, p. 64, &c. 67.

*Fortitude*:] one of the *miraculous powers*. a, p. 60. not peculiar to *apoſtles*; tho' they had it, in a ſuperior degree. a, p. 72.

*France*:] The chriſtians, in *France* (or *Gaul*,) ſuffered a moſt grieveous perſecution; in the year *of Chriſt*, 177. b. p. 329.

*Free-Roman*.] See *Roman*.

*Friend*:] A friend to chriſtianity, the onely perſon, that can be ſuppoſed to have wrote ſuch an hiſtory, as the *Acts of the apoſtles*; ſuppoſing the facts to be true. b, p. 337, &c.

*Fulleri miſcellanea ſacra*;] referred to, a, p. 168.

*Fund*:] A common *fund* raiſed, by the three thouſand; and renewed, by the five thouſand; — to ſupport the numerous converts, whileſt they continued together, at *Jeruſalem*. But not deſigned, as a pattern, for chriſtians, in common caſes. a, p. 84, &c. c, p. 3, 4, 5.

G

*Galatia*:] The goſpel planted in country, the firſt time that St. was there. b, p. 85. The hiſtory *Paul*'s epiſtle to the churches, diſperſed up and down that country. b, p. 136, &c. the *ſynopſis* of that *epiſtle*. b, p. 137, &c. c. p. 39, &c.

*Gallio*;] *Seneca*'s brother, proconſul of *Achaia*: his character. b, p. 144, &c.

*Gamaliel*,] ſon of good old *Simeon*, and maſter to St. *Paul*, protected the twelve apoſtles, from the rage of the *ſanhedrim*. a, p, 111, 112. His ſpeech, before the *ſanhedrim*, ſeems to have been made, out of a political view. a, p. 113. He was dead, before St. *Paul* divided the *phariſees* and *ſadducees*. b, p. 242.

*Garlands*;] were, frequently, by the *heathens*, put upon the heads of the victims. b, p. 42.

*Genealogy*;] of *our lord*, in St. *Matthew*, explaned. a, p. 259, &c. reconciled with that, in St. *Luke*. a, p. 261, &c. The *jews* had *genealogies* of their families, in our ſavior's time. a, p. 260.

*Gentiles*:] The diſtinction between a *devout* and an *idolatrous* gentile. a, p. 223. *Sergius Paulus*, the firſt convert to chriſtianity, from among the *idolatrous* gentiles, as *Cornelius* had been, from among the *devout gentiles*. b, p. 27. [See *Cornelius*.] St. *Paul* preached to the *idolatrous* gentiles, at *Theſſalonica*, and converted great numbers of them. b, p. 99, &c. *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, the three leading *apoſtles* of the circumciſion, firſt acquainted with the converſion of the *idolatrous* gentiles. b, p. 54, &c. The *elders* of the chriſtian church at *Jeruſalem*, acquainted with the converſion of the *idolatrous* gentiles. b, p. 225.

*Gifts of the ſpirit*. [See *ſpiritual gifts*.] A view of the order, in which St. *Paul* hath ranged them. a, p. 39. *Gifts*, peculiar to *apoſtles*. a, p. 40. *Gift* of *prophecie*. a, p. 56. *Gift* of *tongues*. a, p. 56. *Gifts of the ſpirit*, and *miraculous powers*, conferred, in many places, which are not taken notice of, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 100.

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*Glaſſius*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 140; 167.
*GOD* graciouſly bore with the præjudices of the *jewiſh* chriſtians. c, p. 41. he accepts men to favor, notwithſtanding human infirmities. c, p. 44.
*Goſpel of St. Matthew*;] was, perhaps, wrote, by him, firſt in *hebrew*; and, afterwards, in *greek*. a, p. 257; 263.
*Goſpels*:] The four *goſpels* both illuſtrate, and confirm, what is ſaid, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 339, &c.
*Governments*:] What we are to underſtand thereby. a, p. 70.
*Gregorie Nazianzene*:] Who he was; — his works referred to. b, p. 326. — his character of the *Athenians*. c, p. 17.
*Grotius*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 95; 111; 115, 116; 136; 140; 161; 187; 246; 255; b, p. 31; 35; 42; 66; 103; 107, 108; 120; 127, 128, 129, 130; 132; 161; 167; 246; 255; 282; 307. c, p. 48, 49; 58.

H

*Hammond*, [Dr. *Henry*] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 112; 115; 127. b, p. 46; 88; 189. c, p. 48, 49.
*Healing* diſeaſes, by miracle.] The *apoſtles* had this gift, in a degree, ſuperior to other *chriſtians*. a, p. 62.
*Hebrews* and *helleniſts*, or græcizeing jews;] how diſtinguiſhed. a, p. 114; 145.
*Helico*, the *ægyptian*, a wicked man; — puniſhed as he deſerved. a, p. 271.
*Helps*:] What we are to underſtand thereby. a, p. 70.
*Hermas*, mentioned by St. *Paul*, Rom. xvi. 14. author of the book, called, *The paſtor*, or *ſheepherd*. That book quoted. b, p. 327.
*Herod the great*;] king of *Judæa*; an ambitious man; ſet aſide the *Aſmonæan* family; arrived at great power; was a very cruel man; murthered the children, in, and about, *Bethlehem*; died a miſerable death. a, p. 192; 289.
*Herod Agrippa major*:] An account of him; his conduct, and the various turns in his life. a, p. 207, &c. Affronted at *Alexandria*. a, p. 210. Advanced to extenſive dominion; which greatly incenſed his ſiſter, *Herodias*; and proved her ruine, and the ruine of her huſband, *Herod Antipas*. a, p. 265. *Herod Agrippa* accuſed his brother-in law, *Herod Antipas*, to *Caligula*, of a conſpiracy; got him depoſed, and baniſhed; and had part of his dominions. a, p. 266. When *Caligula* had reſolved to ſet up his image, in the temple, or deſtroy the *jewiſh* nation; *Herod Agrippa* interceded, with *Caligula*, for them. a, p. 267, &c. *Herod Agrippa major* helped *Claudius Cæſar*, in attaining the imperial dignity, and was rewarded for it. a, p. 281. He procured, from *Claudius*, an edict, in favor of the *jews*; with liberty, throughout the empire, to live according to their own laws. a, p. 282. When *Herod Agrippa*, after his advancement by *Claudius Cæſar*, came to ſettle, at *Jeruſalem*. he often transfered the high-prieſthood, from one to another. a, p. 283. He revived the perſecution againſt the *chriſtians*. Acts xii. 1, &c. His ſpeech at *Cæſarea*, and remarkable death. Acts xii. 21, &c. Some of his ſubjects, after his death, inſulted his name and family. b, p. 73.
*Herod Agrippa minor*;] was ſon of *Herod Agrippa major*. b, p. 73; 256. After the father's death, the kingdom was turned into a province; and *Claudius*, the emperor, ſent *Cuſpius Fadus*, as procurator, into *Judæa*. b, p. 74. *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, died; and *Claudius Cæſar* confered his kingdom, on his nephew, *Herod Agrippa minor*. b, p. 76. Afterwards, *Claudius* took that kingdom from him, and gave him a larger. b, p. 78. *Herod Agrippa minor* and the *jews* quarelled, about a wall, which they built, to obſtruct that prince's view of what was done in the temple. b, p. 267.
*Herod Antipas*, diſpleaſed *Vitellius*; married the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*. And, dureing her life, he married

married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife; whileſt his brother was alive. He cut off *John the baptiſt*'s head. a, p. 197. *Herodias* proved the ruine of *Herod Antipas*. a, p. 265, &c.

*Herodias*, a wicked woman, left her firſt huſband, *Philip*; and married his brother, *Herod Antipas*. She was the ruine of her ſecond huſband, and the cauſe of cutting off *John the baptiſt*'s head. a, p. 197; 265, 266.

*Herodian*;] quoted, or referred to. b, p. 91; 183.

*Herodotus*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 136, 137; 238; 262; 289. b. p. 26; 84; 105; 179; 217. c, p. 49.

*Heſiod* quoted. b, p. 110.

*High-places*, among the *jews*, under the old teſtament; what they were. b, p. 90.

*High-prieſts*, among the *jews*, many of them depoſed; and others put in their places. b, p. 74, 75; 268.

*The high prieſt's robes*, upon ſome diſguſt, were ordered, by the *roman* emperor, to be taken out of the cuſtody of the *jews*, and depoſited in the tower of *Antonia*, as formerly: but that order was reverſed, at the requeſt of *Herod Agrippa minor*. b, p. 74.

*Hippocrates*, prince of the phyſicians; borne in the iſland *Cous*, or *Cos*. b, p. 221.

*Hiſtory*:] The general diviſion of this hiſtory. a, p. 23.

*Hiſtory* of the epiſtle of St. *James*; referred to. b, p. 261.

*Holy ſpirit*. [See under the words *ſpirit*, *gifts*, *apoſtles*.] The *holy ſpirit* conferred what *gifts* and *powers* he ſaw proper. a, p. 63. The *holy ſpirit* was imparted to *jewiſh* chriſtians, after baptiſm. a, p. 179. conferred on many chriſtians, where it is not taken notice of, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b. p. 100. The *holy ſpirit* choſe, from among the *elders*, particular perſons to be *biſhops*. a, p. 48; 68. b, p. 219.

*Homer*:] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 112; 137. b, p. 110; 113.

*Hudſon's notes on Joſephus*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 194; 251. b, p. 32; 76.



*Hunt* [Dr. *Jeremiah*;] referred to. 69.

*Hyrcanus* [*John*,] of the *Aſmonæa* mily; by the *romans*, made high-p and prince, of the *jews*. a, p. 19



*Jacob* and *Simon*;] Sons of *Judas* of Galilee; crucified by the *romans*. b, p. 75.

*James*:] See *apoſtles*.

*Idolatrous*:] See *gentiles*.

*Jeffries* [Mr. *Thomas*,] referred to. b, p. 337.

*Jerome*:] one of the *fathers* of the chriſtian church, floriſhed, towards the end of the fourth century. b, p. 325. his works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 130; 170; 183; 203; 254. b, p. 82; 290; 318; 321; 325, 326; 345. c, p. 10; 28; 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; 48.

*Jeruſalem*:] The inhabitants of that city, one hundred and twenty thouſand; or, at the moſt, one hundred and fifty thouſand. c, p. 8. The circuit of that city, about thirty-three furlongs. c. p. 8. *Jeruſalem*, far inferior, in greatneſſe, to the four celebrated cities, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Carthage*. c, p. 8. How forcibly, the accompliſhment of our ſavior's prophecie, concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, muſt ſtrike the minds of the primitive chriſtians. [See the *præface* to the *third volume*.] The *chriſtian* church, at *Jeruſalem*, the mother-church of the *jewiſh*, or all the chriſtian, churches. b, p. 24. The ſtate of the *chriſtian church*, at *Jeruſalem*, for ſome ages, after the *apoſtles*. c, p. 9, &c.

*Jeſus*:] ſprung from the family of *David*. a, p. 261. filled with the holy ſpirit, immediately after his baptiſm. a, p. 4. faſted forty days and forty nights; reſiſted a great and remarkable temptation; worked miracles, and gathered diſciples, before *John the baptiſt* was caſt into priſon; but more openly, afterwards; baptizeing ſuch, as became his diſciples; choſe his twelve apoſtles,

by

I

by the direction of his father; and trained them up, for their work. a, p. 5. the *doctrine*, which *Jeſus* taught. a, p. 6. The *miracles*, which *Jeſus* worked; and the divine *teſtimonies*, in his favor. a, p. 7; 11. The *prophecies* of *Jeſus*: he ſendeth out the twelve apoſtles, upon their firſt expedition. After them, the ſeventy. The excellent temper and behavior of *Jeſus*. a, p. 8. He gave his apoſtles a ſecond and final commiſſion; took his leave of them, in a very affectionate and ſolemn manner; inſtituted the *lord's-ſupper*. a, p. 9. *Jeſus* went up, to *Jeruſalem*; though he foreſaw they would crucifie him. He freely reproved the wicked *jews*, for their vices; who, therefore, put him to death. a, p. 10. The *perſons*, to whom *Jeſus* appeared, after his reſurrection; and the order, in which he appeared to them. a, p. 12. The *evidences* of the truth of his reſurrection. a, p. 13. Why *Jeſus* was baptized. a, p. 35, 36. *Jeſus* himſelf appeared to an *apoſtle*; but an *angel* was ſent to *Cornelius*. a, p. 235. b, p. 243. *Jeſus* was no contemptible perſon; tho' he was educated at *Nazareth*. a, p. 239. His kingdom was not of this world. b, p. 102. At firſt, *Jeſus* gave his *apoſtles* their commiſſion, in general terms; and explaned it, more particularly, afterwards. b, p. 262. *Jeſus* begun his reformation, among the *jews*; who had, then, the beſt notions of *God* and *religion*. b, p. 334. After his departure from our world, he ſent out his apoſtles to convert the *gentiles*. b, p. 335. Five inſtances of *Jeſus* his not working miracles, when deſired. The reaſons for ſuch refuſeals. c, p. 11, &c.

*Jeſus*, the ſon of *Ananus*; a very remarkable perſon, who propheſied dreadful things, againſt *Jeruſalem*, for about ſeven years, before the *jewiſh* wars broke out. b, p. 269.

*Jews*:] numerous, at *Damaſcus*. a, p. 171. They had great favors, from *Claudius Cæſar*, by means of *Herod Agrippa*. a, p. 282, &c. The *jews* divided the *law*, into fifty-three, or fifty-four, ſections; and the *prophets*, into as many: and they read them through, in the ſynagogue, once a year. b, p. 29. They had no procurator, in *Judæa*; nor any perſon reſideing, among them, with the power of life and death; from the removeal of *Pontius Pilate*, to the acceſſion of *Herod Agrippa*. a, p. 195. The *jews* highly valued the keeping the high-prieſt's veſtments. a, p. 196. b, p. 74. They were under the moſt terrible conſternation, when *Caligula* ſent *Petronius*, to ſet up his image, in the temple, at *Jeruſalem*; or deſtroy the *jewiſh* nation, if they oppoſed it. a, p. 213. The *jews* greatly præjudiced againſt the *devout gentiles*. b, p. 49. They had a very high veneration for the *temple*, and the *law of Moſes*. b, p. 75, 76; 232. In giveing the genealogy of a very conſiderable perſon, the *jews* uſed to begin with the perſon himſelf, and went back to his progenitors. But, if the anceſtors of the perſon were very conſiderable, they begun with them. a, p. 262. The *jews* of *Alexandria* had other enemies, beſides *Flaccus*. a, p. 271. The *jews* made inſurrections. b, p. 74. The *jews* choſe to worſhip, by the ſide of a river, or lake; or by the ſea-ſide. Accordingly; their *proſeuchaes* were built, in ſuch places. b, p. 89, 90, 91; 222. In ſome places, the *jews* had houſes, near their ſynagogues, for the entertainment of ſtrangers, or travellers. b, p. 118. The affairs of the *jews*, under *Nero*. b, p. 155, &c. 267. Many of the *jews* deluded, and ruined, by the *ægyptian impoſtor*. b, p. 156, &c. The *jews* greatly præjudiced againſt the *gentiles*. b, p. 237. Great tumults and commotions, among the *prieſts*, in *Judæa*. b, p. 253; 268. The great quarrel between the *jews* and *ſamaritanes*. a, p. 149; 154. b, p. 77. The *jews* perſecuted the *chriſtians*, at *Theſſalonica*. b, p. 101. They quarrelled with *Feſtus*, for building his houſe ſo high, as that he could ſee what was done in the temple. b, p. 267, &c. The

*jews* ſent out choſen men, to traduce the *chriſtians*, every where. b, p. 282. Great numbers of *jews* were, at firſt, converted to *chriſtianity*, whatever became of them afterwards. c, p. 6, &c. Vaſt numbers of *jews* ſlain, in the wars, which ended in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. a, p. 79. *Jews* bury their dead, within twenty-four hours. a, p. 104. They were ready to ſtone perſons, for blaſphemy, without any trial. a, p. 141. A quarrel between the *jews* and *ſyrians*, at *Cæſarea*, about the rights and privileges of that city. b, p. 249. *Jewiſh chriſtians*, at *Jeruſalem*, did not, for ſome time, know of the converſion of any *idolatrous* gentiles. b, p. 52, &c. 225, &c. The *jewiſh chriſtians* were greatly præjudiced, in favor of the *ceremonial law*. b, p. 226. The *jews*, in general, were of the opinion of the *phariſees*, who expected a reſurrection of all mankind, both good and bad. b, p. 248.

*Ignatius*:] An account of that antient father. b, p. 327. His works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 48. b, p. 327; 348, &c.

*Impoſtors*,] abounded among the *jews*. b, p. 156.

*Interpretation of tongues*. a, p. 58; 72.

*John the baptiſt*:] his miniſtry. a, p. 3. He baptized *our lord*. a, p. 4. pointed out *Jeſus*, to the people, as the *meſſiah*; was caſt into priſon, by *Herod Antipas*; and, by him, beheaded. a, p. 5; 197; 266. Twelve of his diſciples, at *Epheſus*; converted, to chriſtianity, by St. *Paul*; who imparted, unto them, the holy ſpirit. b, p. 160, &c.

*John*, [the *evangeliſt* and *apoſtle*:] had conquered his præjudices, when he went among the *ſamaritanes*. a, p. 162. He wrote his *goſpel*, in the year of *our lord*, 97, a little before his own death. He followed the *roman* computation of the hours of the day; as he wrote, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. c, p. 51, &c.

*John*:] See *Mark*, and *apoſtles*.

*Jonathan*:] The *ſicarii* ſtabbed *Jonathan*, the high-prieſt, by the incouragement of *Felix*. b, p. 155, &c.

*Jones*;] his new and full method of ſettling the *canon of the new teſtament*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 254, 255, 257, 258. b, p. 322; 326; 331, 332.

*Jeppa*:] The town, and it's ſituation, deſcribed. a, p. 218.

*Jortin*'s remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; quoted, or referred to. a, p. 76; 107; 170; 197.

*Joſeph*, the reputed father, and *Mary*, the mother, of *Jeſus*; — of the family of king *David*. a, p. 260. b, p. 32.

*Joſeph*, called *Barſabas*, has been taken for the brother of *Judas*, called *Barſabas*. b, p. 58.

*Joſephus*, the *jewiſh* hiſtorian:] the time of his birth, his life, and character. a, p. 199. the *books*, which he wrote, are of great benefit to chriſtians. a, p. 200, &c. his works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 32; 74; 78, 79; 88; 90; 94, 95, 96; 111, 112, 113; 116; 131, 132; 148; 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157; 171; 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200; 203; 207, 208; 211, 212; 222; 231; 234; 246, 247; 251; 260; 262; 265; 268; 276, 277, 278, 279; 281, 282, 283, 284; 288. There is a remarkable harmony, bebetween *Joſephus* and St. *Luke*, concerning the death of *Herod Agrippa major*. a, p. 289. Two miſtakes in *Joſephus*, rectified. b, p. 76. *Joſephus*, quoted, or referred to. b, p. 32; 49; 73, 74; 76, 77, 78; 91; 107; 109; 115; 151, 152, 153; 155, 156. Some paſſages, in *Joſephus*, explaned, and reconciled, by Dr. *Ward*, of *Greſham* college. b, p. 156, &c. *Joſephus*, quoted, or referred to. b, p. 226; 232, 233, 234; 238, 239; 250, 251; 254; 256; 267, &c. 281; 302. c, p. 7, 8, 9; 14.

*Irenæus*:] An account of that father. b, p. 323; 330. his works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 170; 183; 256. b, p. 60; 66; 323, 324; 330, 331; 348.

*Ittigius*:] his edition of *Ignatius* his epiſtles, referred to. c, p. 56.

## I

*Judas* betrayed his lord; confeſſed his guilt; and, afterwards, hanged himſelf. a, p. 11; 19. An *apoſtle* conſtituted, inſtead of *Judas*. a, p. 21.
*Judæa*;] made ſubject to the *romans*. a, p. 191. After the death of *Herod Agrippa major*, it was reduced, again, from a kingdom, to a *roman* province. a. p. 289. filled with robbers, whom *Felix* indeavored to ſuppreſſe. Beſide which, there were the *ſicarii*; and ſeveral impoſtors. b, p. 155; 158; 253.
*Judges*:] It is diſputed, whether the *judges* reigned, over the whole nation of *Iſrael*, one after another; or, at the ſame time, in different parts of the kingdom. b, p. 31.
*Julian*, referred to. b, p. 38.
*Julius Africanus*:] his way of reconcileing the genealogy of *our lord*, in St. *Matthew*, with that in St. *Luke*. a, p. 261.
*Julius Cæſar*:] the firſt of the *roman* emperors. a, p. 189, &c. he firſt planted a colony, at *Philippi*. b, p. 88.
*Juſtini hiſtoria*, referred to. a. p. 132.
*Juſtin martyr*:] Who he was. b, p. 328, &c. c, p. 56, &c. quoted, or referred to. a, p. 115; 203; 222. b, p. 282; 329.
*Juſtinian's conſtitutions* quoted, a, p. 115.
*Juſtus*, (called *Barſabas*,) is ſaid to have drank deadly poiſon, aud to have ſuffered no harm. b, p. 328.
*Juvenal*, quoted, or referred to. b, p. 89, 90; 257.

## K

*Kennicott*, [Mr.] his *diſſertation* quoted. b, p. 9.
*Kimchi* [*Rabbi*,] referred to. a, p. 78.
*Knatchbull* [Sir *Norton*,] quoted, or referred to, a, p. 131. b, p. 223.
*Kuſter* [*Ludolf*,] his præface to Dr. *Mill*'s new teſtament, referred to. b, p. 290.

## L

The *lame man*, cured, at the beautiful gate of the temple. a, p. 89.
*Languages*:] See *apoſtles*, *tongues*, *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*.
*Laodicæa*, lay weſtward of *Coloſſe*:] how that is to be underſtood. b, p. 344. A catalogue of the books of ſcripture, given, by the council of *Laodicæa*. b, p. 325.
*Laodicæans*:] St. *Paul* wrote, to them, that, which is commonly called, *The epiſtle to the Epheſians*. b, p. 288; 290, &c. 342, &c. c, p. 55, &c. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 297.
*Lardner* [Dr. *Nathaniel*;] commended, quoted, or referred to. a. p. 5; 64; 95; 112, 113; 123; 141; 156; 169; 194, 195; 197; 201; 212; 215; 251; 256; 258, 259; 261; 267; 284; 289. b, p. 26; 57; 76; 89; 96, 97; 106, 107, 108; 115; 144; 147; 156; 170; 226; 238; 245; 248; 251, 252; 255, 256; 258; 280, 281; 310; 330; 332, 333; 348. c, p. 2; 19.
*Law of Moſes*:] given, on the day of *pentecoſt*; as was the *goſpel*. a, p. 86. What end, and purpoſe, that *law* anſwered, and was deſigned for. b, p. 206. By the deeds of that *law*, no fleſh could be juſtified, before GOD. The *gentile* chriſtians had not the præjudices of education, in favor of that *law*. c, p. 39.
*Le-Clerc*:] See *Clerc*.
*Lightfoot* [Dr. *John*;] his conjecture, that the potter's field, was the place, where *Judas* hanged himſelf; as well as bought with the price of *Chriſt*'s blood. a, p. 20. His curious obſervations, concerning the day of *pentecoſt* being *fully come*. a, p. 26. His account of the *jewiſh* notion of *binding* and *looſeing*. a, p. 49; 51. His account of what it was, to *be delivered over to Satan*. a. p. 53. His works quoted, or referred to. a, p. 59; 78; 87; 95; 113; 116; 127; 130; 142; 218; 229; 241; 261, 262. b, p. 30; 35; 130; 165; 189; 239. c, p. 1.
*Limborch*:] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 100; 102. b, p. 84.
*Literary journal*, by *La Roche*, referred to. b, p. 344.

L

*Littleton* [Sir *George*,] his *obſervations on St. Paul's converſion*, quoted. b, p. 109.
*Livy's hiſtory*; quoted, or referred to. b, p. 88, 89.
*Locke* [*John*, *Eſquire*,] his works, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 199; 224. b, p. 129; 170; 206. c. p. 58.
*Lord's-day*:] the firſt day of the week; obſerved, by the primitive chriſtians, as *holy*. That obſervation, introduced, by example, rather than command. a, p. 26. b, p. 216.
*Lot*:] The antient manner of *caſting lots*. a, p. 21.
*Lowman* [Mr. *Moſes*;] quoted. b, p. 69, &c.
*Lucian*; quoted, or referred to. a, p. 132. b, p. 42; 46.
*Luke*, the evangeliſt:] Who he was. a, p. 250. b, p. 318, &c. wrote his goſpel, more immediately, for the uſe of the *gentile* chriſtians: and reckons the genealogy of *our lord*, by the mother's ſide. a, p. 262. He placed the genealogy of *Chriſt*, very properly, when he was thirty years of age; and traced it up to *Adam*, the common parent of mankind. a, p. 263. St. *Luke* made uſe of ſome *latin* words. b, p. 24; 88; 166. After he had been, for ſome time, a *chriſtian*, he became the companion of St. *Paul*, and an evangeliſt. St. *Luke* was a native of *Antioch*, in *Syria*. He was author of one of the four *goſpels*, and of the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 86, &c. He ſeems to have left St. *Paul*, at *Philippi*. b, p. 98. St. *Luke* was, very probably, the perſon, meant by St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. viii. 6; 18, 19. choſen, by the *gentile* churches, to go, along with their charitable collection, to *Jeruſalem*. b, p. 194. St. *Luke* was with St. *Paul*, the ſecond time, at *Philippi*. b, p. 214, &c. He has given us onely the ſubſtance of the ſpeeches, made by the apoſtles, and other perſons. b, p. 258. St. *Luke*, one of St. *Paul's* companions, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*. b, p. 271. He was well qualified to write the hiſtory of the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 321. In what year, he wrote that hiſtory. b, p. 322. St. *Luke's* ſilence, no proof that St. *Paul* did not work miracles, at *Athens*, or elſewhere. c, p. 17, &c. St. *Luke* reckoned the hours of the day, in the ſame manner, that St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* had done. c. p. 50. He wrote his goſpel, ſome years, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. b, p. 322. c, p. 50.
*Lyſias*, the roman tribune, behaved well, towards his priſoner, the apoſtle *Paul*. b, p. 244, &c.

M

*Magians*, or *Magi*:] Who, or what, they were. *Simon Magus*, one of them. a, p. 161. b, p. 26.
*Maimonides*, referred to. a, p. 113. b, p. 69.
*Mankind*:] In what ſituation, they were, when chriſtianity was firſt planted in the earth. a, p. 2.
*Marcion*, the antient hæretic, referred to. b, p. 344, &c. 348. He is thought to have had a copy of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, or *Laodiceans*, without the words, [*in Epheſus*,] in the firſt verſe of that epiſtle. b, p. 290; 295, &c.
*Mark*:] An account of *John Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*. b, p. 23; 26; 29. He deſerted *Paul* and *Barnabas*; and cauſed them to ſeparate. b, p. 79. but, afterwards, they were all reconciled. b, p. 80; 286; 306. St. *Mark* reckoned the hours of the day, in the ſame manner, that St. *Matthew*, and St. *Luke*, did. He wrote his goſpel, ſome years, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. c, p. 50.
*Marnixius*,] referred to. b, p. 161.
*Marſham*, [Sir *John*,] referred to. b, p. 31.
*Marſus*:] See *Vibius*.
*Mary*:] See *virgin Mary*.
*Matthew*, [the *apoſtle* and *evangeliſt*;] An account of him. a, p. 253, &c. preached to *jews* and *devout gentiles*, within the borders of *Palæſtine*: After that, wrote his goſpel, in *Judæa*, the firſt of the four goſpels. The time of writeing St. *Matthew's* goſpel, conſidered. a, p. 254, &c. In what *language*,

*gnage*, St. *Matthew* wrote. a, p. 256, &c. The begining of his goſpel, genuine. His account of *our lord*'s genealogy, reconciled with that *in* St. *Luke*. a, p. 258, &c. St. *Matthew* wrote his goſpel, more immediately, for the uſe of *jewiſh* chriſtians. And, therefore, gave *our lord*'s genealogy, by the father's ſide. a, p. 261, &c. In what manner, he wrote his goſpel. a, p. 257; 263, &c. He reckoned the hours of the day, in the ſame manner, that St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* did: as he, alſo, wrote, ſome years before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. c, p. 50. He wrote, in *Jeruſalem*, or ſome part of *Judæa*. c, p. 51.

*Maundrell's travels*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 19; 153; 156; 158. b, p. 221, 222.

*Mead*, [*Richard*, M. D.] his *Medica ſacra*, referred to. a, p. 289.

*Mede*, [Mr. *Joſeph*;] his works, referred to. b, p. 106.

*Melita*:] An account of that iſland. b, p. 276.

*Men*, with human infirmities, accepted of GOD. c, p. 44.

*Menander*, quoted, by St. *Paul*. a, p. 145.

*Meſſalina*;] firſt wife of *Claudius Cæſar*; married *Caius Silius*, publicly, while *Claudius* was alive. *Caius Silius*, and *Meſſalina*, both put to death. b, p. 150.

*Middleton* [Dr. *Conyers*:] Animadverſions on his *curſory reflections upon Galat.* ii. 11, &c. c, p. 23, &c. Animadverſions upon his *reflections on the variations, or inconſiſtencies, which are found among the four evangeliſts; in their different accounts of the ſame facts*. c, p. 47, &c.

*Mill* [Dr. *John*;] in his new teſtament, folio, with the various readings; mentions a various reading, at the concluſion of St. *Matthew's goſpel*. a, p. 154. and other various readings, *Mark* xv. 25. *John* xix, 14. c, p. 48. Various readings, mentioned, by Dr. *Mill*, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. Acts i. 2. and ii. 1; 31. and iii. 20, 21. and iv. 27. and v. 36. and vi. 7, 8. and viii. 36; 39. and ix. 20. and x. 33. and xi. 1; 20; 25; 28. and xiii. 18; 33. and xiv. 7; 10; 19; 25. and xv. 1; 23; 29; 41. and xvi. 1; 8, 9, 10; 35; 38. and xvii. 14; 26, 27. and xviii. 7; 17; 23. and xix. 4; 9. and xx. 4; 15; 18; 28. and xxiv. 1. and xxv. 2. and xxvi. 3; 17. and xxvii. 1; 8; 14; 16; 20. and xxviii. 28. Other various readings, *Rom.* vii. 25. b, p. 208. *Gal.* ii. 5; 11. c, p. 29. *Epheſ.* i. 1. b, p. 290 1 *Tim.* vi. laſt. b, p. 189 Dr. *Mill* quoted, or referred to. a, p 255, 256; 289. b, p. 332; 342; 344; 348. c, p. 58.

*Millions*:] About three *millions* of *jews* are ſaid to have reſorted to *Jeruſalem*, at the paſſover, and the other two grand feſtivals. c, p 8.

*Miracles*,] worked in great numbers, by the *apoſtles*. a, p. 106. *Miracles* worked, in many places, which are not mentioned, in the *Acts of the apoſtles*. b, p. 100. Where *miracles* were not remarkable, in themſelves, in their circumſtances, or in their conſequences; there, they are mentioned, onely in general terms; or not mentioned at all. c, p. 18; 21, 22. probably, St. *Paul* did work ſome *miracles*, at *Athens*. c, p. 18, &c. The argument, from *miracles*, in favor of chriſtianity. b, p. 337. The reaſon, why the *miracles*, recorded, in *ſcripture*, are credible. b, p. 339. As more *miracles* continued to be worked, by the *apoſtles*, and other chriſtians, the number of converts might be more remarkable, afterwards, than on the day of *pentecoſt*. c, p. 2. The reaſons, why *our lord*, would not work miracles, ſometimes, when deſired. c, p. 11, &c. The *apoſtles* could not work *miracles*, when they pleaſed. c, p. 15, &c.

*Miraculous powers*, conferred upon the *apoſtles*. a, p. 59. *Miraculous powers*, conferred upon *other chriſtians*, beſides the *apoſtles*. a, p. 65, &c. *Miraculous powers*, conferred on *Saul*, immed ately after *baptiſm*. a, p. 181, &c. and when he was made *apoſtle of the gentiles*. b, p. 16, &c.

M

*Miſcellanea ſacra*, [by the late *Lord Barrington*,] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 27; 39; 224. b, p. 81; 85; 118; 189. The plan of *this hiſtory*, and many other things, therein, taken from *Lord Barrington's Miſcellanea ſacra*. [*See the præface to the firſt volume of this hiſtory.*]

*Mitylene*;] the chief city of the iſland *Leſbos*, famous for the birth of ſeveral eminent perſons. b, p. 217.

*Moore* [Mr. *Thomas*;] referred to. a, p. 122.

*Morris* [Mr. *Joſeph*;] his *ſermons* referred to. a, p. 154.

*Mother-church*:] See *Jeruſalem* and *Antioch*.

*Moyle* [*Walter Eſq*;] thought that *Cornenelius*, upon becomeing a chriſtian, was obliged to quit the *roman* army, becauſe of the idolatrous rites, there practiſed. a, p. 242. he corrects a miſtake of Dr. *Prideaux*, with reſpect to the poſterity of *Octavianus* never injoying the empire. a, p. 272.

*Moyle's works*, referred to. b, p. 26.

*Myſteries*;] reveled to *apoſtles* onely. a, p. 41.

*Mythology*:] Letters on *mythology*, publiſhed by Dr. *Blackwall*, principal of the college, at *Aberdeen*; largely quoted. a, p. 137.

N

*Name*:] The *jews* phanſied that *miracles* were worked, by invokeing *a name*; the *name* of ſome *man*, or ſome *angel*. a, p. 96.

*Narciſſus*,] the freed-man of *Claudius Cæſar*, got *Meſſalina* put to death. b, p. 150. He was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubjects of the *roman* empire: *Agrippina* got him murthered: his character. b, p. 152.

*Nazarite's vow*:] St. *Paul took it* upon himſelf. It was to be fulfilled in *Judæa*. b, p. 147. St. *Paul* took that vow, upon him, a ſecond time. That *apoſtle*, vindicated, in ſo doing. b, p. 227, &c. c, p. 34, &c.

*Neapolis*, or *Naples*:] An account of that town. b, p. 279.

N

*Nero*:] the ſixth of the twelve *Cæſars*; ſucceded *Claudius*, his father-in-law; he begun to reign very well, under the influence of *Seneca*, his præceptor. b, p. 153, &c. gave *Claudius* a magnificent funeral, he himſelf ſpeaking the funeral-oration: had *Claudius* inrolled among the *gods*: for ſome time, left the government to his mother *Agrippina*. b, p. 154. *Nero* lived in great voluptuouſneſſe; then fell into extravagance; and, after that, into great cruelty. He firſt poiſoned *Britannicus*; and then murthered his own mother. The infamous *Otho* was his favorite; and *Nero* lived in adultery with *Otho's* wife. After his mother was murthered, by his order, *Nero* went; and, very curiouſly, viewed her naked body. He bribed the guards to do whatever he pleaſed; and the *romans* congratulated him, upon his mother's death. But his own conſcience filled him with the utmoſt anguiſh. b, p. 265, &c. After that, he put to death his wife *Octavia*. And was, in ſhort, one of the greateſt monſters, that ever lived, for luſt, cruelty, and extravagance. b, p. 267. Several of *Nero's* guards, and domeſtic ſervants, were, by St. *Paul*, converted to the chriſtian faith. b, p. 284. The affairs of the *jews*, under *Nero*. b, p. 155, &c.

*Newton* [Sir *Iſaac*;] referred to. a, p. 122; 151.

*Nicolas, the deacon*;] the head of the ſect of the *Nicolaitans*. a, p. 49; 121.

*Nidui*;] one kind of excommunication, among the *jews*. b, p. 130.

*Noah*; [*the great patriarch*:] The ſeven precepts of *Noah*. b, p. 66; 68.

*Nominative caſe abſolute*:] a, p. 135. The *nominative caſe*, ſometimes, follows it's verb. b, p. 35.

O

*Oecumenius*;] referred to. a, p. 116; 246.

*Oneſimus*;] the ſlave of *Philemon*, converted to the chriſtian faith, at *Rome*; by St. *Paul*. b, p. 284.

*Order*:]

O

*Order*:] The order, in which, St. *Paul* wrote his four epiſtles, from *Rome*; namely, *Epheſians*, *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, and *Philippians*. b, p. 289.

*Ordination*:] In what ſenſe, the miniſters of the goſpel may be *ordained*, now-a-days. b, p. 25; 46; 80; 84. Some of the *elders*, or firſt converts, choſen to be *biſhops* and *deacons*; and ordained, in the *apoſtolic* age. b, p. 187.

*Origen*; [*an antient father*:] An account of him. b, p. 324. quoted, or referred to. a, p. 112; 254; 256; 262. b, p. 282; 324, 325. c, p. 19.

*Orobio*;] the *jew*, (in his friendly conference with *Limborch*) inſinuated, that the *apoſtles* were influenced by worldly motives. But his inſinuations were unjuſt. a, p. 102.

*Oroſius*;] referred to. a, p. 194; 251.

*Oſiris*:] an *ægyptian god*. a, p. 136.

P

*Pallas*:] The freedman of *Claudius Cæſar*, a favorite of *Agrippina*. b, p. 154.

*Papias*:] Who he was: a remarkable paſſage of his, quoted. b, p. 328.

*Paſſions of men*;] ſhort-lived, and fluctuateing. b, p. 44; 277.

*Paſſovers*:] Our ſavior continued preaching three or four *paſſovers*. a, p. 17. At the time of the *jewiſh paſſover*, Chriſt, our *paſſover*, (or paſchal lamb) was ſacrified for us. a, p. 85. About three millions of *jews* reſorted to *Jeruſalem*, at the *paſſover*, and the other great, yearly, feſtivals. c, p. 8.

*Patriarchs*;] their bones buried, together with the bones of *Joſeph*. a, p. 129.

*Patrick* [Biſhop] referred to. a, p. 127.

*Paul*, [*the great apoſtle of the gentiles*: See *Saul*.] *Saul*, his *jewiſh*, and *Paul* his *roman*, name. From the time, he firſt came out, into the world; even when a mere youth; he perſecuted the chriſtians. a, p. 142; 170, &c. His ſurprizeing converſion to chriſtianity. a, p. 172, &c. *Ananias* cured him of his blindneſſe; and then he was filled with the holy ſpirit. a, p. 174, &c. the *ſpiritual* gifts, and *miraculous powers*, conferred on him, immediately after his *baptiſm*. a, p. 181, &c. He underſtood both the *hebrew* and *greek* languages, before he became a *chriſtian*. a, p. 118. b, p. 234, 235, 236. After he had been a chriſtian prophet, for ſeveral years; and, as ſuch, preached to *jews*, and *devout gentiles*; he was conſtituted an apoſtle to the *idolatrous gentiles*. Acts xiii. 1, &c. From the time of his going out, as an *apoſtle*, he is mentioned before *Barnabas*. b, p. 28; 59. He began his *firſt apoſtolic* journey. b, p. 25. ended it. b, p. 47. He communicated the goſpel, which he preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, at firſt, onely to *James*, *Peter*, and *John*; would not ſuffer *Titus*, a *gentile* chriſtian, to be circumciſed. b, p. 53; 84. St. *Paul* had *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, equal to the *chief* of the *apoſtles*. b, p. 54. St. *Paul*'s *ſecond apoſtolic* journey. *Barnabas* and he differed about *John Mark*, and went on ſeparate peregrinations: but were, afterwards, fully reconciled again. b, p. 79, &c. St. *Paul* had *Timothy* circumciſed; and why. b, p. 83, &c. St. *Paul*'s thorn in the fleſh. b, p. 9, &c. 85; 141. St. *Paul* deſigned one thing; the *ſpirit* directed him to do another. b, p. 86. He was a free *roman*, and inſiſted upon his rights and privileges, as ſuch. b, p. 96, &c. St. *Paul* preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, at *Theſſalonica*; and converted great numbers of them. b, p. 99, &c. There, he worked *miracles*; and imparted *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, unto his converts. b, p. 100. The decorum of the primitive chriſtians; and, more eſpecially, St. *Paul*'s admirable behavior, before the court of *Areopagus*, at *Athens*. b, p. 106, 107, 108. He converted a member of that venerable court. b, p. 111. St. *Paul* brought up to an handicraft-trade; and, after he became an *apoſtle*, worked, with his own hands, for a ſubſiſtence: for which he had many good reaſons. b, p. 115, &c. From the time, that he heard

of the converſion of the *romans*, he longed to go to *Rome*. b, p. 116, &c. St. *Paul* took, upon him, the vow of *a nazarite*; which was to be fulfilled in *Judæa*. The reaſons of his ſo doing. b, p. 147. The end of his ſecond *apoſtolic journey*. b, p. 148. St. *Paul* begun his *third apoſtolic journey*. b, p. 158, &c. He fought with wild beaſts, at *Epheſus*. b, p. 164, &c. He was not afraid to appear in *Greece*, or *Rome*; in the moſt public manner, and among the moſt acute people. b, p. 168. From *Corinth*, St. *Paul* wrote his firſt epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. b, p. 119, &c. the ſynopſis of that epiſtle, b, p. 122. as, alſo, the ſecond. b, p. 127, &c. The time of writeing his epiſtle to the *Galatians*; and the ſynopſis of that epiſtle. b, p. 136, &c. From *Epheſus*, St. *Paul* wrote the *firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians*. b, p. 168, &c. The ſynopſis of that epiſtle. b, p. 171. The place, from whence; and the time, in which; he wrote his *firſt epiſtle to Timothy*. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 186, &c. St. *Paul* wrote the *ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians*, in *Macedonia*. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 194, &c. From *Corinth*, St. *Paul* wrote his epiſtle to the *romans*. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 201, &c. He ſent it, by *Phoebe*, deaconeſſe of the church, at *Cenchræa*. b, p, 214. When St. *Paul* raiſed *Eutychus* from the dead, he imbraced the corpſe, in imitation of the antient prophets, *Elijah* and *Eliſha*. b, p. 216. An inſtance of the aſtoniſhing fortitude of St. *Paul*. b, p. 222, &c. He ended his third *apoſtolic* journey. b, p. 223. A ſecond time, he took upon him the *nazarite*'s vow. That *apoſtle* vindicated in ſo doing. b, p. 227, &c. St. *Paul* underwent what the *jews* called *the rebel's-beating*. b, p. 233. His treatment from the high-prieſt, *Ananias*. b, p. 239, &c. St. *Paul* did not prævaricate, when he declared for the reſurrection from the dead; and divided his enemies, the *phariſees* and *ſadducees*. b, p. 241. The *jews* accounted St. *Paul* an *hæretic*. b, p. 248. If St. *Paul* had diſturbed t peace of ſociety, or committed a grieveous immorality, the *roman l* would have condemned him juſtl but not for preaching the chriſtian do trine. b, p. 248. *Paul*, the priſoner, made *Felix*, the governor, tremble; when he inſiſted upon a virtuous life, and a righteous judgement to come. That was the *apoſtle*'s way of *preaching Chriſt*. b, p. 250, &c. St. *Paul*, not uſed to give bribes. And, therefore, *Felix* left him in priſon. b, p. 251. St. *Paul* ſet out, upon his fourth *apoſtolic* journey. b, p. 270. The companions of the apoſtle, when he was ſent, a priſoner, from *Cæſarea*, to *Rome*. And his aſſiſtents, at *Rome*. b, p. 271; 285, &c. St. *Paul*'s brave, wiſe, and excellent behavior, dureing the ſtorm. b, p. 273, &c. The *chriſtians*, of *Rome*, went out, a long way, to meet the apoſtle *Paul*. b, p. 280. St. *Paul* was delivered to the care of *Burrus Afranius*; when he was priſoner, the firſt time, at *Rome*. b, p. 280. St. *Paul* chained to a ſoldier; dureing his impriſonment, in his own hired houſe, at *Rome*. b, p. 281. Dureing his eaſie confinement at *Rome*, the apoſtle made many converts; particularly, ſeveral of *Nero*'s guards, and domeſtic ſervants. b, p. 284, &c. He wrote, from *Rome*, to the *Laodicæans*, *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, and to the *Philippians*. b, p. 288, &c. The order, in which thoſe four epiſtles were writen. b, p. 289. That, which is commonly called St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, ſhown to be his epiſtle to the *Laodicæans*. b, p. 290, &c. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 297, &c. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. b, p. 301, &c. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of the epiſtle to *Philemon*. b, p. 306, &c. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of the epiſtle to the *Philippians*. b, p. 312, &c. St. *Paul*, neither an *impoſtor*, nor an *enthuſiaſt*. b, p. 311. He, always, behaved with decency and propriety. c, p. 21. Moſt probably, he worked *miracles*, at *Athens*. c, p. 18, &c. *Paul* reproved *Peter*, to his face. b, p. 71, &c.

&c. c, p. 26. The great fortitude of the apoſtle *Paul*. His care to preſerve the purity of the goſpel, and the liberty of the *gentile* chriſtians. c, p. 42. *Peter* and *Paul*, of the ſame opinion. c, p. 44. St. *Paul*'s compliance with the prejudices of the *jewiſh* chriſtians, not criminal, but excellent. b, p. 227, &c. c, p. 44.

*Pauſanias*;] referred to. b, p. 105.

*Pearſon* [Biſhop,] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 112; 168. b, p. 252; 350. c, p. 55, 56.

*Peirce*, [Mr. *James*;] quoted, or referred to. b, p. 87; 89; 141; 290; 344. c, p. 56.

*Pella*:] a ſmall town, in *Judæa*, to which the *chriſtians* retired, a little before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. c, p. 8, &c.

*Penteco*ſ*t*:] Some think that the *law of Moſes* was given, on that day, from mount *Sinai*; as was the *goſpel*, from mount *Sion*. a, p. 28; 86. Another day might be more remarkable, than the day of *penteco*ſ*t*, for the number of converts. c, p. 2.

*Perſecution*;] of the chriſtians ceaſed, when *Caligula* threw the *jewiſh* people, into ſo general a conſternation. a, p. 214, &c. When that was over, and *Herod Agrippa major* eſtabliſhed in the kingdom of *Judæa*, the perſecution of the *chriſtians* was revived. a, p. 284.

*Peter* [the *apoſtle*] worked uncommon miracles. a, p. 107. He gave, unto *Paul* and *Barnabas*, the right-hand of fellowſhip. b, p. 54. St. *Paul* reproved St. *Peter*, for his cowardly behavior, at *Antioch*. b, p 71, &c. c, p. 25, 26. Communicated, unto St. *Peter*, the goſpel, which he had preached unto the *idolatrous gentiles*. b, p. 52, &c. St. *Peter*, to be commended, for his humble acquieſcence, in St. *Paul*'s rebuke. c, p. 42; 47. He had read St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, and commended them. c, p. 28. St. *Peter*'s prævailing character was excellent. c, p. 43; 45, &c. *Peter* and *Paul*, of the ſame opinion. c, p. 44. St. *Peter*, ſent to *Samaria*, by the other *apoſtles*; who had no notion of his *ſupremacy*. a, p. 162; 243. c, p. 38. He opened the door of faith, or laid the foundation of a chriſtian church, among the *jews*. Acts ii. 14, &c. and among the *gentiles*. a, p. 229, &c. 241, &c. [See *Porphyry*.]

*Peter*; [Biſhop of *Alexandria*] quoted. c, p. 48.

*Petronius*;] ſent, with an army, to ſet up *Caligula*'s image, in the temple, at *Jeruſalem*: and to deſtroy the *jewiſh* nation, if they oppoſed it. a, p. 213. He was ſucceded, by *Marſus*, in the government of *Syria*. a, p. 284.

*Phariſees*:] their opinions nearer to the chriſtian doctrines, than thoſe of the *ſadducees*. b, p. 241.

*Philaſtrius*, [Biſhop of *Brixia*, in *Venice*;] referred to. b, p. 326.

*Philemon*:] The paraphraſe and notes on the epiſtle to *Philemon* referred to. b, p. 164; 284. An account of that epiſtle. b, p. 288; 306; 312.

*Philip*, [called, alſo, *Herod*;] the firſt huſband of *Herodias*. An account of him, and his character. a, p. 197.

*Philip*, [the *deacon*, and *evangeliſt*;] no apoſtle. He converted the *ſamaritanes*. Acts viii. 5, &c. He converted, alſo, the *æthiopian* eunuch. And preached the goſpel, in ſeveral towns, upon, or near, the eaſtern coaſt of the *mediterranean*. Acts viii. 26, &c. He had an houſe, at *Cæſarea*; and four daughters, who were *propheteſſes*. Acts xxi. 8, 9.

*Philippi*:] An account of that town. b, p. 87, &c.

*Philippians*:] St. *Paul* wrote an epiſtle to them. b, p. 288. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 312, &c.

*Philo judæus*:] Who he was. a, p. 218. quoted, or referred to. a, p. 193; 209, 210, 211, 212, 213; 267, 268, 269, 270; 272, 273; 276. b, p. 38; 90, 91; 108; 117; 232.

*Phoebe*;] deaconeſſe of the church of *Cenchræa*, carried the epiſtle to the *romans*, from *Corinth*, to *Rome*. b, p. 214.

*Pilate*, [*Pontius*;] his character. He was afraid of the *jews*. a, p. 108; 142. And depoſed, at their requeſt. a, p. 193.

*Pirke Eliezer*;] referred to. b, p. 49.

*Plato*;]

*Plato*;] referred to. a, p. 110. b, p. 38. afraid of the court of the *Areopagites*, at *Athens*. b, p. 106.
*Pliny*;] referred to. a, p. 88; 167. b, p. 88.
*Plutarch*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 77. b, p. 24; 167; 180; 183.
*Pocock* [Dr.] referred to. a, p. 203.
*Polybius*;] referred to. a, p. 134. b, p. 24.
*Polycarp*:] An account of that antient father. b, p. 327. his epiſtle to the *Philippians*, quoted. b, p. 328.
*Pomponius Mela*;] referred to. b, p. 88.
*Poole's ſynopſis*:] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 129. b, p. 108; 183.
*Populace*] of the *jews*, prævented the *ſanhedrim* from putting the apoſtles to death. a, p. 109.
*Porphyry*;] the old enemy of chriſtianity, accuſed St. *Peter* of cruelty, but unjuſtly. a, p. 105. His character, and the time when he lived. c, p. 28, 29; 44; his aſperſions of *Peter* and *Paul*, quoted. c, p. 27, &c.
*Pothinus*,] the antient biſhop of *Lions* in *France*, ſuffered martyrdom. b, p. 329.
*Potter*, [Archbiſhop] referred to. b, p. 106.
*Potter's-field*;] deſcribed. a, p. 19.
*Power*;] The *apoſtolic* power, of puniſhing great offenders, miraculouſly. a, p. 56; 60.
*Power*,] of life and death, taken out of the hands of the *jews*. a, p. 141.
*Powers*: [See *ſpiritual gifts*, *miraculous powers*; *binding* and *looſeing*.]
*Prayer*:] The *jewiſh* hours of *prayer*. a, p. 88; 234.
*Praying* to our lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. a, p. 143.
*Praying* by the *ſpirit*. a, p. 70.
*Pricæus*;] referred to. b, p. 246.
*Prideaux* [Dean,] his connection of the old and new teſtament, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 113; 115; 136; 150, 151; 153; 155, 156, 157; 162; 184; 191; 218. b, p. 29; 89; 180; 221; 242. He was miſtaken, in ſaying, that the poſterity of *Octavianus* never enjoyed the empire. a, p. 272.



*Prieſts*;] among the *jews*, uſed one ther very ill. b, p. 268.
*Proconſuls*:] Governors of prætorian vinces, commonly called *proconſi* p. 26.
*Proconſular*:] ſome provinces of the [illegible] empire, *prætorian*; and others, *proconſular*. b, p. 144.
*Procopius*;] referred to. b, p. 31.
*Prophecies*, in the old teſtament; quoted, in the new teſtament; ſome, as literally accompliſhed; others, as applying a general rule to a particular caſe: others, as argueing from a ſimilar fact; and others, as mere accommodations. b, p. 337. The gift of *prophecie*. a, p. 56.
*Propheſying*:] A word, that had various ſignifications. Sometimes, uſed for one of the gifts of the *ſpirit*: ſometimes, for playing on a muſical inſtrument, ſinging, danceing, or ſome other bodily motion. a, p. 69.
*Prophets*, of the higheſt order. a, p. 65. The twelve *leſſer prophets*, at the concluſion of the old teſtament, uſed to be bound, or ſewed, together; and quoted, as one book. b, p. 35. No *prophet*, except *Jonah*, ſent to the *gentile* world, after the days of *Abraham*. b, p. 42. A falſe prophet came, from *Ægypt*, to *Jeruſalem*; and brought an heavy diſaſter upon the *jews*. b, p. 156, &c.
*Proſelytes*:] Two ſorts of *proſelytes*, among the *jews*; namely, *proſelytes of righteouſneſſe*, and *proſelytes of the gate*. How to diſtinguiſh between them. a, p. 222, &c. b, p. 48, &c. To what things, the *proſelytes of the gate* were obliged, before they became chriſtians; and after they became ſuch. b, p. 57; 63; 81. None, but *proſelytes of the gate*, converted to chriſtianity, at *Antioch*, in *Syria*. b, p. 51. *Proſelyte-baptiſm*, in uſe, among the *jews*, before the comeing of *our lord*. b, p. 95.
*Proſeucha*:] The form, and uſe, of it. b, p. 89, &c. There was one, at *Philippi*, whither the *jews* uſed to reſort. b, p. 91.

P

*Pſalm*,] compoſed, or ſung, by inſpiration. a, p. 70. *The book of pſalms*, anciently divided. But the diviſion of the other books of ſcripture, into *chapters*, not ſo antient. b, p. 34.
*Ptolemais*, formerly called *Ace*, or *Accho*. b, p. 222.
*Publius*, biſhop of the chriſtian church, at *Athens*; ſuffered martyrdom; and was ſucceeded by *Quadratus*. c, p. 19.
*Puteoli*:] b, p. 279.
*Pythagoras*;] a native of the iſland *Samos*. b, p. 217.

Q

*Quadratus*;] biſhop of the chriſtian church, at *Athens*, after the martyrdom of *Publius*, their former biſhop. c, p. 19.

R

*Raphelius*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 134; 136. b, p. 24; 103; 110.
*Reaſonableneſſe of the chriſtian religion*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 240; 254. b, p. 240.
*Rebel's-beating*;] ſo called by the *jews*. What that was. St. *Paul* ſuffered that cruelty. b, p. 233.
*Reland*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 157; 164; 167, 168; 170, 171; 194. b, p. 147; 245.
*Remitting*, or *retaining*, the ſins of men. What is to be underſtood thereby. a, p. 51
*Reſurrection* of *Jeſus*, with the evidences thereof. a, p. 13. The ſummary view of the evidences of *Chriſt*'s reſurrection, referred to. a, p. 240.
*Rhegium*:] An account of that town. b, p. 274.
*Richardſon*'s canon of the new teſtament vindicated;] referred to. a, p. 258.
*River*:] By the ſide of a *river*, or lake, or by the ſea-ſide, the *jews* choſe to worſhip GOD. b, p. 89, 90, 91; 222.
*Rome*:] St. *Paul* made ſeveral converts, at *Rome*; when he was priſoner, there. b, p. 284. He wrote four of his epiſtles, there; namely, that to the *Epheſians*, or *Laodicæans*, *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, and *Philippians*. b, p. 288, &c. An account of St. *Paul*'s companions, or fellow-laborers, at *Rome*. b, p. 284. His watchful care over the church, at *Rome*, and the diſtant churches. b, p. 316, 317.
*Roman empire*,] changed, from a common-wealth, to a monarchy. a, p. 189. A *free roman* could neither be bound, nor beaten with rods. b, p. 96.
*Romans*:] From *Corinth*, St. *Paul* wrote the *epiſtle to the romans*. The hiſtory, and ſynopſis, of that epiſtle. b, p. 201, &c. He ſent it by *Phoebe*, deaconeſſe of the church at *Cenchræa*. b, p. 214.
*Room*:] The upper-room, where the apoſtles, with the one hundred and twenty, were aſſembled, when *the ſpirit* was firſt poured out, upon them, was upon mount *Sion*. a, p. 18.
*Ruffinus*, preſbyter of *Aquileium*, referred to. b, p. 326.
*Rufus*, [or *Pyrrhus*;] Who he was. b, p. 215. See *Sopater*, or *Soſipater*.
*Rulers of the ſynagogue*,] uſed to deſire, or permit, any body, to read the ſcriptures publicly. b, p. 30.

S

*Sabians*:] How they differed from the *magians*. a, p. 161.
*Sacrifices*:] The difference between a *ſin-offering*, or *treſpaſſe-offering*; and a *burnt-offering*, or *peace-offering*. a, p. 225.
*Sadducees*:] The *jewiſh* infidels; deſcribed as ſevere in judgement. Few, or no, *ſadducees*, converted to chriſtianity. a, p. 94; 107; 111. They received more of the old teſtament, than the five books of *Moſes*. a, p. 107. They were more averſe to the chriſtian doctrine, than the *phariſees*. a, p. 241, &c.
*Sale*;] who tranſlated the *Coran*, quoted. a, p. 162; 203.
*Salome*; [the daughter of *Herodias*;] a fooliſh ſtory told of her, by later writers. a, p. 197.
*Salvian*, [preſbyter of *Marſeilles*;] referred to. c, p. 2.

*Sama-*

*Samaritanes*:] The antient difference between the *jews* and *ſamaritanes*. a, p. 149, &c. Who the *ſamaritanes* were, originally. a, p. 150, 151. The *ſamaritanes*, well-præpared to receive the goſpel. a, p. 158; 160. The propriety of confering the *holy ſpirit*, upon the *ſamaritane* converts. a, p. 164. A proof that the *ſamaritanes* expected the *meſſiah*. a, p. 194, &c. The *ſamaritanes* and *jews* often quarrelled. a, p. 154. b, p. 77. The *ſamaritane* copy of the *pentateuch*, referred to. a, p. 126. The *ſamaritane* copy, corrupted. a, p. 152.

*Samuel*.] See *Saul*.

*Sandys*, his travels referred to. b, p. 221.

*Sanhedrim*, of the jews:] Who they were. They ſate in a circle, or oval. a, p. 96. They were confounded, by the miraculous eſcape of the *apoſtles*, out of priſon. a, p. 108. They tried to have intimidated the *apoſtles*. a, p. 110. St. *Stephen* brought before the *ſanhedrim*. a, p. 125. They did not ſit, at *Jabneh*. a, p. 218. b, p. 239. The *ſanhedrim* could not ſilence the *apoſtles*, when they pleaſed. c, p. 5, &c.

*Satan*:] What it was, to be delivered over to *Satan*. a, p. 53.

*Saul* and *Samuel*, together, reigned forty years, over *Iſrael*. b, p. 32. *Saul*, not ſo good a king, in *Iſrael*, as king *David*. b, p. 32.

*Saul* of *Tarſus*:] his character. a, p. 142; 144, &c. He was acquainted with both the *greek* and *hebrew* learning; as well as brought up to an handicraft-trade. a, p. 145. converted to chriſtianity, when he was young. a, p. 146, 147; 172. violently perſecuted the chriſtians. a, p. 148; 170. he had a commiſſion from *Caiaphas*, the high-prieſt, to perſecute the *chriſtians*. a, p. 171, 172. The *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, conferred on him, immediately after baptiſm. a, p. 181, &c. *Saul* had the *word of wiſdom* conferred on him, before he became an *apoſtle*. a, p. 183. The hiſtory of *Saul*, continued. a, p. 201. He preached the goſpel, in *Arabia*, and *Damaſcus*. And, at *Damaſcus*, the *jews* ſought to take away his life. But he eſcaped, in a baſket, through the window of an houſe, that was on the wall of the city. a, p. 202, &c. He went up, to *Jeruſalem*, the firſt time, after his converſion; and ſaw *Peter* and *John*. a, p. 204. *Saul* and *Barnabas*, conſtituted *apoſtles*, when no other *apoſtle* was at *Jeruſalem*. b, p. 4. *Saul* had not ſeen *Jeſus*, 'till he was made an *apoſtle*. b, p. 5. Whileſt he was praying, in one of the courts of the temple, he had his trance, or extaſie. b, p. 6. Dureing that trance, or rapture, *Saul* ſaw the lord *Jeſus*, alive again, after his crucifixion; and received the revelation of the goſpel, from him. b, p. 8, &c. His thorn in the fleſh. b, p. 9, &c. The *ſpiritual gifts*, which he received, when he became an *apoſtle*. b, p. 11, &c. Some think that *Saul* had one *ſpiritual gift* peculiar to himſelf. b, p. 15, &c. The *miraculous powers*, which *Saul* received, when he was conſtituted an *apoſtle*. b, p. 16, &c. He had more fortitude, after he became an *apoſtle*. b, p. 16, &c. He went through an amazeing ſcene of ſufferings. b, p. 17. *Saul*'s firſt *apoſtolic* journey, along with *Barnabas*. b, p. 23, &c. He exerciſed the *apoſtolic rod*, when he ſtruck *Barjeſus* blind. b, p. 27. *Saul*, called, alſo, *Paul*. The reaſon of that name. b, p. 28. [For the reſt, ſee *Paul*.]

*Saying*:] A favorite *ſaying* of our lord's, mentioned by St. *Paul*. b, p. 220.

*Scaliger*;] referred to. a, p. 115. b, p. 35.

*Scriptures of the old teſtament*;] read in the *jewiſh* ſynagogues, in *hebrew*; interpreted, by word of mouth, in *chaldee*. a, p. 114, &c.

*Sea*:] See *River*.

*Selden*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 136; 224. b, p. 66; 69.

*Seleucia*;] deſcribed. b, p. 25.

*Seneca*;] the court-philoſopher; præceptor to the emperor, *Nero*; made the oration for him, when he entered upon his government; would not teach *Nero*

*Nero* eloquence, to keep him longer in admiration of himſelf: but, in that, judged very wrong. b, p. 153, &c. 265. *Seneca* and *Burrus* deveſted *Agrippina* of the ſupreme power. b, p. 265. *Seneca*, quoted, or referred to. b, p. 144, 145; 281.

*Septuagint:*] or the *greek* tranſlation of the old teſtament; made for the uſe of the *jews*, in *Ægypt*; and uſed, by thoſe of the *weſtern* diſperſion. a, p. 115, 116.

*Sepulchre of king David*;] within the city, contrary to the cuſtom of the *jews*. a, p. 81.

*Sergius Paulus*, proconſul of *Cyprus*;] was the firſt convert, to chriſtianity, from among the *idolatrous gentiles*. He ſent for the apoſtles, *Barnabas* and *Saul*, to preach to him. He might leave off the idolatrous rites of the *romans*; and yet continue in his office. b, p. 26, &c.

*Servius*;] his notes on *Virgil*, referred to. a, p. 288.

*Seven*] nations of the *Canaanites*, devoted to deſtruction. b, p. 31. The *ſeven* præcepts of *Noah*. b, p. 66; 68.

*Shafteſbury* [Lord,] his *characteriſtics*, quoted. b, p. 264. c, p. 19.

*Shaw* [Dr.] his travels, quoted. a, p. 218.

*Sichar*, or *Sichem*;] otherwiſe called *Neapolis*, *Naplouza*, or *Naploza*. It was demoliſhed, by *John Hyrcanus*; high-prieſt, and prince, of the *jews*. a, p. 157. According to *Reland*, it was forty miles from *Jeruſalem*. a, p. 164.

*Sicarii:*] Who they were. They abounded in *Judæa*. They ſtabbed *Jonathan*, the high-prieſt. b, p. 155, &c. 253. They were deluded by an impoſtor, and ſlain by *Feſtus*. b, p. 267. Afterwards, *Albinus* put great numbers of them to death. They made advantage of takeing great perſons priſoners. b, p. 268.

*Sicily:*] An account of that iſland. b, p. 279.

*Silas*, [called, alſo, *Silvanus*,] a *free-roman*. b, p. 58; 96.

*Simon*, the *Cyrenæan*;] the father of *Alexander* and *Rufus*, who bore the croſſe after *our lord*. b, p. 215.





*Simon*, [*Father:*] his *critical hiſtory of the old and new teſtament*; quoted, or referred to. a, p. 59; 107; 115; 145; 255. b, p. 219; 325; 332.

*Simony:*] What is to be underſtood thereby. a, p. 166.

*Sion:*] Upon mount *Sion*, the *ſpirit* was poured out. a, p. 18. There, the *apoſtles* began to preach. a, p. 75. [See *Room.*]

*Sin* unto death, or not unto death. a, p. 54.

*Sixtus Senenſis*;] referred to. a, p. 257.

*Smith* [Dr.] his four epiſtles quoted. b, p. 344.

*Socrates:*] his excellent behavior before his judges. a, p. 110.

*Soldier:*] The inſolence of a *roman* ſoldier, in one of the courts of the temple, at an high feſtival, cauſed an inſurrection, among the *jews*. b, p. 75. Another *roman* ſoldier greatly incenſed the *jews*, by tearing the book of the *law of Moſes*. b, p. 76.

*Solinus*;] referred to. b, p. 180.

*Solomon's portico:*] a, p. 90; 106.

*Sopater*, or *Soſipater*;] the ſon of *Rufus*. b, p. 215.

*Sophocles*,] referred to. b, p. 106; 108.

*Sozomen*;] referred to. c, p. 10.

*Spencer*, *de legibus hebræorum*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 77; 137; 224. b, p. 57; 65, 66.

*Spirit:*] Being *filled* with the *holy ſpirit*, commonly denoted, that, upon ſuch perſons; the *holy ſpirit* was poured out, immediately from heaven; and not given, by the laying on of the hands of the *apoſtles*. b, p. 19. St. *Paul* deſigned one thing, the *ſpirit* directed him to do another. b, p. 86.

*The emblems of the ſpirit*,] were four; namely, *air*, *fire*, *water*, and *oil*. a, p. 31. The *ſpirit* poured out, from heaven, ſeven times. a, p. 63. One was, upon the *æthiopian* eunuch. a. p. 169. The *ſpirit* was poured out, upon the firſt fruits of the *devout gentiles*, before *baptiſm*. a, p. 241. [See *holy ſpirit*, *ſpiritual gifts*, *gifts of the ſpirit*, *apoſtles*, *prophets*, *evangeliſts*.]

S

*Spiritual gifts:*] The diſtinction between *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*. a, p. 36; 60. The *ſpiritual gifts*, beſtowed upon the *apoſtles*. a, p. 38, &c. The *ſpiritual gifts*, conferred upon other chriſtians, that were not *apoſtles*. a, p. 65. *Faith*, a *ſpiritual gift*. a, p. 68. *Propheſying*, one of the *ſpiritual gifts*. a, p. 69. *Spiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, conferred on *gentiles*. a, p 241. b, p. 55. The argument, from *ſpiritual gifts*, and *miraculous powers*, in favor of the *chriſtian religion*. b, p. 337. [See *ſpirit, holy ſpirit, gifts of the ſpirit, miraculous powers, apoſtles, Paul, Barnabas*]

*Stationary men:*] What they were. a, p. 87.

*Stephanas,*] of *Corinth*; not the ſame with the jaylor, at *Philippi*. b, p. 117.

*Stoics:*] An account of their opinions. b, p. 105.

*Stoneing to death:*] How executed, among the *jews*. a, p. 142.

*Strabo*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 145; 167. b, p. 183; 279; 344; 347.

*Strangers, within the gates of the jews*;] the ſame with *devout gentiles*, or *proſelytes of the gate*. a, p 223.

*Suetonius*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 74; 190, 191; 195; 199; 270; 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280. b, p. 78; 114; 144; 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154; 238; 257; 284.

*Suidas:*] referred to. b, p. 183.

*Sulpitius Severus*;] referred to. c, p. 9.

*Sykes*, [Dr. *Arthur Aſhley*,] referred to. a, p. 225. b, p. 337.

*Synagogue:*] At the deſire, or permiſſion, of the rulers of the ſynagogues, any *jew* might read the ſcriptures, publicly. The *law*, and the *prophets*, in the ſynagogues of the *jews*, were read through, once every year. b, p. 29, 30. How a *ſynagogue* differed from a *proſeucha*. b, p. 90.

*Syriac verſion of the new teſtament*,] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 116; 284; 289. b, p. 86; 89; 325.

*Syrians:*] A quarrel between the *jews* and *ſyrians*, at *Cæſarea*, about the rights and privileges of that city. The *jews* ſeverely puniſhed for it, by *Felix*, the governor. b, p. 249.

T

*Tacitus*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 74; 79; 191; 195; 197. b, p. 74; 76, 77, 78; 148, 149, 150, 151; 153; 238; 257; 280; 284.

*Talmud*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 96; 142; 229; 261.

*Targum of Jonathan*; ] referred to. b, p. 69.

*Taylor*, [Mr. *John*, of *Norwich*] referred to. a, p. 225.

*Temple:*] The worſhip of GOD, at the temple, in *Jeruſalem*, daily frequented by the *apoſtles*. a, p. 84; 88. *Watch*, kept, in the *temple*, every night, in twenty-four places. a, p. 109. The high regard, which the *jews* had for the *temple*. b, p. 75, 76; 232. A deſcription of the *beautiful gate* of the *temple*. a, p. 88. A *temple*, built, by the *ſamaritanes*, upon mount *Gerizim*. a, p. 151. demoliſhed by *John Hyrcanus*. a, p. 157. The *ſamaritanes* ſtill continue to worſhip, in that place. a, p. 157. A *temple*, built, in the town of *Samaria*; but not valued by the *ſamaritanes*. a, p. 157. A *temple*, built, by ſome of the *jews*, in *Ægypt*. a, p. 153. A deſcription of the magnificent *temple* of *Diana*, at *Epheſus*. Some of the ruines thereof ſtill remain. b, p. 179, &c.

*Tertullian:*] An account of that antient, *latin*, father. b, p. 324; 331. his works, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 115; 183. b, p. 282; 290; 296; 324; 331, 332; 344, &c. 348.

*Tertullus*;] his miſrepreſentation of the character, both of *Felix*, and of *St. Paul*. b, p. 247.

*Thales*, [the antient philoſopher,] a native of *Miletus*, in *Caria*. b, p. 217.

*Theophylact*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 116. c, p. 48.

*Theſſalonians:*] The *firſt epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, writen from *Corinth*. b, p. 119,

p. 119, &c. 122, 123. The ſynopſis of that epiſtle. b, p. 124, &c. The hiſtory of the *ſecond epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*. b, p. 127. The arguments for it's being the *ſecond epiſtle*. b, p. 131. The *firſt* and *ſecond* epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*, compared. b, p. 132, 133. The ſynopſis of the *ſecond* epiſtle. b, p. 134, &c.

*Theſſalonica*,] deſcribed. b, p. 98. There, St. *Paul* worked miracles; preached to the *idolatrous gentiles*, and converted great numbers of them. b, p. 99, &c.

*Theudas*:] Who he was. a, p. 111.

*Things*, indifferent, in their own nature, may, upon ſome occaſions, be prohibited, together with things, in their own nature, eternally unfit, and unlawful. b, p. 66, &c.

*Thirty years*;] A mature age. The age, at which, the *levites* entered upon their office; the jewiſh *high-prieſts* were conſecrated; and *John the baptiſt*, and *Jeſus*, entered upon their reſpective offices. At that age, was St. *Paul* conſtituted an *apoſtle*. b, p. 186, &c.

*Thouſand*.] See *Three* and *Five*.

*Three thouſand* jews converted to chriſtianity. a, p. 83. The *jewiſh* converts, at *Jeruſalem*, *five thouſand*. a, p. 95. The *five thouſand*, Acts iv. 4. a diſtinct number from the *three thouſand*. c, p. 1, &c.

*Thucydides*;] referred to. b, p. 38; 98.

*Tiberius*:] the third of the twelve *Cæſars*. Dureing his reign, our *bleſſed lord* was crucified. He ſucceded *Auguſtus*, and was ſucceded by *Caligula*. His death, and character. a, p. 190; 198.

*Tiberius Alexander*, procurator of *Judæa*:] He ſucceded *Cuſpius Fadus*; and was ſucceded by *Ventidius Cumanus*. b, p. 74, 75.

*Timothy*,] together with his grand-mother, and mother, converted to the chriſtian faith, by St. *Paul*, at *Lyſtra*. b, p. 43. They were *jews*, and very pious. b, p. 83. *Timothy* circumciſed, before he went out, as an *evangeliſt*; and why. b, p. 83, &c. c, p. 35, &c. The *firſt epiſtle to Timothy*, writen by St. *Paul*, to him, at *Epheſus*; or to the chriſtian church, there. The *hiſtory* of that epiſtle; and the time, when it was wrote. b, p. 186, &c. The ſynopſis of 1 *Timothy*. b, p. 189, &c.

*Titus*; a *devout gentile*. b, p. 50, &c. St. *Paul* would not ſuffer him to be circumciſed, becauſe he was a *gentile*. b, p. 53.

*Tongues*:] The gift of *tongues*. a, p. 56. Confuſion of *tongues*, at *Babel*. a, p. 57. Inferior chriſtians had, ſome of them, the gift of *tongues*. a, p. 71. [See *apoſtles*, *ſpiritual gifts*, or *gifts of the ſpirit*.]

*Torture*:] The *roman* manner of examining by *torture*. St. *Paul*, being a freeman of *Rome*, would not ſubmit to be examined by *torture*. b, p. 238.

*Trajan's epiſtle* to *Pliny*, referred to. b, p. 280.

*Tremellius*;] referred to. b, p. 148.

*Tribes*:] In the days of *our lord*, and his *apoſtles*, the *twelve tribes* of *Iſrael* were ſtill in being. b, p. 261.

*Tully*:] See *Cicero*.

*Tychicus*;] carried St. *Paul's* epiſtles to the *Coloſſians* and *Laodicæans*. And brought back, to *Coloſſe*, a copy of the *letter* to the *Laodicæans*. b, p. 295; 344.

V

*Valerius Maximus*;] referred to. b, p. 180.

*Valeſius*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 251; 254. c, p. 55.

*Variety*,] in the ſcale of *Beings*; where the gradations are very gentle and ſmall. There is, alſo, an amazeing variety, in the capacities of *men*. a, p. 1.

*Veleſius*;] his various readings, collected from MSS. of the *vulgar latin*. b, p. 82.

*Ventidius Cumanus*,] ſucceded *Tiberius Alexander*, as procurator of *Judæa*. b, p. 75. He was afterwards, depoſed, and baniſhed. b, p. 77, &c.

*Vibius Marſus*,] ſucceded *Petronius*, as *præſident of Syria*. a, p. 284. recalled from being præſident of *Syria*; and *Caſſius Longinus* ſent thither, in his ſtead. b, p. 74.

U

*Virgin Mary*;] of the family of king *David*. She is ſpoken of, with great virulence, by the *jews*. a, p. 261. b, p. 32.

*Vitellius*,] præſident of *Syria*. a, p. 193, &c. He commanded *Pontius Pilate* to go to *Rome*, and anſwer for his crimes, before *Cæſar*. a, p. 193, &c. He was very obligeing to the *jews*. a, p. 196; 198; 212. diſpleaſed with *Herod Antipas*. a, p. 197; 199. recalled from his government; and ſucceded by *Petronius*. a, p. 212.

*Vitringa*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 115; 187. b, p. 30; 89; 130.

*Ulpian*, [the famous *roman lawyer*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 195. b, p. 255.

*Upper room*:] See *room*.

*Uſher* [Archbiſhop;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 126, 127; 190; 246. b, p. 349.

W

*Wall*, [Dr. *William*;] quoted. c, p. 11.

*Walton*, [Biſhop;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 115; 126; 132.

*Warburton*, [Dr. *William*;] quoted. b, p. 108.

*Ward*, [Dr. *John*, of *Greſham-college*;] referred to. b, p. 156.

*Wellwood*, [Dr.] the introduction to his tranſlation of the banquet of *Xenophon*, quoted. b, p. 108.

*Weſt*, [*Gilbert*, *Eſq*;] referred to. b, p. 183.

*Wetſtein*;] his new teſtament, in two volumes, folio, with notes, and various readings; quoted, or referred to. Acts i. 2. and v. 36. a, p. 14; 77; 92; 123; 127; 130; 145; 167; 169; 187; 238; 246; 250; 255, 256; 288. b, p. 82; 290; 315.

*Whiſton* [Mr. *William*;] quoted, or referred to b, p. 31; 120.

W

*Whitby*, [Dr.] denies that the *great ſanhedrim* ſate at *Jabneh*. a, p. 218. Dr. *Whitby*'s *works*, quoted, or referred to. a, p. 95; 112; 127; 129; 197; 256, 257, 258. b, p. 9; 49; 165; c. p. 1.

*Whitgift* [Archbiſhop,] quoted. c, p. 9.

*Wild-beaſts*:] St. *Paul* fought with *wild-beaſts*, at *Epheſus*. The manner of fighting with *wild-beaſts*. b, p. 164, &c.

*Wolfius*; [his *Curæ philologicæ*, &c. *on the new teſtament*;] quoted, or referred to. a, p. 49; 62; 93; 103; 123; 127; 129, 131; 134; 136; 238. b, p. 38; 42; 46; 55; 57; 89; 108; 110.

*Word of knowlege*:] What that was. a, p. 44. The *ſuperior prophets* had it, as well as *apoſtles*. a, p. 66, 67.

*Word of wiſdom*:] What that was. It was given to none but *apoſtles*. a, p. 40.

*Wotton*, [Dr.] his obſervations on the *miſna* quoted, or referred to. a, p. 49. b, p. 226. Dr. *Wotton* ſais, that there was no *prophet*, from *Moſes*, to *Samuel*. a, p. 93. b, p. 29.

*Writers of the new teſtament*;] very modeſt, in their accounts of the miracles, that were worked, in favor of chriſtianity. c, p. 21, &c. By their conciſeneſſe, they adapted their writeings to the caſes of the bulk of mankind. c, p. 22. The *ſacred writers*, frank and honeſt men. c, p. 43.

X

*Xenophon*; referred to. a, p. 136.

Y

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Z

*Zegerus*;] referred to. c, p. 48, 49.

*The end of the* INDEXES.

ERRATA

# ERRATA of VOL. I.

PAGE 9. line 5. after [*others*] put a comma. l. 15. read [*crucifixion,*] p. 10. l. 16. for [*he*] r. [*be*] p. 17. l. 4. After [*But*] put a comma. l. 16. I am dubious whether *our lord*'s miniſtry might not continue four paſſovers, or three years and an half. l. 21. after [*opinion*] put a comma. p. 19. l. 22. in the notes, r. [*St.* PETER's] p. 21. l. 26. r. [*unto*] p. 22. l. 3. in the notes, afrer [640] put a bracket. p. 23. l. 8. from the bottom, r. [*circumſtances*] p. 24. l. 3. from the bottom, after [*Jeruſalem*] put a comma. p. 26. l. 33. in the notes, r. [*hundred*] p. 27. l. 18. in the notes, d. [*in*] p. 29. l. 16. r. [*yet*] p. 30. l. 6. r. [*ſurprized*] p. 33. l. 25. d. [*and*] p. 44. l. 26. r. [*apoſtles*] p. 50. l. 23. after [*apoſtles*] d. comma. p. 78. l. 24. for [*of*] r. [*of*] p. 89. l. 32. r. [*the court*] p. 98. l. 5. in the notes, r. [*interpretation.*] p. 106. l. laſt, d. [*par-*] p. 123. at the begining of the note, after [*Ver.* 8.] put the letter [*a*] p. 126. l. 5. from the bottom, before [*Gen.*] put a bracket. ibid. l. 4. from the bottom, after [x. 1.] put a bracket. p. 130. l. 26. in the notes, r. [ἔκſου&] p. 131. l. 3. in the notes; after [*Abraham*] put a comma. p. 136. l. 7. r. [*immediately*] p. 139. l. 7. after [*preſence?*] put the cloſe of the parentheſis. p. 141. l. 4. r. [*aloud*] p. 143. l. 4. in the notes, after [*anſwered*] put a comma. p. 151. l. laſt but one, in the notes, r. [*Prideaux's*] p. 155. l. 11. in the notes, for [*again*] r. [*againſt*] p. 156. l. 3, and 11. r. [SAVIOR.] p. 157. l. 20. r. [*Manaſſeh*] p. 159. l. 3. from the bottom, after [*the Philip*] put a comma. p. 164. l. 7. after [*had*] put a comma. p. 165. l. 5. after [*differences*] put a ſemicolon. p. 168. l. 27. after [*who is*] put a comma. ibid. l. 2. in the notes, r. [μετ' ἀλλήλων] p. 170. in the running title, after [*Damaſcus*] put a comma. p. 171. l. 23. r. [*repreſenteth*] p. 178. l. 26. r. [πλησθῆς] p. 181. l. 15. r. [LORD] p. 185. l. 3. from the bottom, r. [*probably*] p. 196. before the ſecond note, in the margin, put the letter [f] p. 199. l. laſt in the notes, after [§ 1] put a period. p. 212. l. laſt but one, in the notes, r. [*Joſephus*] p. 225. l. 15. r. [*righteouſneſſe*]. p. 231. l. 1. r. [*before*] p. 233. in the marginal note, at the top, r. [An. Chriſti 41.] p. 239. l. 1. r. [*righteouſneſſe*] p. 246. l. 2. in the notes, for [&] r. [ad] p. 251. l. 2. in the notes, r. [*tranſlation*] p. 252. l. 3. from the bottom, r. [ἀπαρχαι] p. 256. l. 5. d. [*be*] p. 261. at the begining of l. 3. in the notes, put a [k] p. 281. l. 2. for [*ne*] r. [*he*] p. 282. l. 4. from the bottom, r. [*their*] p. 284. l. 19. after [*For*] put a comma.

# ERRATA of VOL. II.

Page 8. line 8. read [*full*] p. 10. l. 7. for [*inthe*] r. [*in the*] p. 13. l. laſt, after [*to*] put a comma. p. 18. in the third note, before [*Gal.*] put [n] p. 21. l. 30. after [LORD] put a period. p. 24. l. laſt but one, in the notes, after [*ep*] put a comma. p. 25. l. 3. after [*powers*] put a comma. p. 26. l. 8. after [*Salamis*] put a comma. ibid. l. 20, 21. r. [*deſired*] ibid. l. 3. in the notes, r. [ἀνθιστάμενος &] p. 27. in the running title, after [PAUL] put a period. ibid. l. 19. r. [*wickedneſſe*] ibid. in the catch-word, at the bottom, r. [*About*] p. 28. l. 3. for [*onely mention*] r. [*mention onely*] p. 30. after [*And*] the catch-word, at the bottom of the notes, d. comma. p. 35. l. 16. after [*jews*] d. comma. p. 42. l. 2. in the notes, r. [*uſual*] p. 44. l. 2. after [*Lyſtra*] put a comma. p. 57. l. 19. after [*as*] d. comma. p. 60. l. 2. r. [*things*] p. 69. l. 11. r. [*ſhould*] p. 89. l. 5. in the notes, r. [*Philippians*] p. 93. l. 24. d. [*their*] p. 105. l. 10. in the notes, after [*Clerici*] d. period. p. 108. l. 6. in the notes, after [*Ital*] put a period. Ibid. l. 13. r [Ἀθηναίοις] p. 130. l 20. r. [συν-ἀναμίγνυσθαι] p. 138. l. 11. r. [*what is*] ibid. l. 38. d. [*the*] p. 139. l. 24. r. [*as a*]

p. 141.

## ERRATA of VOL. II.

p. 141. l. 31. r. [*reaſonable*] p. 143. l. 6. r. [*the dealing*] p. 150, and 151. in the margin, at the top, r. [Ch. VI.] p. 152. l. 2. r. [*had provided*] l. 3. r. [*poiſon was*] p. 158. l. 16. after [*apace*] put a period. p. 160. l. 12. from the bottom, in the note, r. [*tranſlation*] ibid. l. 10. from the bottom, r. [*be meant*] p. 172. l. 16. for [*though*] r. [*if*] p. 194. l. 7. after [*about*] put a comma. p. 198. l. 30. after [*chriſtians*] put a comma. p. 205. l. 8. r. [*particular*] p. 217. l. 1. in the contents, before [*ſent*] r. [*he*] p. 224. l. 12. before [*appealing*] r. [*his*] p. 253. l. 8. r. [*pleaſed*] p. 278. l. 7. after [APOSTLES] put a comma. p. 279. l. 4. for [*It*] r. [*Syracuſe*] p. 280. l. 2. of the contents, r. [*refuſed*] p. 308. l. 3. from the bottom, r. [*paſſage*] p. 338. l. 6. from the bottom, r. [*doctrine*] p. 345. l. 30. r. [τοῖς] p. 350. l. 1. r. [γένοιτό] ibid. for [*his* r. [*this*]

## ERRATA of VOL. III.

Præface to the *third* volume, p. viii. l. 9. from the bottom, for [*indeed*] read [*in deed*] Page 3. line 3. read [*Doddridge*] p. 7. l. 2, 3. r. [*apoſtatized*] p. 19. l. 6. after [*apoſtles*] put a comma. p. 29. l. 9. in the notes, for [*words*] r. [*word's*] p. 38. l. 7. for [*freed*] r. [*free*] p. 39. l. 7. for [*proſecution*] r. [*perſecution*] p. 75. l. 3. in the ſecond column of the index, after [*lewdneſſe*] r. [a, p ] p. 78. col. 2. l. 2. r. [παραιτήσεως] p. 99. col. 1. l. 33. r. [*ſacrificed.*]

*THE END.*

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